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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLIV.

JANUARY—JUNE.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείων τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσίων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.—CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JANUARY, 1844.

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1. *Political Philosophy.* By Henry Lord Brougham, F.R.S., Part II. *On Aristocracy and Aristocratic Governments.* London: 1843.

2. *The Influence of Aristocracies on the Revolutions of Nations, considered in Relationship to the Present Circumstances of the British Empire.* By James J. Macintyre. London. Fisher and Co. 1843.

THERE is a mighty difference in one respect, betwixt antiquity and modern times. Formerly, the few were observing the many; now, the many are observing the few. In past days, there was here and there an Aristotle, or a Machiavel, or a Lord Bacon, looking down from their social and intellectual elevation upon their fellow creatures, living in masses far below them, quite contented, whilst matters went on tolerably well; or at least satisfied, upon the whole, with leaving philosophy and politics to their governors or superiors. The professors of knowledge were generally limited to the possessors of leisure; upper classes ruled, and the lower ones obeyed. Those usually were the utterers of wisdom to whom circumstances gave a monopoly of it; and who mingled more or less with the great and wealthy of the earth. Now all is changed. The vast sections of society have become, like the mysterious polymorphies of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, winged, powerful, terrible, and full of eyes! The sublunary world may still be a theatre; but most of the mortal spectators seem ready to become actors; and, in too many cases, with their mere passions for their leaders. That kind and degree of knowledge prevails, which agitates and irritates. So great is the positive experience that something must be wrong—so piercingly has the sting of misery entered into the very soul of society—that its

whole framework moves, and totters, from ten thousand impulses struggling each for the mastery. Myriads upon myriads, are quietly learning the grand lessons of organization; who have never studied military tactics, and who would abhor in their hearts every approach to physical violence. With much cloudiness of view both as to the past and the future, they fasten no very friendly gaze upon the present, which touches them at every point, and agonizes them with the perpetual contact. How should it be otherwise? 'Have we not all one Father?' demands the inspired page; and is it conceivable that civil government, which was instituted to protect and cherish all that is good and virtuous and advantageous to man, can become an enormous engine of oppression, without calling forth groans, and in due time even resistance, from the oppressed? Multitudes are perceiving, or at least imagining that they do so, the sources of their sufferings in certain human institutions. They therefore summon those institutions to the tribunal of public opinion; an inexorable judge, who deals alike with the shadows of history, and the realities of actual life:

> Quæsitor Minos urnam movet: ille silentum
> Conciliumque vocat—vitasque et crimina discit!

Democracy, monarchy, autocracy, and more than all ARISTOCRACY, are now passing under this arraignment; and, with respect to the last, we have the advantage of being admitted into court, under the able guidance of Lord Brougham, and Mr. Macintyre. We have not much room for definitions; but, desiring above all things to be fully comprehended, our hearty concurrence is with his lordship, that 'the essence of an aristocracy is the existence of a privileged class, which engrosses the supreme power, and has sufficient force to resist the changes that any intermixture of monarchical or democratical institutions tend to introduce in favour of monarchy, or of democracy, respectively.'

And now we say, let facts speak for themselves, for they are proverbially stubborn things. Aristocracy has existed for ages in the world, and its results can be weighed in the balance, with quite sufficient accuracy. Although its characteristics may be more occult and subtle, than those of other governmental forms; as to its consequences, there can be no mistake. Its merits have received an ample share of laudation. They are such as mainly address themselves to the imagination, deriving their origin from chivalry and the crusades, connected with barbarians in coats of mail, moated fortresses, knights and esquires in armour, tournaments, and the ordeal by battle. Hence poets and orators have revelled in such a field, far removed from the associations of every-day life, as we see it now constituted; and affording the

most convenient screen upon which to throw magical colours and fallacious shadows. The notorious and incomparable apostrophe of Edmund Burke, will perhaps never be forgotten, whilst English lasts as a living language; yet, what more easy than to show, that every line of it is utterly destitute of truth? Lord Brougham, indeed, asserts, that no government so manifestly excels, in fostering principles of personal honour, as the aristocratic; but with all respect to such an authority, we beg leave totally to differ from him. There is a conventional affectation, which a wicked world confounds with real personal honour, peculiar to the atmosphere of aristocracy, rife and pregnant with all the elements of political usurpation, personal assumption, and modern duelling. This sentiment of mischief, dares to borrow the plumes of an honest name and character, and puff itself off for what it is not—a genuine virtue far too sublime for a plebeian meridian! Within the circles of its influence, there strut up and down certain heroic Drawcansirs, with pistols in neat mahogany cases, or swords by their sides,—the envy of young subalterns at the Horseguards; and hoary Virginian or Kentucky planters, whose spirit of aristocracy, neither democratic institutions, nor the sweets of the sugar cane, nor the fumes of tobacco, have been able to eradicate. But, as to what Burke himself would describe, as 'the chastity,' of the virtue in question, our honest conviction is, that it is far more natural to liberalism, and the middle, or even the lower classes, when at all intelligent and educated, than it is to aristocracy and the upper ones. Its native air must be that which is most opposed to selfishness. Its essence must be the habit of doing towards others what we would they should do towards us. In other words, the golden rule of the gospel must be its guide; or at all events, the nearer its approximation to that, the more perfect will be the personal honour. A bankrupt having once compounded, and who afterwards, when he has it in his power, pays his creditors twenty shillings in the pound, displays more elevated feeling of this kind, than the high spirited and right honourable magnate who would scorn any individual participation in industrial or commercial pursuits; and who would play off ten thousand pranks of pecuniary meanness, under the privilege of peerage, were the pressure of necessity put upon him. We confidently appeal to the entire history of that defunct custom, once called Franking; to the notorious baseness and parsimony of aristocratic transactions, when either a governess is to be engaged, or a chaplain hired—or when, in short, anything is to be done in a sphere above that of menial life. It is not the liberal legacy left to some favourite valet, nor the enormous wages lavished upon the portly butler, nor the rich lace and gold upon the state liveries of powdered ser-

are unavoidably adapted to spoil them: 'they are born to power and pre-eminence, and they know, that do what they will they must ever continue to retain it. They see no superiors; their only intercourse is with rivals, or associates, or adherents, or inferiors. They are pampered by the gifts of fortune in various other shapes. Their industry is confined to the occupations which give a play to the bad passions, and do not maintain a healthy frame of mind. Intrigue, violence, malignity, revenge, are engendered in the wealthier members of the body, and the chiefs of parties. Insolence towards the people, with subserviency to their wealthier brethren, are engendered in the needy individuals of a body, which extends all its legal rights and privileges to its present members—too proud to work, not too proud to beg; mean enough to be the instruments of other men's misdeeds, base enough to add to their own!' These are not our words merely, be it remembered. They must come under the category, *ex ore tuo condemnavimus:* as also must the unbiassed testimony of the same noble and learned person, to the 'general dissoluteness of manners, self-indulgence, and extravagance,' inseparable from an aristocracy. He further assures us, that there is no form of government more odious to a people; tending as it does to oppression, vexation, and slavery. Few sovereigns, even in limited monarchies, are familiar with those whom they rule over; but 'patricians are far more near, and their yoke is more felt.' Oligarchy also is more quickly worshipped, than despotism. It seems more within the reach of every man. The case is just conceivable, wherein a peasant may become a peer, or the grandsire of one; as we have known ourselves in some remarkable instances. But Bernadotte is, perhaps, a solitary example in modern days, of a private soldier issuing forth from the ranks, ascending through all the military gradations, and living to adorn a throne. Hence, many subtle and mischievous notions worm their way into a community afflicted like our own. 'Men become possessed with exaggerated notions of the importance of their fellow citizens, in the upper classes; they bow to their authority as individuals, and not merely as members of the ruling body—transferring the allegiance, which the order claims, as due to the individuals of whom it is composed. They also ape their manners, and affect their society. Hence an end to all independent manly conduct.' In other words then, aristocracy must be considered an institution, pestilential in its influences upon the morals, manners, and welfare of mankind, the ablest among its own members being judges; for similar evidence might easily be multiplied from analogous quarters.

Quæ cum ita sint, as Cicero would say—what may there be to set off against such a catalogue of evils? Even Lord Brougham

admits, that they do 'not amount to anything like a complete equipoise in the scale.' Mutual support amongst patricians against popular ebullitions, composure and calmness amidst sudden panics, adherence to settled lines of foreign or domestic policy, are put forward in the foremost rank of advantages. Akin to these merits in aristocracy, is its innate reluctance to adopt any important improvements, even where their character as such is plain and palpable; all which we venture to think exceedingly antagonistic to the general weal, notwithstanding it may tend, under certain circumstances, 'to steady and balance the political machine.' Our noble author, however, holds quite a contrary opinion; and we shall furnish our readers with a short extract, lest misrepresentation should be suspected; although, of course, it would not be considered intentional:—

'The same quality of resisting change, and the same general firmness of purpose, belong to the aristocratic body, in all mixed governments. In these it is productive of great benefit, upon the whole, although it not unfrequently stands in the way of improvements, both constitutional, economical, and administrative. *The history of our own House of Lords abounds in examples sufficiently striking of these truths.* Whatever faults their enemies have imputed to the peers as a body, no one has been so unreflecting as to deny them the praise of firm, steadfast resolution, and of acting up to their resolves. But for their determination to resist measures which they deemed detrimental to the state, or to which *they had objections from a regard for the interests of their own order*, many measures of crude and hasty legislation would have passed in almost every parliament. If ever they have yielded, it has been when the voice of the country at large was so unanimous, and when they were so divided amongst themselves, that a further resistance became attended with greater mischiefs than any which they could ascribe to the operation of the proposed changes. One, indeed—the most remarkable instance of this concession—was their suffering the Reform Bill, in 1832, to pass, by seceding from the struggle. But the crown and the people were then united, and a creation of new peers, fatal to the aristocratic branch of the constitution, would have been the inevitable consequences of the bill being rejected. Of this its adversaries had timely notice, and they very wisely and patriotically suffered it to pass by their secession. *They have since amply regained any influence, which they then lost; for, during the last ten years, they have had a preponderating share in the government of the country.*'—p. 59.

The italics are ours, that we might draw particular attention to these extraordinary paragraphs. The recent affection of their noble and learned author for those, whom but a few years ago he ironically complimented, as 'possessing some glimmerings of understanding,' may amuse the public journals: yet to ourselves it always gives the heart-ache. The finger of scorn shall never be pointed in these pages to an eclipse of genius bordering upon

mental aberration. Our object rather is to show how the whole truth unconsciously comes out, just because it cannot be concealed,—that selfishness is the soul of an aristocracy. Where the polecat is coiled up, all the incense of flattery which rhetoric can offer, will never permanently hide the nuisance. We are further informed, that 'an aristocratic government will generally be found a pacific one:' from which we altogether dissent, and would adduce the conquests of Venice, and the military policy of Rome, besides numerous instances from the various oligarchies of the middle ages, to support our opinion. Tendencies moreover towards territorial acquisition turn upon position, and a thousand other circumstances, besides mere forms of government. Lord Brougham subsequently admits, that both the Tiber and Adriatic afford 'remarkable exceptions' to his general statement! But what, we would ask, was feudalism but an iron impersonation of aristocracy; and what system was ever more essentially pugnacious? Nor indeed can it be otherwise *ex naturâ rerum.* A privileged order must be an exclusive one: exclusiveness must generate selfishness: selfishness must, sooner or later, become acquisitive, and in fact covetous. This thirst after possession grows by what it feeds upon; more especially after power has put a gauntlet of steel upon its right hand. Venice once had qualms, for a very brief interval, with regard to making certain conquests: but her jurists soothed the public conscience into acquiescence, by avowing that 'the kingdoms under the whole heavens were the Lord's, and that He had given the earth to the children of men.' The Lion of St. Mark felt quite satisfied; and all sections of the then civilized world applauded or envied such conduct. Hence warfare and aggression are the most congenial elements in which aristocracy can live, move, and have its being. The prejudices of a peerage are most injurious things to the permanency of clear intellectual perceptions. Henry Brougham thought so in former and brighter times. We agree with him, that an aristocratic government will often encourage genius and proficiency in the arts and letters. So will a kind-hearted autocrat, and for the same reason. Whatever will turn away the popular mind from politics, is good in the judgment of crowns and coronets. Bread, bacon, wine, and shows, kept quiet the imperial metropolis, whilst Augustus and his successors forged their fetters for nations of slaves. Italian nobles proved munificent patrons to painters and sculptors. Architecture, poetry, and music, with all the rest of the nine, will find favour from an aristocracy, not for their real excellencies, so much as that they may play the parts of the Moabitish beauties towards the Israelites, and wean physical force from its rightful allegiance to liberty. This friendliness, however, to external taste and in-

tellectualism, which we would be as far as possible from underrating, together with the useful gradation of ranks, contributive as that may be to the preservation of social order, will constitute, as we believe, all the claims which aristocracy can really sustain for the suffrages or approval of mankind. Rome, Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Etolia, Corcyra, Achæa, Carthage, the States of Sicily, those of Asia Minor, the mediæval ones of Genoa, Milan, Florence, Sienna, Pisa, Bologna, Lucca, Switzerland, besides Poland and Hungary, upon a larger scale, will all and each corroborate our assertions. To analyze even two or three of these would absorb far more space than we have to spare; but as a specimen of what sort of fruits aristocracy bore in the middle ages, as it respected both sovereign and subjects, let us turn to the testimony of some of our own monkish historians, eye-witnesses of what they relate. William of Malmesbury presents us with the following account of A.D. 1140:

'The whole of this year was defaced by the horrors of civil war. Castles were everywhere fortified throughout the whole of England, each sheltering its own district; nay, rather, to speak more correctly, laying it waste. The soldiery of the barons, issuing forth from them, carried off the sheep and cattle, not sparing even the churches or cemeteries. The houses of the wretched peasantry were stript of every thing, even to their very straw thatch; and the inhabitants were bound or flung into prison. Many of them breathed their last in the tortures, which were inflicted in order to force them to ransom themselves. Nor could even bishops and monks pass in safety from town to town.' These spiritual peers, however, began to do as they were done by. 'Such,' says the author of the *Gesta Regis Stephani*, 'was the doleful aspect of our miseries, such the most dishonorable form of the sordid tragedy everywhere openly exhibited in England. Prelates themselves, shameful to tell, not indeed all of them, but very many, or a great proportion of the whole, armed and fully appointed, and mounted, did not scruple to join the haughty spoilers of the country, to partake of the plunder, and putting to the torture, or casting into dungeons, whatever soldiers they took, and imputing to their own followers all the outrages, of which they themselves were the authors. And to say nothing of the others, (for it would be indecent to blame all alike,) the principal censure of such impious proceedings fell upon the Bishops of Winchester, Chester, and Lincoln, as more intent than the rest upon such evil courses.' Nor was the Crown itself better treated by this chivalrous aristocracy. 'Their demands from the King,' declares William of Malmesbury, 'had no end: some would ask lands, some castles; in short, whatever they had a mind to, that they must have. If ever he delayed granting their requests, straightway they became incensed, and fortified their castles against him, plundering his lands to an enormous amount. His profusion never could satisfy them. The earls, who had not already been endowed with crown demesnes, rose against him: they became more greedy in their solicitations, and he more lavish in his grants.' William of Newberry informs

us, that 'he, the least of the saints of Christ, was born unto death in the first year of Stephen's reign, and again born unto life in the second year. In these days every one did as seemed good in his own eyes. The animosities of the provincial nobles waxing hot, castles had arisen in every part of the country, and there were in England as many kings, or rather tyrants, as there were owners to these fortresses. They so wasted with rapine and fire, the fairest regions, that in districts once the most fertile, all powers of growing grain were destroyed.' Matthew Paris, a century later, gives a similar account of the blessings of a nobility: 'There was no shelter from violence even in the shades of night. Every thing was wrapt in slaughter and conflagration. Shouts and wailings and shrieks of horror resounded on every side.' Roger Hoveden confirms his words.'

But some may here remark, that possibly these horrors were inseparable from the barbarism and savagery of those times. Magnates now walk upon carpets. Castles have become metamorphosed into manor-houses with umbrageous rookeries. Barons ride oftener in carriages than upon horses; and esquires only bear an exceedingly harmless sort of arms from the mystic archives of Heralds' College. True enough it is that *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis:* and therefore let us closely examine whether the genuine nature of aristocracy has undergone any great change; or whether the aspect under which we behold it, in the nineteenth century, presents us with mere modified externals. We shall soon see whether, in its resistance to measures presumed, or even allowed to be beneficial to the general welfare, it has been actuated by disinterested motives; or whether, as Lord Brougham intimates, '*their objection has been founded upon a regard to the interests of their own order:*' which intimation, should it prove a correct one, will deepen the grievance, also mentioned by his lordship, that 'during the last ten years our peerage has amply regained its influence,' having had throughout that period 'a preponderating share in the government of the country.' The volume, published by Mr. Macintyre, will render us no little assistance in this inquiry. Without going too far into his details, we shall touch in our own way upon the spirit and manner in which our nobility have acted with respect to the food, the taxation, and the religion of their fellow-subjects.

The shortest way to the heart of a man is said to be down his throat. Every nation has its favourite dish or diet; the Scotchman his haggis and oatmeal, the Irishman his potatoes, the Welchman his leek, the Spaniard his olla podrida, the Italian his macaroni, the Frenchman his soup and perhaps his frogs, but beyond all question the Englishman his roast beef and plum-pudding. Yet our ingenious author goes so far as to assert that

food is altogether power: that whoever can withhold for forty-eight hours the sustenance of another man, or of a thousand, or a million of men, retains that individual or multitude under his subjection. This he contends to be the grand secret of society for the last half myriad of years. The party, therefore, intending to govern, or enslave, must have an especial eye to the stomachs of its subjects: and, it must be admitted, that oligarchies in all ages and countries, and our own peerage amongst the foremost, have proceeded, whether consciously or not we will not now say, upon some such maxim. Joseph subjugated Egypt to Pharoah in this manner. Greek and Syracusan sovereigns founded their respective policies and dynasties on an analogous basis. The heroes of Homer, from Agamemnon downwards, were veritable shepherds to their people in more senses than one; for they considered their dependants as flocks, permitting them graciously to thrive, just so far as they might become materials to be thriven upon by their masters. So acted feudalism: so have all aristocracies acted: and so has acted our own. 'The horse is caught by the human biped,' says Mr. Macintyre; 'he is tamed through food; a bridle is put into his mouth; and the proudest of all animals bends his neck accordingly.' After a similar fashion Patricianism has fastened its yoke upon these realms. We have reiterated again and again, in this journal, that the aristocratic party, who were mainly instrumental in effecting the revolution of 1688, betrayed the interests of the people by not at the same time establishing the principles of a full and faithful popular representation. Instead of doing so honest an action, they shuffled the cards for compassing the preservation of their own privileges and ascendancy. William III. suffered bitterly from the nest of hornets which had hived under his elective throne. He perceived that the higher orders preyed upon the lower ones: that the House of Commons was packed by the House of Lords, through the grossest venality and bribery: that voters were bought 'as cattle at a market:' that noble traitors moved the springs of government, to embarrass the Crown, and plague or starve the people. He therefore insisted on a restoration of the land tax, together with other imposts, thrown as much as possible upon property, that industry and the humbler classes might be relieved. At length, irritated by his refractory courtiers, in notorious correspondence with the exiled James, and allured by some of his more rapacious followers into acts scarcely constitutional, he threatened to abdicate unless a compromise were made. The domestic affairs of the kingdom were to be abandoned pretty much to the governing party, provided his majesty might be allowed to carry on his foreign policy by British means. 'By this arrangement the domination of the

aristocracy was consolidated; and that terrible curse of a national debt was begun, to defray the expenses of continental wars.' From William III. to George II. aristocratic legislation took its natural course. Its grand object was to augment the value of land; to attach to that kind of property every conceivable immunity; and to render its rental increasingly productive. 'The game laws, replete with the worst spirit, were passed in the year 1753,' and reminded Englishmen of the dark ages. Our rulers, imagining that cheap food would best answer their purpose, (as in a certain sense it undoubtedly would,) within ten years after the accession of George III., discontinued the bounty on the exportation of wheat, and opened their ports for foreign grain. The conclusion of the American war, however, threw them upon still more selfish, though less beneficial measures. They were now getting jealous of the manufacturing and commercial interests; whilst revolutionary principles in France so alarmed our sensitive nobles, on this side the channel, that they ranged themselves, with rare exceptions, under the banners of the altar and monarchy, against all rights of mankind whatsoever. They passed a law in 1791, prohibiting the importation of bread-corn, unless the prices were above 54 shillings a quarter in the home market. William had saddled the landed interest with an impost of four shillings in the pound; or, in other terms, no less than twenty per cent. upon the then rental. The aristocracy 'having entered into that terrible struggle with France, which has caused such miseries to this country, fixed by law a limit to the tax on land, and rated the amount at about the same price as it had been ninety years before. The amount of land-tax, to be for ever collected, was limited to about £2,000,000 per annum, with the privilege of redemption by landowners; and at the end of fifty years from the passing of the law, the amount has dwindled down to about £1,200,000.' When the land tax was first imposed, our landed rental was hardly more than about ten millions sterling per annum; of which no less than two were contributed, and that justly, to the public treasury. Since that time, our landed rental has quintupled; but in lieu of paying ten millions of land tax, the consciences of an aristocracy and squirearchy are perfectly satisfied with matters as they are! The church blesses them in a composition with their creditors, whereby they exactly contribute half a crown to the revenue instead of an honest sovereign. On this count alone our aristocracy, as a system, is chargeable with having robbed the country during the last fifty years, to the extent of four hundred millions sterling, or nearly a moiety of the entire national debt!

Not that cheap food was any longer an object with the British aristocracy, in thus relieving the land which produces it from

this enormous share of fiscal burthens. The load was to be shifted from the shoulders of property to those of industry; for it had now been discovered that high prices would support high rents. Hence came the corn laws, with all their atrocities and absurdities; avowedly claimed and acknowledged by a large majority of the peerage as their own offspring, as essential to their own maintenance, as the foundations upon which their corinthian columns are to stand or fall. For the last quarter of a century, these laws, on the most moderate calculation, have at least raised the price of the first article of life about ten millions per annum; so that here we have another count against the aristocracy, of having inflicted on the country, since the Peace, an aggregate expense for bread alone to the extent of two hundred and fifty millions sterling. But what shall we say to the whole mass of provision duties, with regard to which Lord Stanley declared, as Secretary to the Government, 'that it was necessary to keep up prices, and thereby rents, for the sake of the farmers, the landlords, but, above all, the humbler classes;'—what shall be answered to them, in better keeping with truthfulness, than the following extracts from Mr. Macintyre?

'In pursuing these subjects into their depths and tortuosities, the mind is alternately roused by the enormity of the injustice, or excited by the folly and simplicity displayed; and the pen wavers on the line, between the denouncement of the enormity, and the expression of the sense of the ridiculous, as seen in the spectacle of an order of nobles, maintained chiefly by a morsel from the penny loaf of this agricultural labourer, and a bite from the lean bacon of another,—from contributions infinitesimally collected from the artisans crowded amidst the smoke and filth of our large cities, which add to wealth imperceptibly but surely, like the sweatings of sovereigns to the hoard of the Jew. Every anvil delivers its quota, through the food which strengthens the arm that wields the hammer; and a driblet from every pot of porter that washes the throat and cheers the stout heart of the bargeman, sends its representative to the table of the duke. What heaps of wealth are squeezed out of these countless swarms in cotton mills; but oh! what agony is endured in the process! Even the little printer-boy, who brings the sheets from the press to the author, has paid his tax to the aristocracy, through the breakfast his mother prepared for him in the morning. It has been demonstrated, that a family in easy circumstances, spending at the rate of about 250*l.* a year in provisions of all kinds, is charged in the prices of the articles from 20 to 25 per cent., *as an advance that accrues to the landowners*, in consequence of laws which tax food, or restrict its importation into this country. This will make a contribution of from 50*l.* to 60*l.* a year. Be it observed, that 250*l.* a year spent in provisions will measure a gross income of about 1,000*l.*, so that the 50*l.* and 60*l.* of tax to the landed interest amounts to from 5 to 6 per cent. only on that sum. ***But as the income diminishes, the ratio of the tax increases.***

'It has been shown that a man with 500*l.* a year spends in provisions 166*l.*; a man with 250*l.* spends 105*l.*; so that the first contributes 6½ to 8 per cent., and the second contributes from 8½ to 10½ per cent. to enable my Lord Dashly to speculate in horses, run his carriages, sport with his ladies, hire his French cooks or Swiss valets, and to pay the interest on money borrowed of usurers, assurance companies, and other wealthy parties; or to indulge the rural tastes of Lord Landly, gracefully exhibited in the extension of his pleasure grounds, in the addition to his gardeners, or in the increase of his grooms.'—*Macintyre*, pp. 391, 2.

We have hitherto rather mingled the subjects of food and taxation together, because it is almost impossible to separate them in exhibiting the mischievous effects upon both of aristocratic legislation. The same principle runs throughout our whole fiscal system. Robbery, in ermine and scarlet, has had for a protracted period the task in its own hands of arranging governmental revenues! *Trahit sua quemque voluptas.* It can be no enemy, as an Irishman would say, to its own flesh and blood, its own kith and kin. Of these, indeed, it has taken such effectual care, that Opulence revels in luxury, whilst Poverty pays the piper! In our customs and excise, our imposts levied on consumable articles, our direct taxes, there will be apparent this one unavoidable result: duties will be found almost invariably to have been laid on the quantities, and not on the value of the various subjects falling within the grasp of the executive. Thus, for instance, tobacco furnishes a striking example of what we mean; referring to matters as they stood, until last year. Ordinary Virginia costs about three pence per pound; the duty stands at three shillings, or twelve hundred per cent. on the prime cost of the article. Fine Virginia costs about sixpence; the duty stands at three shillings, or about six hundred per cent. on the prime cost. Best yellow Maryland costs about fifteen pence; the duty is three shillings, or only about two hundred and forty per cent. But Havannah cigars, which cost at first about eight shillings and sixpence a pound, pay no more duty than nine shillings, which comes to only a fraction above cent. per cent. on the prime cost. In this case, it will be perceived, the poorer classes pay double the duty that the middle classes do; and five times as much as the better classes do; and a dozen times as much as the gentleman. Who can fail to discern, the real authors of such enactments,—stone blind to the glaring injustice,—oblivious of smuggling, with all its fearful consequences,—only mindful of themselves, and their temporary advantages? Take, again, sugar, as another example, now amongst the necessaries of life. Brown and soft Muscovado cost twenty-five shillings per hundred weight; the duty is one

pound four shillings, or about 96 per cent. on the prime cost. The middling Muscovados cost twenty-eight shillings; the duty is no higher than on the former sorts, or about 86 per cent. on the first price. The fine kinds are worth about thirty-seven shillings per cwt.; the duty is 24, or about 65 per cent., whilst the double-refined pay only the same impost, although they bear a value of seventy-one shillings per cwt., being thus taxed at the rate merely of about 34 per cent. So here again, the poorer classes pay nearly one-half more than the middle classes, and nearly three times as much as the higher ones. This refers to colonial sugars only; since the case becomes vastly stronger if we take the East Indian or foreign article. Soap pays excise upon analogous principles; the washer-woman contributing a double amount to the treasury, in proportion to countesses and duchesses, who wash their faces in oil, and breakfast upon pensions and sinecures. Wines are treated in the same way. The inferior ports, frequently used by our respectable tradesmen, have had to pay 165 per cent., under the head of custom, upon their prime cost, whilst the first growth of claret merely pays about 28 per cent. We are well aware of all the dust which has been thrown in the eyes of the public, through old Methuen treaties and modern commercial tariffs. But amidst the confusion, let our ten pound voters keep well in mind, that our law-makers for five generations have taken care that their sensual enjoyments should pass as much as possible scot-free, whenever the screw was to receive another turn into the purses of our fat and good humoured burgesses. Take another article, such as currants: these, together with raisins, used to yield, and will now, half a million to the revenue; but this was effected at the expense of the poorer and middle sections of society, the chief consumers. Whigs have formerly been as bad as tories in these respects; for the genius of oligarchy has ever wanted to be exorcised out of the former as well as the latter. In their late scale of tea-duties, the *Westminster Review* demonstrated that a distinction was made between the consumption of the poor and rich, equivalent to 120 per cent. in favour of the wealthy, while the middle classes have to pay double the duty of the higher ones! The matter, said one of the ablest contributors to that journal, may be stated thus: 'the poor shall pay an *ad valorem* duty of 200 per cent. on their consumption; the middle classes shall pay 180; and the privileged classes shall pay only 90! This is, in reality, within a minute fraction of the state of the facts.' The atrociously unfair dealing of the legislature with regard to the land-tax we have already glanced at; but it is curious to contrast the difference of its conduct, when submitting its own fleece to the shears of collection, and

when called upon to clip that of another nation. A very few years prior to the British Parliament having enacted a law, fixing their own land-tax in perpetuity at four shillings in the pound, on a careless and imperfect assessment, made one hundred years before, they had passed an act fixing the land-tax of India at 18*s.* in the pound, on a modern and inquisitorial assessment. This they called creating an Indian landed aristocracy. 'Sir,' said the farmer to the lawyer, in the fable, 'my ox has gored one of yours; how shall the matter be settled?' 'Oh,' easily enough,' replied the man of papers; 'you must give me one of yours as an equitable compensation.' 'But,' said the complainant, 'I have made a mistake; for it was one of *your* oxen which has gored one of *mine*.' 'Ah,' cried the lawyer, 'that makes a wonderful difference; you should have been accurate in your first statement: get along, you rascal!' *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur,* England must say to her peerage.

One more illustration we cannot pass over, and that is the house tax, of which the originator was no less a person than the celebrated Adam Smith, who intended it to reach the incomes and ostentation of the wealthier orders. The privileged sons of Zeruiah proved however too much for him. They not only contrived to establish a most delusive classification, as fraught with fraud as Sir Robert Peel's sliding-scale, but the mode of rating to the duty placed the public at the mercy of surveyors appointed either directly or indirectly by the aristocracy. Hence arose a partiality towards their patrons, we believe without a parallel even in this country. Chatsworth, the almost regal seat of the Duke of Devonshire, was rated at no more than 400*l.* a year; Stowe and Blenheim at only 300*l.* a year; Eaton Hall, which absorbed three quarters of a million sterling, at the same; Alnwick and Belvoir Castles at 200*l.*; Bishops Auckland and Hatfield at no more; Godolphin Park at but 150*l.*; and Euston Hall, the palace of the Duke of Grafton, at 100*l.* sterling! This last magnate figures high amongst those who ought to be designated as public paupers; his two hereditary pensions from the Excise and Post Office amounting to 11,900*l.* per annum! All the years that the house tax lasted, the London Tavern was rated at 1000*l.* a year; the White Hart at Bath at 900*l.*; the Plough at Cheltenham at 850*l.*; the Old Ship at Brighton at 750*l.*; Lacey's Hotel at Manchester at 600*l.* We cull these instances at random from the regular returns. Nottingham Castle, the provincial town-house of the Duke of Newcastle, was rated at only 100*l.* a year to the house-duty; but when his grace demanded compensation for some damage inflicted on his mansion, in a riot, he remembered the lawyer in Esop, and contrived to extract from the unfortunate Hundred no less than 20,000*l.*! Its

value might be fairly estimated at about 250,000*l.*; so that his contribution, under the head of house duty, ought to have been 2000*l.* a year at least, taking rate, and value, and class, fairly into consideration, as Adam Smith intended; instead of which it was only a shilling under fourteen guineas per annum! And this is the *chastity of honour*, declared by the great master of rhetoric to be peculiarly inherent to an order of nobility! The window-tax would be found little better, had we room for its dissection. So again, when an ordinary individual erects a new habitation he had to pay duty upon bricks, tiles, and timber, and has still on the first and last of them. But the grandee—the proprietor of veins of clay, quarries of sandstone, granite, and marble, or forests of oak, fir, larch, and beech, may avoid the levy altogether, with proper management. Felling his own woods, working his own pits, making his own bricks, will carry him through clear: so long, we mean, as these articles are not sold, but only retained for private use. About melting his own glass we are not so sure; but the anomaly is quite sufficiently enormous as it stands. Verily has an oligarchy so moulded our Exchequer, that if it be the rich man's paradise, it is the poor man's purgatory. For the latter, a fearful Excise never slumbers nor sleeps.

Quis tam crudeles optavit sumere pœnas?

Even the stamps exhibit similar features; although one might have thought that the *Vectigal Chartæ*, being of Dutch origin, must of necessity wear a more mercantile aspect. But conveyances, for instance, are so arranged, that the lesser fry of purchasers have to pay from five per cent. downwards and upwards; the large leviathans only from one per cent. downwards. An estate of half a million may change owners under a stamp duty of about one-fifth merely per cent. The stamp for the lease of a cottage worth 10*l.* per annum is 1*l.*; that for a farm at a rent of 1000*l.* per annum, or any higher amount, and therefore worth 30,000*l.* and upwards, as the case may be, only pays 10*l.*; so that the peasant has to pay ten times more than the capitalist, the gentleman, or the noble. It was the profound, yet just remark, of a keen financier, ten years ago, that 'the problem of the aristocracy in all things, has been to lay taxes so that the degree in which every man shall pay a greater share in proportion to his poverty *shall be a maximum!*' The minimum that same system has reserved for its own members; for, as is well known, whilst personal property, the general support of the middle and lower classes, has to pay legacy and probate duties from one to ten per cent., the vast landed fees of our dukes, marquises, earls, barons, baronets, and squirearchy,

can and do claim an entire exemption! The Buccleugh, Northumberland, and Stafford estates, such as many European sovereigns might well covet, and which exceed far the entire revenues ever dreamt of by the father, and various reigning relatives of our own queen's consort, all descend from generation to generation, paying nothing. It is said, we know not how truly, that Lord Westminster may ere long possess a rental coming up, in the gross, to a thousand pounds sterling per diem; which of course would be worth from ten to eleven millions sterling. This immense estate might go to a tenth cousin without any will being made, and without contributing a single sixpence to the public treasury. 'But if the heir, whoever it might be, contributed in the same ratio with the inheritor of a paltry 200*l.*, he would have to pay into the Exchequer, as legacy duty, 1,100,000*l.*, and as probate duty 440,000*l.*; in all, 1,540,000*l.*' We are aware that, *in fact*, no probate duty is payable above a million; which again only demonstrates to a nicety how tender our magnates always are of their own order, and even of the wealthy capitalist who may venture sometimes to vie with it. We could proceed much further, were there any occasion for it, which there is not. We simply charge the aristocracy with having so contrived these imposts as to have plundered the country, during the last century and a half, of an aggregate of millions sterling, which our readers may imagine more accurately than we can venture to state it. We need not stay to prove that, substantially, during that period, the House of Commons has been under the control and nomination of the House of Lords down to the Reform Bill; or that whenever a removal of grievances has been called for, *they have had their objections!* We must hasten forward to snatch a peep at the manner in which an aristocracy bears upon religion and the rights of conscience.

It must be borne in mind too that this aristocracy is our own, and like all others must be judged by its results. The world is surely old enough not to expect grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. No one will therefore be startled at perceiving the sword and sceptre of monopoly extended into the innermost recesses of the human soul. A proud and pampered peerage has always declared, that it must have high prices put upon the necessaries of this life, that its social position may be maintained; whilst at the same time, *proh pudor!* the hopes and fears of a life to come must also acknowledge its influence, to defend us from fanaticism and revolution. Hence the presumed necessity for an Established Church; which church, moreover, must have a creed and discipline precisely squared upon such religious model as the before-mentioned aristocracy may think

proper; for 'there is nothing like leather,' and there are noble scions to be provided for—brothers to be manufactured into bishops, sons to be turned into deans and prebendaries, nephews and relations and connexions to be thrust into fat livings, warm glebe-houses, and sundry anonymous preferments, *sine curâ animarum!* The episcopal bench also must be placed in the upper chamber, that oligarchy and hierarchy may be blended, that mitres may mingle with coronets, that lawn sleeves may secure veneration for scarlet robes, that the State may be supposed to have a conscience, and that if democracy should roar for reformation, abuses screened from observation may seem to be attacked or denounced through the sides and shield of religion! In this way have our rulers confounded things temporal with things spiritual; whilst to feed the monstrous fraud, endowments, to the extent of millions upon millions, go to nourish a political priesthood, and secularize that which is holy. Nor is this all; for to protect the entire system there must be terrors as well as allurements; thunderbolts for opponents, as well as rewards and dainties for adherents. Hence have arisen all the blessings of church-rates, ecclesiastical courts, surrogates, proctors, chancellors, and Doctors Commons; through whose means the enthroned Establishment opens her palms for fees and payments, out of the wills of testators, the effects of the departed, the nuptials of her children when married, and their matrimonial quarrels afterwards. The most sacred institution of God is thus metamorphosed into a painted harlot. Her love of money is strong as death; her jealousy of power cruel as the grave. Is she told of catholics and nonconformists in the land? her pride will recognise the existence of neither the one nor the other. Is she assured that these two, taken together in the United Kingdom, reach a number nearly twice that of her own followers? what is that to her: 'We are the people, and wisdom will die with us; the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we!' Is national education called for, even through a benevolent member of the governing class? her reply is, 'Take it, then, upon the moderate conditions that we nominate all the schoolmasters, and hold the helm of the whole matter! Our modesty is only paralleled by our toleration, for *we are the Catholics of England and Ireland;* and what have we to do with the idolatries of Romanism, or the radical scruples of sectarians?' These are in effect their very professions and expressions, appealing, as we now do, to the 'Oxford Tracts' and the 'Record' newspaper! Aristocracy and an established hierarchy are but Siamese twins, united by the ligament of exclusiveness. They have always been ready to hunt down the rights of private judgment together, just so far as public opinion would permit them.

After the Restoration, zealous efforts were carried forward in the House of Lords to restore the Star Chamber, and a committee of peers went so far as to report that such a court 'was fit for the good of the nation.' They longed for the ears of any rising Prynnes, or Bastwicks, or Leightons, who might summon out of the dust another Marprelate to make Archbishop Laud whisper from his sepulchre, were it possible, that vengeance had once brought a metropolitan to the block, and might perhaps do it again. By the conduct of our privileged Patricians, from the reign of Queen Anne to that of Queen Victoria, we are ready to let our assertion stand or fall, that no oligarchy can ever be brought to respect fully the rights of conscience. The Corporation and Test Acts in former days, or the recent Marriage and Registration Bills, are but specimens illustrative of what we mean. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas,* we may rely upon it, is substantially neither more nor less than the genuine motto of our aristocracy.

If, then, such be its character and consequences at home, does it improve under the survey, when its operations are considered abroad, with respect to its foreign policy? We think not. Lord Brougham would indeed imply that our diplomacy, having been impregnated with the leaven of that system which is now under investigation, must be essentially pacific. Yet, let us look into the evidence, going even no further back than the Revolution. When William was straining every nerve against Louis XIV., did any influential section of the peerage restrain, or endeavour to restrain, his majesty's warlike propensities? Quite the reverse. Both whig and tory lords fanned every spark of mischief into a conflagration. They coquetted with the royal exiles. They acted as hired spies to the enemy. From twenty-five to thirty of them are criminated by the Dalrymple and Macpherson papers. Marlborough communicated to the French ministry the secret of an expedition against Brest. They sowed the seeds of future conflicts by the measures into which they coerced their sovereign at Ryswick. In the war of the Spanish succession, when, after the victories of Blenheim and Ramillies, peace might have been attained, they banded with Godolphin, Eugene, and Heinsius, to protract the struggle, which covered them with military glory and indefinite emoluments. The treaty of Utrecht, bad as it was in itself, and good only so far as it staunched the wounds of Europe, required a dozen new creations to sanction it. What shall be said to the affairs of Aix-la-Chapelle and Paris, in 1748 and 1763, when, through the influence of peers, our commercial were sacrificed to our colonial interests; the latter being valuable to the nobles, and the former only to the nation at large? What was it which

plunged us into the grand continental Mäclstrom of 1793?—when the son of Lord Chatham forsook his earlier principles and pledges, and cast in his lot for life with the opponents of the people? His excuse was, that massacre was riding over an adjacent kingdom upon a war-horse drenched in gore; yet what had we to do with ought else than to protect our own shores? Orators strove to frighten women and children with visions of confusion and revolution; but William Pitt perfectly knew that, notwithstanding a few treasonable societies in London, our middle and respectable classes had a detestation equal to his own of everything really connected with pillage and disorder. They had in the aggregate far more to lose by tumult and confiscation, than the proud patricians, or their nominees in the House of Commons. The noble craftsmen of Ephesus, however, played their part to admiration, amidst the cheers of toryism and the benedictions of the clergy. Hostilities against the enemies of God and man filled every mouth and every mind. The press, the pulpit, and, high over all, the House of Lords, resounded with denunciations against republicans and levellers. Religion, as usual, was much upon the lips of some of the most profligate wretches upon earth; but the object nearest and dearest was to defend the image of the great goddess Diana, which fell down out of heaven from Jupiter,—the peerage! Let Colonel Napier be heard, even with regard to the Peninsular war; when the restoration of Ferdinand VII. loomed dimly in the distant prospect: 'the occult source of difficulty is to be found in the inconsistent attempts of the British cabinet to uphold national independence, with internal slavery, against foreign aggression, with an ameliorated government. The clergy, who led the mass of Spanish patriots, clung to the English, *because they supported aristocracy and church domination.* The British ministers hating Napoleon, not because he was the enemy of England, but because he pretended to be the champion of equality, cared not for Spain, unless the people were enslaved. They were willing enough to use a liberal cortes to defeat Buonaparte, but they also desired to put down that cortes by the aid of the clergy and the more bigoted part of the people.' We conscientiously believe that liberty has scarcely ever been sacrificed in any country upon the face of the earth, in modern times, without an English aristocrat assisting at the ceremony: from the Lilliputian republics of Parga or Genoa, to the more colossal, but not more atrocious crimes, which have rendered us lords of Delhi and Hindostan, from the Bay of Bengal to the boundaries of the Himmalaya and the Indus.

It strikes us, therefore, that Mr. Macintyre is right, and Lord

Brougham wrong, as to their views, of the political philosophy and influences of aristocratic governments. The former proves most satisfactorily that the labourer, with wages of ten shillings a week, has to pay direct and indirect taxation *on his food about* 50 *per cent.*, whilst the patrician, with a rental of 100,000*l.* a year, receives, in that sum, a bonus from the corn laws about *four times the amount of all the taxes*, direct and indirect, which he contributes to the support of the government of the country. The diffusion of one such simple truth in politics, may be compared to the discovery by Hervey of the circulation of the blood, in surgery. It will revolutionize that department of knowledge to which it belongs. It was remarked by one of our glowing philanthropists in July, 1834, that 'it is clear what the grand catastrophe will be, when the charcoal of the less educated classes comes into combination with the nitre of the more intelligent; if somebody, in the meanwhile, has not courage and honesty to begin systematically taking down the sense of injustice, which may at any moment clap a match to the whole mine! Knowledge is every day pouring revolutionary gunpowder through new chinks and crannies communicating with one another, till society is becoming a moving volcano, like a leaky ammunition waggon, wanting only a collision with any accidental flint on the road to bring on an explosion. The whigs have shown themselves neither honest enough nor bold enough to undertake the remedy; they are afraid to risk themselves in the magazine, lest it should blow up while they are in it. Will the public follow anybody else? Will they follow those who explain to them the evil, and are therefore as likely to remove it as those who take pains to hold their tongues? The whole dispute is in a nutshell; it is, whether the higher classes are to rob the lower and middle ones?' Presuming the writer of these remarks to be no other than the gallant officer, who has so distinguished himself as the author of the Catechism on the Corn Laws, we cannot forbear expressing our general concurrence in his apprehensions. It appears to us, that in accordance with an article in the Review he once conducted, there should be no seasonable opportunity omitted of discussing Peerage Reform. No senatorial body, says the Westminster Reviewer, has undergone greater or more frequent modifications than the House of Lords. To usher in the glories of the Reformation, about thirty-six spiritual peerages were at once extinguished; an enormous extent of change, 'when viewed in relation with the circumstances under which it occurred, and the proportion which the number of mitred abbots bore to their lay associates. Towards the close of that century, the Writ of Summons, by a construction of law, was held to convey an

inheritable earldom or barony; whilst in earlier ages it had only given a right of sitting in the parliament for which it was issued. Under Charles I., as all know, the custom of holding proxies was circumscribed; the bishops were driven from their bench; and the house in which they sat was abolished. After the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, it was proposed and carried amongst the peers, that their members should thenceforward be limited, and the crown deprived of its most important prerogative relating to their creation. The acts of union with Scotland and Ireland added new varieties to their constitution. Forty-four elective temporal lords, and thirty ecclesiastical ones, some chosen for life, some for a parliament, some for a single session, as in the instance of Irish prelates, form strange anomalies in a chamber of legislation, whose grand characteristics are hereditary right, and irresponsible power. We have paid a good deal of attention, since Mr. Laing published his Travels in Norway, to the construction of the upper House in that singularly interesting and prosperous country. Its Storthing, or parliament, is triennial; of which the first act after its election is to set apart one fourth of its members to form the Lagthing, or upper chamber; answering in fact to an elective House of Lords. When a measure has passed both the chambers, it is presented to the sovereign for consent. If he agrees, all is well; but should he decline in three successive sessions, the proposed enactment, having so often received the approval of the two chambers, becomes of itself a law, even without the royal acquiescence. Liberalism, indeed, pervades the entire Norwegian constitution; but it is to the selection of the higher assembly that we just now would point public attention. It forms a perfectly distinct and separate House, with its own apartment and its own officers. In it the deliberative functions of the legislative body are invested. No bills can have their initiative there; but those coming up from the Odelsthing, or lower house, may be approved, amended, or rejected. It is also a court of impeachment; and this social form of government subsists under the joint guarantee of Great Britain and Russia. Why should not the former look to her own kindred constitution, which has been found not to work well; seeing that the Norwegians flourish under theirs, in its amended form? They have paid off their national debt to the perfect satisfaction of all parties concerned. It appears to us well worth investigation, whether, since some considerable organic changes amongst ourselves can be at no great distance, we might not condescend to borrow a hint or two from Scandinavian Christiania? Supposing public opinion should ever abolish our present peerage, might not lords become just as eligible as commoners to be

elected to parliament; which parliament might select by ballot, say one hundred of its number, to form the upper chamber, the crown having the power to add to it a certain number more, say fifty, out of the same parliament, to complete the complement? We merely throw out the idea for wiser and abler heads to shape into better form, should it be deemed worth while making the attempt. All the political horizon around us seems lowering with difficulties and peril. The heterogeneous contrarieties of our present system are tottering to their foundations, even before the tempest burst; what will they do in the full crisis of the storm? The conviction is becoming universal, that matters cannot go on as they are. Our institutions for the last century and a half stand convicted both of legislative larceny, and of other grave misdemeanors. It will be terrible to see these all laid prostrate in the dust, through popular indignation and violence, without our fellow-countrymen being prepared in some degree beforehand with a well-digested plan for their re-construction. Titles need not be annihilated, if people really wish to preserve them. It is no desire of ours to see the surface of society planed down to a dead level. Let all useful gradations abide their time; and let change from beginning to end rather assume the shape of gradual modification than sudden revolution. But, in order to avoid the last, we must assuredly entertain the first. We commend all these matters with cheerful confidence to the consideration of our readers, the good sense and kindly feelings of the higher, middle, and lower classes, and, above all, to the merciful guidance and benediction of an omniscient and omnipotent Providence.

Art. II. *Of the Moral Principle of the Atonement. Also of Faith; and of its two sorts, Conviction and Confidence, and of the connexion between them.* By the Rev. John Penrose, M.A., formerly of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; author of the Bampton Lecture Sermons for 1808, and of an Inquiry into the Nature and Discipline of Human Motives. London: 1843.

We have seldom met with a book presenting stronger temptations to minor criticisms than this. Written on a theological question, not only of great importance, but of great distinctness, and with a studious display of elaborateness and accuracy, it violates egregiously all the ordinary rules and proprieties of discussion. A large portion of the volume, for example, consists of what the author calls 'supplementary dissertations,' which might have been valuable enough had they related to topics really supplementary to his main argument; in point of fact,

however, in many cases they are a resumption of that argument itself, and contain matter which ought clearly to have been inwrought with it. We should no doubt be doing so able and experienced a writer injustice by such a supposition, but the effect is the same as if he had been struck by after thoughts, which he has chosen to furnish out in fragments, rather than encounter the difficulty—we should say the labour, for in no other sense could it have been a difficulty—of incorporating them. A similar fault occurs in his references to holy writ. Rather early in the work we have one whole chapter devoted to the exposition (such as it is) of texts of Scripture; and a long while afterwards we have another, of which the following is the title—'A Particular Exposition of Various Tenets of Scripture, not included among those explained in Chapter iii., but which bear directly or indirectly on what has been said.'—(*Contents.*) And, to crown all, we have a concluding chapter ycleped 'Fragments,' or, more at large, (p. 19) 'a very fragmentary collection of observations and maxims;' the sweepings, of course, of a studious man's portfolio. The effect of the whole is to render the discussion desultory, to distract the attention of the reader, and to leave a confused rather than a definite impression. So far as the author himself is concerned, it might not be difficult, perhaps, to suggest an apology for the fault we have noticed, inasmuch as, if he delivered the Bampton Lectures five-and-thirty years ago, he must now be advancing in life, and may plead some of the infirmities of age; but we have thought it right, nevertheless, to make our animadversions, in order that such writers, at least, as stand in fear of our critical judgment, may not draw Mr. Penrose's example into a precedent.

We hasten away from matters of minor criticism, however, in order to pay our best attention to the very important topics to which our author has devoted his thoughts, and invited ours. According to the title of his book, he treats 'of the moral principle of the atonement;' not meaning by this phrase what, perhaps, in the first instance, many would have supposed him to mean, and therefore making it necessary for us, before we can proceed to any remarks, to bring his intention clearly before our readers.

He begins, then, with the somewhat indefinite—we might perhaps say, with the extremely cautious—statement, that 'we can have no right to urge Christ's most true and real sacrifice, or satisfaction for the sins of the world, as having any influence on the Divine power or will, except through that effect which it both has, and was intended to have, in restoring to man the moral image of his Maker, and in advancing him in the way of holiness,' p. 16. When the full meaning of this language comes

out, we find it to be this—that the whole efficacy of the death of Christ to save lies in its power with us as a motive to repentance, and that it has no effect at all in satisfying the Divine honour and justice, or in rendering it fit that God should grant 'the inestimable blessings obtained through that precious blood-shedding,' p. 61. Hence our author considers God in this awful transaction as merely subjecting us to a process of 'education' (we use his own term), or as employing a moral means with us. This is what he intends by 'the moral principle of the atonement'—its adaptation, namely, to exhibit influentially to us the evil of sin, the law of God, and other kindred truths; and to this he confines its efficacy and design. As a brief exhibition of his views in his own words, we may cite the following passage from the Fragments.

'Man is the *subject* of Christianity. Is not the whole *object* which Christianity sets before him just as simple, and to be understood with as little refining, as that which a child understands his father to mean, in saying to him, 'I will forgive you the past, if you will behave well for the future'? Is not everything else in Christianity either fact or argument by which man, its *subject*, is to be influenced; almost all these facts or arguments being in proof of, or for the purpose of impressing, the great twofold doctrine, that man is a sinner, but that God loves him still?'—pp. 460, 461.

In accordance with this, our author maintains 'the natural availableness of repentance, or rather our ground, abstractedly from revelation, for hoping that God will blot out our past sins on our forsaking sin, and studying to please him by future holiness,' p. 49. 'And, indeed, who sees not,' he adds, 'that, since all men are sinners, the alternative is unavoidable that, either God will accept repentance, or if not repentance, yet an imperfect virtue, or none can be saved,' (p. 51.) The doctrine of imputed righteousness, consequently, as commonly held among protestants, and the distinction between deliverance from the penalty and deliverance from the power of sin, he utterly disowns. The sense in which he holds the imputation of Christ's righteousness he explains as follows:—

'Christ's righteousness is said to be imputed to us, and we accepted for its sake, as it is infused or made inherent in us through faith: or, in other words, as we are led to imitate his divine example, and follow his holy law. Than this doctrine so explained, nothing can be truer or more important. This, in point of fact, is the one cardinal doctrine of salvation by Christ, namely, that we are saved or accepted through our own moral application, through the Spirit, of what Christ has done, and suffered, and taught; a doctrine not altered, though I think embarrassed, by the use of the much too technical word, imputation.'—pp. 76, 77.

Our author is clearly of opinion, that a sinner, when he is 'at length imperfectly doing his duty,,' is 'working out a title to the favour of God' (p. 225.); and he strenuously advocates the restored use of the term 'merit,' in this relation. Nay, he would ascribe to such a course the character of atonement; and would not 'scruple'—he thinks hardly any man 'would,'—'to urge a sinner to endeavour, through God's grace, to make amends and atone for his sins, by living well for the time to come.' (p. 225.)

Our author treats likewise of faith; but of faith in Christ, in what may be called the evangelical sense of the term, he knows nothing. What his views are on this point, will appear by the following citation:—

> 'That the moral will to please God, or to obey him, or to base our wills on his, or to act accordingly, (all which forms of expression mean only the same thing,) must in all who know and acknowledge, or have the means of knowing, his power and goodness, be absolutely necessary to the being accepted or saved by him. But the having this will is the having faith, in that sense of the word faith in which only it is directly available to the rendering us acceptable in God's sight.
>
> 'That all to whom Christianity is revealed, and who receive it, can be saved only if Christians; that is, if they add to their faith (or confidence) in God, faith also (or confidence) in Christ'—pp. 180, 181.

We do not know that we need do more, in order to present an effective general view of the system advocated by Mr. Penrose. To the great bulk of our readers, the mere exhibition of it will suffice to secure its rejection, as 'another gospel, which is not another'; but, as much is doing at the present time to give currency and prevalence to sentiments substantially resembling it, we shall take the opportunity of making a few observations.

We begin by remarking, that we are not to be understood as defending all whom our author assails, or as identifying ourselves with the entire phraseology which he condemns. When he cites divines, who represent the death of Christ as an inducement or motive with God to forgive sins, we concur with him in deprecating the use of such language as incorrect and incautious, and as adapted to conceal that aspect of divine love to sinners, which undoubtedly beams most gloriously in the atonement. But the same effect does not result from regarding the blood-shedding of his Son as laying a *ground* on which God may consistently forgive; or, (according to the language of Dr. Wardlaw, quoted by our author), as 'enabling' him to do so. And this sentiment we must firmly maintain.

We have no difference with the writer before us, as to the fact that the atonement of Christ is both adapted and designed to produce a moral effect upon the mind of the sinner. Undoubtedly, the most melting and persuasive considerations which

can possibly be conceived arise out of the communication of the 'unspeakable gift;' and they constitute, not only a part, but a very important part, of the means employed by an offended God to reconcile the world unto himself. Mr. Penrose, however, maintains, that this is not merely a part, but *the whole* of the design and effect of the death of Christ—and here our controversy with him begins.

Our author is misled, we think, by assuming too exclusively the parental analogy as the basis of his reasoning. Of this we have given one example in the passages already quoted, and we may take another.

> 'May we not put the whole case also as follows?—Man is the erring child of a kind father. The father sends another and a faultless son to bring the prodigal back. When brought back, repentant, subdued, grateful, both for his father's kindness, and for that of the brother who mediated, *can* WE estimate as we ought the father's forgiveness, if we hold that it must still pass only through the faultless son, and is not given directly to the prodigal himself?'—p. 60.

Now, it is undoubtedly true, that the parental analogy serves, to some extent, for the illustration of 'the case' between God and man; but we cannot admit that it avails to the exhibition of 'the whole case.' Many things are said in the scriptures which cannot by any possibility be reduced to harmony with it. For example, the words of the apostle, in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, v. 6—8, where it is declared that God 'will render to every one according to his deeds; to those who, by continuance in well doing, seek for glory, honour, and immortality, everlasting life; but, to those who are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath.' The principle of action here laid down is utterly remote from parental instincts and obligations; insomuch that any father who should act upon it towards his children would fill the world with horror and execration. Retribution is an element, not of a paternal, but of a judicial system; and the indubitable introduction of it into the divine ways is a proof that he does not always act as a father, but in part as a governor and a judge.

To this observation it may be added, that, in the divine treatment of the human race, the judicial is the predominating, and the parental the subordinate element. Primarily God is a parent; but on the parental relation he has grafted that of a moral governor, to which henceforth his paternal dispensations must be subordinate, and in conformity with which they must be carried on. The principles of his moral government are inflexible, and must not be turned from their course, even at the voice of pity. They may be considered as, in effect, limiting and restraining

the exercise of his compassion, as by a course of action determined on for higher ends than compassion merely could ever have attained. Hence it follows, that the parental relation is not only liable to be set aside as insufficient to exhibit 'the whole case' between God and man, but that it is not, in the first instance, entitled to be introduced at all. The question between a sinner and his Maker is not such as may exist between a father and an undutiful child, but such as may arise between a governor and a rebellious subject; and the case of a sinner is not to be treated with the gushing tenderness of parental love, but according to the inflexible rules of a righteous administration.

If we have made our ground good thus far, it will be easy and inevitable to advance to a conclusion quite the reverse of our author's, on the subject of the natural acceptableness of repentance. However acceptable it may be to the heart of a parent, the cry of repentance may not enter the ears of a judge. His business is to do justice according to the laws of the government he administers, often, perhaps, at a great sacrifice of his own feelings. Nor can it be otherwise with the universal sovereign, if—as we think beyond question—he is acting as a moral governor. All the principles of such a government he must maintain inviolate; and, being bound to reward every one according to his works, he may not be dissuaded from the infliction of any penalty which transgressors may have incurred. An unwarranted exercise of compassion could do him nothing but dishonour.

Nor does the case stand any better on the plea of imperfect virtue. It seems to be of the nature of law, that it requires obedience according to its tenor—its full and complete tenor. Every part of a law partakes of the obligatory character of the whole, and the law is broken if any part of it is broken. No principle is more commonly acted on than this in human judicatures. And it must be so. For, if any one part of a law might be violated with impunity, so also might another; and so on, until, amidst an infinite multitude of trangressions, any part of it—that is to say, the whole—had been trampled under foot. If law is to have any respect—it might be said, any existence—every iota of it must be jealously guarded, and the sanctions annexed to every precept of it scrupulously executed. And on this principle, what becomes of imperfect virtue? When weighed in the balances and found wanting, is no notice to be taken of the defect? The imperfection of virtue is only a softer name for the commission of sin; it means only that a man has not committed all the sins which he might have committed; but, if those which have been committed are to pass unpunished, what becomes of the law of which they are the acknowledged

violations, or of the government which subsists by the administration of the law? It seems to us beyond question, that a person of imperfect virtue cannot be judicially accepted as righteous. If he have done a thousand deeds of rectitude, and his transgressions might be reduced even to a unit, how, unless the law be violated, is he, for that one, to escape condemnation?

Mr. Penrose's confidence in his own views betrays him sometimes into a mode of argument, by far more dogmatical and less convincing than we should have expected from so experienced a writer. 'Who sees not,' says he, 'that since all men are sinners, the alternative is unavoidable, that either God will accept repentance, or, if not repentance, yet an imperfect virtue, or none can be saved? This is enough; or, *if there be any one who, on reflection, does not think so, it must be in vain to argue with him.*' p. 51. At the risk of being included in this summary mode of ejection from the benefit of our author's future instructions, we must venture to class ourselves among those 'who do not think so.' We venture, moreover, to ask him whether he was not writing under some strange influence of forgetfulness, when he put it down as an unavoidable alternative, either that God must accept repentance, or imperfect virtue, or that none could be saved. He knows very well—his volume contains abundant proofs of it—that a scheme of salvation by the imputed righteousness of Christ, altogether adapted to the crisis he has stated, is held by many to be set forth in the scriptures. We can have no difficulty in saying, that, although God should accept neither repentance nor imperfect virtue, sinners may be saved by the virtue of that divine righteousness of the Son of God, which is 'unto all and upon all them that believe.' The 'unavoidable alternative' is, therefore, a mere fiction of Mr. Penrose's imagination, and is far from being 'enough' to prove the position he assumes. It is quite true, that the rejection of imperfect virtue and repentance requires, in order to the salvation of sinners, the introduction of a vicarious sacrifice, but it requires no more. Our author rejects this as incompatible with the parental analogy. Yet he can scarcely have found any divine, we think, who has attempted to graft it on the parental analogy. For ourselves, we make no such attempt. It is, in our view, a part of a system of moral government; and Mr. Penrose has yet to show, either that the divine administration is not a system of moral government, or that atonement is an incongruous and incompatible element of such a system.

From the point at which we have now arrived, a clear view may be taken of what appears to our author extremely unaccountable and embarrassing, namely, the distinction generally made between the penalty and the power of sin, and a release

from the former as apart from the extermination of the latter. The difficulty felt on this point surprises us in so exact a writer. Nothing can be clearer, we suppose, than that subjection to the penalty of sin is one thing, and that subjection to the power of sin is another. And as the things are two, and not one, so it is, at all events, conceivable that we may be released from them, not by one process, but by two. And, in a system of moral government, such a course would naturally be adopted. It is as a transgressor of the law that a sinner has to do with the divine government; and his earliest and most direct question with it is, how far he is liable to the sanctions of the law which he has broken. In the first instance, indeed, this is the only question, the settlement of it being preliminary to the entertainment of any other. To this point, therefore, and to this point exclusively, must the intervention of divine mercy be first directed. Unless the sinner be, in the first instance, released from the penalty which hangs over him, nothing can be done for his welfare. This transaction is to be effected distinctly and alone; and it is to be effected by a process of substitution and atonement conducive to the honour and maintenance of the law, and not by any change in the character of the sinner, or, which is the same thing, by his release from the power of sin. The basis of this transaction is the expiatory bloodshedding of the Son of God; and the sinner is to avail himself of it by faith, that is, by acquiescence in this most gracious interposition. Thus he is justified, or judicially accounted righteous; and this is all that is yet done. The whole proceedings have respect to no other question than how he shall be judicially regarded. Hypothetically, he may yet love sin, or be in subjection to its power. Really, however, he is not so. The germ of a radical change in this respect has been produced, in the faith which has been the instrument of his justification. That very act evinced a change of his heart. In that very moment new principles came to the birth, and sprang into being, destined to exert a predominant influence, in progressive and ultimately perfect sanctification. Thus the sinner is released from the power of sin, as well as from its penalty; but it is by two different processes. From the one he is released by the expiatory value of the sacrifice of Christ, which he accepts; from the other he is released by the quickening and transforming power of the faith which he exercises. In this manner the interests of moral rectitude are as effectually secured as those of judicial rectitude; while, nevertheless, the holiness of a believer in Jesus enters not at all into the elements of his justification, to which, in the order of nature, it is altogether subsequent, and with which it has no other connexion than that of a certain and admirable sequence.

We take, however, another mode of reasoning with our author. While affirming that the design of the death of Christ is merely to give origin to persuasive arguments on the heart of a sinner, he lays great stress upon it in this aspect, and speaks in the strongest terms of the importance and the force of the lessons which that striking and awful transaction teaches. He represents it as the most affecting demonstration of the evil of sin, and of the love of God towards the sinner, which can possibly be given. We are not going for a moment to call this representation in question. But we ask, on what supposition is it true? There can be no difficulty in admitting its truth, if the death of Christ were an expedient for removing an obstruction to a sinner's salvation, otherwise fatal to his hopes; in other words, if the law and justice of God were in such an attitude towards the sinner as to prohibit the exercise of mercy towards him, apart from the intervention of a vicarious sacrifice. In this case the evil and demerit of sin are very strikingly exhibited in the cross of Christ; nor less so the marvellous and incomprehensible love of God, by which he could have been induced to so costly a gift. But, if it were not so—if, on the contrary, there really was no obstacle to a sinner's salvation—if it was easy with God to accept repentance, or, at all events, imperfect virtue, we cannot see in what manner the death of Christ is adapted to teach either the one or the other of the lessons referred to, or any other conducing to move a sinner to repentance. The transaction is then separated from all that can give it a meaning. It has no longer an object. Its design cannot be to provide for the salvation of the sinner; for he may be saved without it, by the natural acceptableness of repentance and imperfect virtue. It cannot be to make expiation for sin, for no such expiation is necessary. Awful as the transaction is, it stands out as uncalled for and gratuitous; and it thus becomes productive immediately of feelings the very opposite of complacency and admiration. The death of Christ is pre-eminently a transaction which requires an object, in order to reconcile it to our instinctive and unconquerable feelings. It involves the infliction of suffering not only immense, but unparalleled, both in quality and degree; and the infliction of suffering upon a person of perfect innocence and unequalled dignity; while the suffering is inflicted by a being, who not only has a character for righteousness and benevolence, but who also stands in a most intimate relation to the party enduring it. All this it is quite hard enough to bring ourselves to revere, when the difficulties attending the salvation of mankind, and the skilful adaptation of the scheme of mercy, are exhibited in their strongest colours. But if we are to regard

moving anecdote of Princess Potoka, or by the *charming* influence of Princess de Beaufremont, but by the masculine *form* and the masculine mind, expression, and action of Madame de Stäel, who, in all she said, attempted to *impose*, and presented the phenomenon of a lady having her heart in her head.

Our dream was soon over. It passed away as rapidly as the reality, and as almost all the members of that distinguished and charming society which has left us the most lively recollections. The Marquis de Custine, though he survives, as well as the talented and modest Count Elzear de Sabran, is the only one we had well nigh forgotten; and, at the sight of his book, we naturally felt a predisposition in its favour, and anticipated a double pleasure; first, that of being interested and pleased by its perusal; and, secondly, that of paying, in some sort, a debt of gratitude in praising the merit of the author, and expatiating upon the worth of his work. We must confess that we were sadly disappointed; so much so that, at first, we imagined that a mistake had been committed; that the author was not the Marquis, but his first cousin, the Comte de Custine, from whom, (having read his work, 'Les Bourbons de Goritz, et les Bourbons d'Espagne,') we had no right to expect any thing worth reading. We felt relieved by the doubt; but we were too soon convinced that there was no mistake, and that both the Marquis and his cousin were engaged in one and the same conspiracy against right, truth, justice, and common sense. Indeed, the perusal of these three volumes was the most painful task we ever had to perform; a perpetual transition from indignation to disgust; from contempt to pity.

Had we yielded to the first impulse, the books would have been returned as unworthy of notice. Our second thought was to expose the delusions, the follies, the misrepresentations, and the inconsistencies, which form the matter of the work, and to inflict upon the author the severe castigation he so well deserves: or to sink him under the foppishness of his extravagant performance, by retrenching from the three volumes the harassing repetitions which recur in every chapter, and by reducing them to their real dimensions—two sheets of extravagances, of contradictions, of pride and egotism, and of religious, monarchical, aristocratic, and patriotic cant—the whole dressed in the newest fashions of the *style romantique*. We felt encouraged, in pursuing this course, by a sense of our duty, not to the English public merely, but also to the general cause of truth, of freedom, of national rights; yet, at the conclusion of our labours, we saw that their only result was to make the Marquis an object of aversion and of ridicule; and, thinking that, in a review like ours, we ought to tend to a higher aim, we consigned our pages

to the flames, and set to reconsider both the work and the author, for the purpose of making them the subject of useful, we hope, not to say philosophical dissertation.

The very title of the work is deceptive; but such deceptions are now the admitted privilege of authors and publishers; and we mention the fact only to state what the title ought to be: 'THE MARQUIS DE CUSTINE IN THE EMPIRE OF THE CZAR.' This being understood, it naturally follows that we must—first investigate the subject; show what the Marquis is; then why and how he undertook and performed, and afterwards wrote and published his travels; finally, why such a silly production has been translated and published in English.

As to the first question, the work before us does not afford sufficient elements for its solution. M. de Custine indeed says something of his family, but with little regard for accuracy or even propriety, and only so much as suits his purpose. We therefore must have recourse to our own recollection and to public documents, to perform our task of exhibiting, not merely what the Marquis de Custine is, but also how he has been made what he is; how his birth, his education, his family connexions, and the political events that have occurred in his time, have all contributed to throw his mind into such a confusion as to render him unable to form an accurate idea of any thing whatever; not even excepting himself, or the signification of the words of his own language.

The Marquis de Custine is descended from an ancient family, which, however, is hardly mentioned in the historical records of the French monarchy. His grandfather furnishes the first and the only illustration of the name. When eight years old, he was made a lieutenant; and twelve years afterwards the Duke of Choiseul, first minister of Louis XV., created a new regiment of dragoons, to which he gave the name of Custine, and of which his young protegé was appointed colonel. When the French government declared in favour of American independence, Custine exchanged the command of his regiment for that of the regiment of Saintonge, in order to take part in the war; and he distinguished himself by his bravery under Marshal Rochambeau. Elected, in 1789, a member of the General States, he, with the minority of the deputies of the *noblesse*, joined the plebeian deputies, advocated in the constituent assembly the most extensive reforms, and showed himself an ardent friend of liberty. In 1792, he was employed in the army of the Rhine, and had the command of it, after the resignation of Rochambeau, and the departure of Kellerman to join Du Mouriez in the Argonne. Whilst Kellerman, according to the orders of his chief, followed in their retreat the Prussians discomfited at Valmy, General

Custine took upon himself to march upon Mayence, and towards Franconia. A series of disasters followed his rapid success. In his official correspondence he accused Kellerman, his equal in command, at the head of another army, and his own subordinate generals, of not having seconded him. The extreme ardour of his republican principles, however, and the support of the Girondists, maintained him in his command. When the Girondists succumbed under the attacks of Robespierre, Marat, and the Montagnards, Custine not only deserted their cause, but also, to show his devotion to the triumphant party, sent them the letters which his fugitive friends, preparing a movement in Normandy, and General Wimpfen, had written to him, to communicate their plans and claim the support of his army. Notwithstanding all this, the generals he had denounced accused him in their own justification, and the Convention sent three commissioners to investigate the matter and observe his conduct. Custine treated the commissioners, and especially Merlin de Thionville, with such hauteur that he made them all his enemies; and, on their report, he was summoned to Paris, to account for the events of his disastrous expedition, sent before the revolutionary tribunal, and sentenced to death. His last moments were remarkable for the weakness he displayed, in singular contrast with the undaunted courage of the generality of the victims.

The son of the General, although very young, was a much superior man. His education had been attended to by his mother with the greatest care. At twenty-three years of age, he was entrusted with a secret mission, to offer to the Duke of Brunswick the command of the French armies against the coalition of Pilnitz. He failed in this foolish negotiation, and, in the following year, was appointed ambassador at Berlin, where he was not admitted. Immediately afterwards, he placed himself under the command of his father, accompanied him in his expedition, and went with him to Paris, where he conducted the defence of the General with a talent and an intrepidity which elicited the admiration of their enemies themselves. His intimacy with Condorcet and most of the Girondists, to whom he remained faithful in their proscription, subjected him also to an accusation before the revolutionary tribunal. After hearing his sentence, he wrote during the night to his young and beautiful wife one of the most touching letters ever penned under such circumstances, and next morning ascended the scaffold with the serenity of a man sure of the admiration of posterity.

The lovely and devoted widow was shortly afterwards arrested, and remained in prison until after the fall and the execution of Robespierre; when, being set at liberty, she contrived to leave France with her son, and repaired to Switzerland, where she

met her mother and her brother, who had emigrated, at the beginning of the Revolution, and with whom she remained until the Republican Directory, yielding to the impulses of humanity, mitigated the laws against the emigrants, and allowed them to return to their country.

Our author was two years old at the liberation of his mother. Her tears, her mourning, were the first impressions made upon his mind during his infancy. She not only did not tell her son the causes of her grief, but also had commanded the subject never to be mentioned to him. The servants, however, scarcely ever spoke to him of any thing but the misfortunes of his family: so that his earliest intercourse with the world filled him with terror, and his 'first sentiment was that of a fear of life.' The circumstances of the family were not calculated to allay this feeling. His youth was passed in poverty. The involved and complicated state of his mother's affairs constantly kept them suspended betwixt fear and hope, and, meanwhile, struggling with want: at one time, riches appearing within their grasp; at another, some unforeseen reverse, some chicanery of the law, depriving them of every prospect of improvement. And, what must have considerably aggravated the animosity of the litigation, and consequently confounded or obscured his notions of the bounds and duties of consanguinity, their principal adversaries were his own paternal relatives, who disputed with him the inheritance of his grandfather.

On the maternal side, another cause had opened another, though hardly less violent, source of discord. The young Marchioness of Custine had embraced the patriotic principles of her noble-minded husband, while the rest of the family, and all their acquaintances, were decided anti-revolutionists. The intolerant partisans of the old regime detested a name tainted with liberalism. They could not forgive the Custines the part they had taken in the national struggle; and the misfortunes of the family did not seem to them a sufficient penalty for their desertion of the aristocratic cause. The Marchioness, therefore, was obliged to renounce the society in which she had hitherto passed her life, while, at the same time, she would not enter any other where she might meet with the murderers of her husband and of his father. Her highly endowed and tenderly affectionate mother, and her brother, were for a long time the sole companions and comforters of her widowhood. Thus is explained this sentence of the Marquis, one of the few worth quoting in his book: 'I felt from my infancy that my lot had been cast in a place of exile.'

It is easy to conceive that, in her isolated situation, all the affections of the unfortunate widow were concentrated in her

the outpourings of wrath upon the Son of God as demanded by no difficulty, and as directed to no end, the contemplation of it becomes painful and harrowing to the last degree. It is then no longer a sacrifice; no longer a token of God's hatred of sin and love for the sinner, but an outbreak of ferocious cruelty.

Of course we are very far from insinuating that Mr. Penrose entertains any such view, but we think it not the less necessarily resulting from the ground he has taken. In pondering his statements, we have been impressed with surprise that he should be so tenacious of the evangelical phraseology, or that he should speak of atonement and sacrifice at all. With his view of the natural acceptableness of repentance and imperfect virtue, there can be no ground for atonement in what he acknowledges to be the sense which protestant Christendom generally has attached to that term; while, conceived of as intended to generate motives to repentance, in any other than the evangelical protestant sense it absolutely fails.

We must confess our surprise still further, that the author can satisfy himself of the identity of what he terms faith, with the faith which occupies so important a place in the New Testament. Expressly telling us that he speaks of faith as 'the faculty addressed by our blessed Saviour and his apostles in proffering or proposing the Christian religion to men's understandings and hearts' (p. 118), he divides it into two sorts, 'conviction and confidence;' meaning by confidence, 'all degrees of that practical energy with which, whenever a conviction is clear, it is right and reasonable to decide our wills according to it' (p. 119). Accordingly, he elsewhere says that faith, 'in that sense of the word in which only it is directly available to the rendering us acceptable in God's sight,' is 'the moral will to please God' (p. 180).

He further regards faith, or 'the moral will to please God,' as acceptable to him on the ground of moral desert, and he thus lays the foundation of an absolute and unqualified system of self-righteousness. This will to please God, and the manner (however imperfect) in which it may be carried out, are, in his view, to constitute our sole and exclusive righteousness and ground of acceptance before God.

It may occur to our readers as at least one objection to such an idea, that it goes to separate salvation from Christianity altogether, since it is evident that a will and endeavour to please God may be conceived as existing independently of it. They must not imagine, however, that Mr. Penrose would stumble at any such conclusion. He goes all lengths. 'All to whom Christianity is revealed,' he tells us, 'and who receive it, can be saved only if Christians; that is, if they add to their faith (or confi-

dence) in God, faith (or confidence) in Christ.' And this, not because there is in Christianity any way of salvation revealed, but, 'that if God has given us a revelation, we are bound to accept it, and it would be rank impiety to set up any way of our own against his' (p. 181). It is clear from this passage, that Mr. Penrose thinks salvation may be had apart from Christianity, not only by those to whom it has not been made known, but by those also to whom it has been made known; for he lays it down that those only need be Christians in order to salvation, 'to whom Christianity has been revealed, *and who receive it.*' Those, then, who do not receive it, or, in other words, those who reject Christianity, may yet be saved by their meritorious efforts to please God; although at the same time guilty of the 'rank impiety' of setting up a way of their own against his! What, upon such a system, can Christianity be, but an unimportant and gratuitous intervention, which may very well be done without when it is not known, and be safely despised when it is?

It may create not a little surprise, that a state of mind, by which Christianity may thus be set at naught can ever have been called saving faith, which, at all events, is palpably enough exhibited in scripture, as faith *in Christ*. But it is one remarkable characteristic of Mr. Penrose, that he can make words mean any thing he pleases. No man can be more tenacious than he of the most explicit evangelical phraseology. He will have Christ's death to be a 'sacrifice,' and the sacrifice to be 'vicarious;' and Christ's righteousness to be 'imputed,' and salvation to be by 'faith:' while yet he means none of these things as people in general understand them, but explains every one in his own sense, with an ingenuity not unworthy of the author of No. 90 himself.

And, after all, one scarcely sees for what purpose all this pains is taken. As stated at the commencement of his book, his object is to achieve such a statement of the gospel as shall be clear from implying that 'the Father of mercies, the God of all consolation, the original author of our salvation, and the sender of Christ, is not himself as full of love as the Christ whom he hath sent' (p. 8). In other words, he sees the mischief of such a view of the atonement as makes it a scheme to placate a malignant being, rather than one expressive of the kindness of a benevolent one. So also do we. And, further, we agree with our author, that phraseology has been too often used by divines on this subject which is liable to grave exception. But we think his terrors make him run too far in an opposite direction. It is not necessary, in order to shew a sinner that the God whom he has offended still loves him, to affirm that he finds no necessity for an expiatory sin-offering. It is clear, that his intervention

in providing one may as truly express love as his readiness to do without one. It must be even far more expressive, if (as is actually the case) the provision of a victim involves an immense and unmeasurable cost; while, on the other hand, there can be little adaptation, we should rather say none, to convey such an impression, in a mere act of causeless wrath. To represent the Most High as saying to a sinner, 'To convince you that I love you I will slay my only begotten Son, although he stands in no such relation to you, as affords me a just ground for doing it,' must be as fruitless as it appears to us absurd. But no sinner can fail to understand the argument, when it is said. 'You deserve to die, but my well-beloved Son shall take your place, and I will slay him in your stead.'

Thus far we have encountered Mr. Penrose on the grounds of general reasoning. We must notice, before we conclude, his merits as an expositor. We have mentioned already, that he devotes two chapters to the consideration of passages of scripture, with how much success our readers shall judge by a brief example or two.

His comment on Matt. ix., 13.—'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance'—begins thus: 'It is perfectly plain, that this verse recognizes among mankind a class of the good, no less than a class of the bad.' (p. 215.) So far is this from being 'perfectly plain' to us, that we must confess we infer the direct contrary; since, if Christ really recognized a class of righteous persons, he recognized a class also whom he did not call to repentance. He calls all to repentance, however; and, consequently, he does not admit any to be righteous. But we forget ourselves; we intended only to give examples. Let our readers, then, digest the following:—

> '2 Cor. v. 14—20.—That 'Christ died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves;' and that 'if any man be in him he must be a new creature,' and so 'reconciled to God.'—p. 108.

With this morceau of enlightened exposition, we may safely conclude our illustrations. And we may terminate our remarks on this elaborate octavo volume, of four hundred and ninety-four pages, by saying, in one word, that Mr. Penrose has taken much pains for little profit. He has yet to learn, we think, 'which be the first principles of the oracles of God.'

Art. III. *The Empire of the Czar: or, Observations on the Social, Political, and Religious State and Prospects of Russia; made during a tour through that Empire. By the Marquis de Custine. Translated from the French.* 3 vols. Longman.

On receiving these volumes, and on seeing the name of the author, a crowd of early reminiscences rushed upon our mind. A sort of revolution was suddenly wrought in our existence. Thirty years were, in a moment, blotted out from our life; and, carried back, as by magic, to the summer of 1814, we found ourselves in the modest but delightful retreat of St. Leger, on the eastern declivity of the hill of St. Germain, the country residence of the Marquis de Boufflers (better known in Europe as the witty *chevalier*) and of his lady, formerly the handsome, accomplished, and kind Comtesse de Sabran. Then we were transported into their town apartments, an humble *entresol*,* Place Beauveau, overlooking, on the left-hand side, the Elysée Bourbon, restored to its royal masters, and, on the right hand side, the magnificent hotel Beauveau, formerly the property of the Countess, and now the residence of Field Marshal Beurnonville. In both places, we were surrounded by the representatives of the highest families of France; most of them deprived of their ancient opulence, but all of them retaining the refined manners and the exquisite taste which had previously distinguished them; and by the remnant of the literati of the eighteenth century, who delighted in casting the last rays of their genius among those who had witnessed and patronized their first essays; in applauding the *bons mots* of the inexhaustible Chevalier, the recitation of some beautiful extracts of the poem 'Le Repentir,' by the Comte Elzear de Sabran, the son of the Marchioness, or the entertaining conversation of his admirable sister, the Marchioness of Custine, who, sitting by her mother, reminded every one present of the line of Horace:

'O matre pulchrâ, filia pulchrior.'

Her son, a young man of our own age, the author of the present work, appeared but two or three times, and was the only one of the company remaining cool, indifferent, inattentive, absent, which he did even when the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier was speaking of Greece, with the enthusiasm of his young days, and explained the plan of the Idaly, which he was building in the Champs Elysées, with the columns and the ruins of Greek temples, the only remaining fruits of his embassy at Constantinople, and which was so soon to become an English protestant chapel, and the residence of its minister†. Once only he seemed to be roused from his insensibility, not, indeed, by a

* *Entresol* is a low apartment between the ground floor and the first floor.

† The chapel and residence of Rev. Mr. Lovett, in the Champs Elisées, at the corner of the Rue de Chaillot.

which we have passed our life; and we find it impossible to leave it behind.'—(Vol. iii. p. 2.) 'France, that land which, in my vexation with the extravagancies of its inhabitants, I have so often abandoned with the vow never to return, but to which I return always.'—(Vol. iii. p. 216.)

If the foregoing passages of our author justify what we have stated to be the real motives of his journey, another passage will equally bear out our opinion, that the subject of the work is nothing but the Marquis de Custine in Russia.

'The mind rich in allusions has the power of metamorphosing the world, the image of which is to us never anything more than the reflection of our inward life. Those who say that nothing exists beyond ourselves, are perhaps right; but I, prone to philosophy without wishing to be so, metaphysical without any other pretension than that of allowing the natural bent of my thoughts to take their course, inclining ever towards insolvable questions, doubtless I am unwise in seeking to account to myself for this incomprehensible influence.'—Vol. ii. p. 201.

According to this somewhat singular view of the Marquis, we should recommend him to alter the title of the work in the following manner:—Reflection of the Inward Life of the Marquis de Custine on Petersburg and Moscow, and on all he met with in his way up and down the two capitals of the Russian empire.

To assist him *in the reflection of his inward life* on the small portion of the empire he overran, the Marquis tells us that he had filled his carriage with books upon Russia, and he mentions the works of Karamsin; but he seems to have made no use of those books, nor, indeed, of anything which could enable him to present any tolerably correct idea of the social and governmental organization of the people, of the condition of the different classes, and of the rank to which, as a nation, Russia is entitled in the European family. It is in vain that we seek in these three volumes for any useful information, for any new observation of which politicians, moralists, or men of business, can take advantage for the common welfare. The 'Mémoires sur l'empire de Russie,' by Colonel Masson, published in 1804; the 'Tableau historique, géographique, militaire, moral et politique de l'empire de Russie,' by Damaze de Raymond, published in 1813, are both more instructive and more interesting than the work of the Marquis; and, notwithstanding the changes which have since taken place, still present a more accurate picture of the actual state of that country.

Two receptions at the imperial court, in which a few words were exchanged with Nicholas; a conversation with the empress when visiting the *English cottage* at Peterhoff; a journey from

Petersburg to Moscow and back, made with the utmost speed; a visit to the English club at Moscow to the governor of Yarossof—such are the materials upon which three volumes of reflexions have been written; reflexions which generally have no relation whatever to the apparent subject, and which, as generally, are in contradiction with one another, although on the same point, except when they are reproduced, in almost the same terms, in another part of the volume; so that we constantly proceed through repetitions and inconsistencies. These are sufficiently explained by the character of the author; but another cause rendered those defects almost unavoidable. The Marquis not only thought of himself, but also of his coterie, when writing; and, as he had very little inclination, and but little time, for observation, while, however, he was desirous of showing them his activity, he was obliged to write to many persons on the same subject. To those whose opinions agreed with his own on every question, he wrote the same things; and to those who differed, he wrote according to their taste and their views of the subject, so as to give satisfaction to every one. It might be objected that these letters were never forwarded; that the Marquis kept them all carefully secreted until his return to France; and that, since he had determined to publish them, without giving the names of his correspondents, it was very easy to revise the whole, and to make it consistent; but a Marquis cannot be subjected to the same literary conditions as a plebeian author; besides that he belongs to the Romantic school, and the *Romantiques* do not care about consistency.

In the first volume the Autocrat is a great, an accomplished statesman. He condescends to enter into familiar conversation with the Marquis, who naturally and faithfully reports the *entretien*. This is the conclusion of it:—

'I can truly say, Sire, that one of the chief motives of my curiosity in visiting Russia, was the desire of approaching a prince who exercises such power over men.'

'The Russians are amiable: but he should render himself worthy who would govern such a people.'

'Your majesty has better appreciated the wants and the position of this country than any of your predecessors.'

'Despotism still exists in Russia; it is the essence of my government, but it accords with the genius of my nation.'

'Sire, by stopping Russia on the road to imitation you are restoring her to herself.'

'I love my country, and I believe I understand it. I assure you that when I feel heartily weary of all the miseries of the times, I endeavour to forget the rest of Europe, by retiring towards the centre of Russia.'

'In order to refresh yourself at the fountain head?'

'Precisely so. No one is more from his heart a Russian than I am.

I am going to say to you what I would not say to another; but I feel that you will comprehend me. I can understand republicanism; it is a plain and straightforward form of government, or at least it might be so. I can understand absolute monarchy, for I am myself the head of such an order of things; but I cannot understand a representative monarchy: it is the government of lies, fraud, and corruption; and I would rather fall back even upon China than ever adopt it.'

'Sire, I have always regarded representative governments as a compact inevitable in certain communities at certain epochs; but like all other compacts, it does not solve questions, it adjourns them. It is a truce signed between democracy and monarchy under the auspices of two very mean tyrants, fear and interest; and it is prolonged by that pride of intellect which takes pleasure in talking, and that popular vanity which satisfies itself on words. In short, it is the aristocracy of oratory substituted for the aristocracy of birth; it is the government of the lawyers.'

'Sir, you speak the truth,' said the emperor, pressing my hand. 'I have been a representative sovereign, and the world knows what it has cost me not to have been willing to submit to the exigencies of this *infamous government*. To buy votes, to corrupt consciences, to seduce some in order to deceive others. All those means I disdained, as degrading to those who obey as much as those who command; and I have dearly paid the penalty of my straightforwardness; but God be praised, I have done for ever with this detestable political machine. I shall never more be a constitutional king. I have too much need of saying all I think, ever to consent to reign over any people by means of stratagem and intrigue.'

This piece of nonsense, spoken between an autocrat and an aristocrat, will no doubt provoke a contemptuous smile from our readers. But our author observes:—

'The effect produced on me was great; I felt myself subdued. The nobleness of sentiment which the emperor displayed, and the frankness of his language, seemed to me greatly to temper his omnipotence.'

Towards the middle of the second volume, the admiration for 'the great man,' for 'the patriotic Russian,' for 'the only sincere man in the empire,' gradually diminishes; and, at the conclusion of the work, we find that '*the inward reflexion* of the Marquis' on the Czar presents us nothing but a whimsical, cruel, and implacable tyrant. The Russian aristocracy is dealt with much in the same manner. Nay, more; the author, after praising and abusing it by turns, declares that there is no aristocracy in Russia, that there is equality among all the slaves of a master; and, a few pages after, he states that there is no country in the world where so much inequality exists among the several classes of the people. In every part of the work, the Marquis boasts of being an aristocrat himself. 'Aristocrat both from character and conviction,' says he, Vol. I. p. 282, 'I feel that

the aristocracy alone can resist either the seductions or the abuses of absolute power. Without an aristocracy there would be nothing but tyranny both in monarchies and in democracies. The sight of despotism is revolting to me, in spite of myself; it offends all the ideas of liberty which spring alike from my natural feelings and my political creed.' Yet, only in the preceding page, he represents himself as affected, even to tears, by the conversation with the Emperor.

The English aristocracy receive no better treatment at the hands of our Marquis than the princely serfs of the Autocrat:—

'There is no noblesse amongst the English. They have titles and offices; but the idea which we attach to a real order of nobility, distinguished by characteristics which can neither be purchased nor conferred, is unknown to them. A noblesse, in that sense of the word which was once understood in France, and in which I understand it at present, has become a fiction. Nobility is something real; it is inherent in the blood, and not in fortune, favour, talent, or avocation; it is the produce of history. It is this of which the English are ignorant. Though still preserving much feudal pride, they have lost the spirit of feudal institutions. In England chivalry has ceded to industry, which has readily consented to take up his abode in a baronial constitution, on condition that the ancient privileges attached to names should be placed within reach of newly-founded families. What is called nobility appears to me nothing more than a class that is rich enough to pay for wearing certain dress. The confusion of ideas respecting the two kinds of aristocracy, that of money and that of birth, is such that the descendants of a family whose name belongs to the history of the country, if they happen to be poor, and are without title, will tell you that they are not noble; while my Lord ——— (grandson of a tailor), forms, as member of the House of Peers, a part of the high aristocracy of the land.'—Vol. i. pp. 70—71.

No doubt, on perusing this extract, many of our readers will think the marquis very impertinent, and his notions of nobility quite preposterous. We therefore remind them, that a descendant of St. Elzear de Sabran, first cousin of St. Louis, has a right to take some liberties with the comparatively modern great names of England, none of whom can boast of descent from a saint, nor of an honourable relationship with a king of the twelfth century. The ideas of the Marquis de Custine belong to that age,—in his opinion, the golden age of real liberty and true civilization. There he finds a refuge against the haunting reminiscences of the Constituent Assembly, of the Convention, of the Directory, of the Consulate, of the Empire, of the Restoration, and of the Revolution of July, with its consequences. Entrenched behind seven centuries, he fulminates against the governments of newspapers, of advocates, of mathematicians, of manufacturers and merchants, of Jews and stock-jobbers. Every one of his letters, or of the chapters into

only son; that she hardly thought of anything but of him, and scarcely did anything but for him; that from boyhood the Marquis was constantly the object of her solicitude, and of that of his grandmother and of his uncle, as well as of the small but distinguished circle which they gradually drew around them; that his doings and his sayings were approved, admired, eulogized by all. Hence the egotism and conceit which the three volumes before us prove to be the characteristics of the author. This result would have been counteracted by the discipline of a public school, where, by mixing with boys of his own age and of all conditions, young Custine would have acquired a more accurate idea of his own value, and of the value of others; but his constitution was delicate, the discipline was severe, and, besides, the republican or imperial schools were not to the taste of the whole family. Thus he was deprived of the benefits of common education, and his instruction was limited to what, before the Revolution, it was generally considered sufficient for a marquis to know,—that is to say, how to speak upon everything with some readiness, or, as it is termed in the salons of Paris, *effleurer tous les sujets, et tourner un vers*. No wonder, then, if, not having been trained in a regular course of studies, in habits of serious meditation, in the pursuit of literary, historical, or scientific learning, he arrived at manhood, not only without the ordinary share of knowledge possessed by the generality of the young men of his own age, but also without the means and without even the desire of acquiring it, by subsequent application and perseverance.

Political events, and especially such as have taken place during the last fifty years, are full of the most useful lessons, and on many occasions have contributed more than all previous studies and all historical records to enlighten the mind, and to elucidate those great principles of social order for which all the nations of Europe are now contending against their rulers. But these events seem to have had a contrary effect upon the Marquis de Custine. He is completely ignorant of the causes, the purposes, and the effects of that revolution for which both his father and his grandfather fought and died. The range of his ideas is so confined, that he can hardly combine together a few principal facts, which, moreover, he generally reduces to his own dimensions; concluding on the whole, always with a most ludicrous inconsistency, often with the most malignant partiality. This, again, is the result of his education, and of his peculiar situation. The names of his father and of the General connected him with the Revolution, but these names were seldom mentioned in his youth; and he heard much more of St. Elzear de Sabran, the near relative and contemporary of

King St. Louis. The son and grandson of the champions of liberty and equality was bred up as a marquis; and the seizure of his property was constantly represented as the only object and the only result of the revolutionary and republican government.

The consulate of Bonaparte and the empire of Napoleon were certainly beneficial to the old nobility and to the emigrants, most of whom were entrusted with military or civil functions. But the maternal family of the marquis were intimate with the Baroness de Stäel. The first consul did not admire her father; and, on one occasion, when Madame de Stäel, speaking to him, was assuming her sybilline airs in the Tuilleries, he burst into laughter, and turned his back upon her. This treatment could not be forgiven. Her coterie in Paris was arrayed against the future emperor, who, in order to put an end to the intrigues, enjoined upon the Baroness to return to her own country. The indignation of Corinne knew no bounds; she continued her intrigues by her correspondence. One of her letters to Count Elzear de Sabran was intercepted; the Count was arrested and sent to Vincennes, and was liberated at the urgent entreaties of the noble Marshal Oudinot; but the family was ever afterwards suspected of disaffection, and therefore the Consulate and the Empire, according to the Marquis de Custine, were little if any better than the Convention.

The Restoration, from 1814 and 1815 until 1830, was a series of disappointments for the Marquis and for his maternal relatives. All the emigrants, the nobles, the victims of the Revolution, expected to be restored to their rank, to be reinstated in their property, to be invested with all the offices of the government, and to monopolize all the grades in the army. Louis XVIII. knew too well the danger of such an experiment to yield to the pretensions of the nobility. But he was not satisfied with merely resisting inordinate demands: he showed himself unjust and ungrateful towards those who had been devoted to his cause, by preferring to them the *doctrinaires* men who had nothing to recommend them but their habits of subserviency under the preceding government, and who, in order to maintain themselves in power, kept the king in constant dread of the Bonapartists and of the ultra-royalists, whom, in turn, they provoked and attacked, as they are doing now under Louis Philippe, with regard to the legitimists and the republicans. The family of Sabran were among the ultra royalists. As to the Marquis de Custine, he was in a still worse condition. The acts of his grandfather precluded him from all favours. A marquis and a general, at the beginning of the Revolution, he had fought against Louis XVIII. and his

brother, when they invaded France at the head of the Prussian army; and that crime could not be forgiven, even to his grandson. Our author, therefore, was dissatisfied with the government of the Restoration, from which he thought he had a right to expect some compensation for the misfortunes of his family, still more than with the imperial government from which he could claim no favour.

If the ingratitude of the two Bourbon kings of the elder branch, the machiavelism of their government, the bad faith of their ministers, most of them chosen from among the lowest class of the nobility, or the most violent monarchical plebeians, in preference to the members of the highest families, were calculated to confound all the Marquis's notions of right, truth, justice, and honour, the Revolution of July, the government which it established, and the acts of that government during the last thirteen years, could not but increase that confusion, and carry to the highest point his dissatisfaction with governments, constitutions, representative assemblies,—in short, all popular institutions. The scandalous political apostacies, the treacherous desertion of long entertained principles, of long professed affections, on the part of the men called to the direction of public affairs, their insatiable avarice, their shameless profligacy,—all these tended to envenom the wounds previously inflicted on the heart and on the mind of our author, and to render incurable the moral disease he had contracted from his infancy in a social and political atmosphere which he had constantly found oppressive. Disgusted with everything and with everybody, except a small circle of acquaintances and friends sympathising with him, he was naturally led to concentrate all his affections in that narrow circle of which he made himself the principal personage; and to take himself, his feelings, his opinions, his social, political and religious views, how ill-digested soever, as the standard of the worth of everything else.

We have now completed the first part of our inquiry: we have found out the character of the Marquis of Custine, such as it has been made by a succession of circumstances which have all been adverse; and that character may be thus summed up:—a naturally benevolent disposition, a weak intelligence, very little of instruction; a sort of misanthropy, softened by a decided self-love; a persuasion of his unnoticed importance, and a strong desire of making it felt; a feverish restlessness, restrained by the want of moral energy; an inclination to observe, counteracted by thoughtlessness; a love of truth, thwarted by conceit; and, finally, an impressionability, if we may use the word, which confounds itself with inconsistency.

Our readers are now enabled to follow us, without any difficulty, in the second part of our investigation; and no doubt they have already discovered, without reading the work of the Marquis, why he undertook his journey, how he performed it, why and how he wrote and published it, as it appears he had previously written and published a journey in Spain. It is natural that, being out of what he thinks his proper place, nay, even without any place at all in France, unnoticed, dissatisfied with everything and almost everybody, he should repair to other countries where the worship of nobility is not extinct, where the title of Marquis is still a passport and a recommendation to the humble salutations of the middle and lower classes, and secures admission and pre-eminence in all companies. Next to the gratification felt at these tokens of respect readily offered, at the distinguished reception generally given, comes the pleasure of relating all the circumstances to the public at home, and of showing that they have not duly appreciated one's merits which have won the good opinion of foreigners. In fact, it is no longer possible to disregard in Paris a marquis who has shone in the baronial halls of Germany, and in the winter palace at St. Petersburg. Even here in England, the same feeling prevails. Who would think or speak of the Marquis of Londonderry, if he did not travel and publish his journeys, just in the same manner as the Marquis of Custine does?

Of course, our author explains in many different ways the motives of his journey, and our readers will probably be desirous of knowing them; therefore, we must quote his own statements:—

'A taste for travelling has never been with me a fashion; I brought it with me into the world, and I began to gratify it in early youth. We are all vaguely tormented with a desire to know a world which appears to us a dungeon, because we have not ourselves chosen it for an abode. I should feel as if I could not depart in peace out of this narrow world, if I had not endeavoured to explore my prison.'—(Preface, page 5.) 'I went to Russia to seek for arguments against representative governments.'—(Ibid. p. 17.) 'Either this country (Russia) has not hitherto been described, except by men whose position or character does not permit of their being independent; or else, minds the most sincere lose their liberty of judgment as they enter Russia. As regards myself, I oppose to this influence the aversion which I have for disguise. I hate but one evil; and, if I hate it, it is because I believe that it engenders and includes all the others,—this evil is falsehood. I therefore endeavour to unmask it whenever I meet with it; it is the horror with which it inspires me, that gives me the desire and the courage to write these travels. I undertook them through curiosity, I relate them from a sense of duty.'—(Vol. ii. p. 12.) 'I am born a traveller, as others are born diplomatists.'—(Vol. ii. p. 207.) 'We travel to escape the world in

which they have been transformed, is, in his opinion, a death-blow to these vampires of our epoch. In this only he is consistent through the whole of his work.

His views on the prospects of Russia are as diverse as on every other question, according to the impressions under the influence of which he writes. Sometimes Russia is destined to subdue and rule over all the nations of Europe; at other times, this colossal empire must, sooner or later, be a prey to religious or military revolutions, divided and organized into hostile nations, Russians and Slavonians. There is another prospect. Russia may be compelled to withdraw from Europe, and become an Asiatic empire. The last chance is that wished for by our author; and in the concluding chapter he says:—

'Since I have seen the Russian nation, and have recognized the true spirit of its government, I have felt that it is isolated from the rest of the civilized world by powerful political interests, supported by religious fanaticism; and I am of opinion that France should seek for allies amongst nations whose interests accord with her own. The destinies of a progressive civilization, a civilization sincere and national, will be decided in the heart of Europe. Everything which tends to hasten the perfect agreement of French and German policy is beneficial; everything which retards that union, however specious be the motive for delay, is pernicious. *War is going to break out between philosophy and faith, between politics and religion, between Protestantism and Catholicism: and the banner raised by France, in this gigantic struggle, will decide the fate of the world, of the church, and, above all, of France herself.*'—vol. iii., p. 346.

The last sentence naturally introduces us to the third question we proposed to treat; namely, why have these volumes been translated into English and published? And in investigating this matter we shall, at the same time, complete the review of the work, and of the object and manner of the author. We admit that, for some time, while proceeding in our reading, we found ourselves at a loss to explain, or even to conceive, how such a work should have found a translator. It is clear that the object to be attained was not to give an accurate and comprehensive picture of the empire of the Czar, of the institutions of the country, of the machinery of the government and of its resources, of the organization of the different branches of the administration, of the division of the people into classes, and the subdivision of those classes into categories; of the state of agriculture, manufactures, and trade; in short, of the real strength of the empire. In the thousand pages of the Marquis, there are not fifty in which those subjects are examined: they are merely and cursorily alluded to. The only excuse for the translator would be, the total absence of any book upon Russia in British

literature; but we have the Travels in Russia of Dr. E. D. Clarke; the work of Herman 'On the Number and the Distribution of the Inhabitants of Russia;' of Walker, 'Picturesque Representation of Russia;' of Christophe Schmidt, 'Materials for a Knowledge of the Constitution of Russia;' and above all, the volume published two years ago by Captain Anthony Sterling, 'Russia under Nicholas I.,' the very best work that has been written upon the subject. If these valuable publications, which are intended for men of studious habits and sound judgment, are not to the taste of fashionable and silly people, there was nevertheless no need, in order to gratify such, to have recourse to the Marquis de Custine, since they might betake themselves to the inane work of the Marquis of Londonderry, 'Recollections of a Tour in the North of Europe in 1836 and 1837.'

The last sentence we have quoted came at length to reveal the secret of the fanatical rant disseminated in almost every chapter of the Marquis de Custine's book, and which had excited our surprise. His inveterate hatred of Protestantism, as well as of the Greek Church, form the principal, the only remarkable characteristics of his work. The enemies of the Protestant Church are the only people to whom such a publication can be agreeable; and we have scarcely any doubt that Jesuitical Puseyism has dictated the translation before us, taking advantage of a ramble to Petersburg and Moscow to pave the way to Rome. Therefore it becomes our duty to expound at some length the religious notions of our author: it is the shortest and the best method that can be adopted to confute him.

The Marquis professes to be a Christian and a Catholic. 'I am a Christian,' says he, 'because the destinies of man are not accomplished upon earth; I am a Catholic, because, out of the Catholic Church, Christianity becomes diluted, and perishes.'—(Preface, p. x.) This mode of argumentation may appear somewhat different from logic, but the Marquis never condescends to reason otherwise. He continues:—

'After having surveyed the greatest part of the civilized world, after having applied myself with all my power, during these several travels, to discover some of the hidden springs on the action of which depends the life of empires, the following is, according to my attentive observations, the future that we may venture to predict. In a human point of view, the universal division or dispersion of minds produced by the contempt felt for the only legitimate authority in matters of faith; in other words, the abolition of Christianity, not as a system of morals or philosophy, but as a religion; and this suffices for the strength of my argument. In a spiritual point of view—the triumph of Christianity, by the reunion of all the churches in the mother church—in that shaken but indestructible church which is every age widening its gates for the return of

those who went out from it. The universe must again become either Pagan or Catholic; Pagan, in a manner more or less refined, with nature for its temple, sense for its worship, and reason for its idol; or Catholic, with priests, of whom a certain number at least, sincerely put in practice before they preach the precept of their Master, 'My kingdom is not of this world.''

We do not know if our readers can make out the meaning of this tirade, for our part we readily confess that we do not understand it; but it does not matter, we now are used to this logomachy; besides that the author himself is probably in the same predicament; and he explains in another part of his work, how it is frequently the case with himself. He says (Vol. ii., p. 202.):—

'The torment of my mental faculties, the chief faults of my style, are produced by the necessity of defining the undefinable; my powers lose themselves in the pursuit of the impossible; my words suffice no better than my sentiments or my passions. Our dreams, our visions, are, as compared with precise clear ideas, what an horizon of brilliant clouds is to mountains, whose chains it sometimes imitates betwixt heaven and earth. No modes of expression can clearly define and fix these creations of the phantasy which vanish under the pen of the writer, as the brilliant pearls of a clear stream escape from the nets of the fisherman.'

After this grandiloquent explanation, we have no right to expect much clearness in the ideas of the author; we must, on the contrary, resign ourselves to the obscurity of his observations, in which he is pretty well assisted by his translator. We are told that in France, at present, it is called poetry; nay more, the marquis himself plainly tell us (Vol. ii., p. 301.), that clearness is puritanism; and he expresses his firm determination not to submit to it.

It seems to us that, before proceeding any further, it is proper to ascertain the Christianity and Catholicity of the noble adversary of Protestant or Greek heresies. They appear to be of a peculiar kind, like all his ideas upon every subject. He tells us in his preface, page vi.,—

'With my religious ideas, I have passed through an unsympathising world; and now I see, not without a pleasurable surprise, these same ideas occupying the youthful minds of the new generation.'

A little further, page xi., speaking upon the same subject, he says:—

'The ideas of the age were so different from mine, that I wanted, not faith, but boldness: I felt all the weakness of isolation, still I did not cease to protest with all my power, in favour of my creed. But now that it has become popular *in a part of Christendom*—now that the great interests which agitate the world, are those which have always caused my heart to beat, now that the approaching future is big with the problem,

for the solution of which I have never ceased to search in my obscurity, I discover that I have a place in the world, I feel supported; if not in my own country, (still a prey to that destructive, narrow, exhausted philosophy which continues to retain a large portion of France, out of the debate upon the great interests of the world,) yet at least in Christian Europe. It is this support which has emboldened me more clearly to explain my views, in various parts of my work, and to draw from them their ultimate consequences.'

What is the creed so solemnly spoken of? What are the great interests which agitate the world? What is the problem with which the future is big? Where is the place which our author has at last found in Christian Europe? To all these questions we have met with no satisfactory answer in any page of the three volumes, in any coherent and tangible form. Let us try to pick it up piecemeal, beginning with the creed.

'Man is a galley slave, punished, but not amended, in chains for a crime of which he is unconscious; doomed to the punishment of life—that is, to death—he lives and dies without being able to obtain a trial, or even to know of what he is accused. A power which would revenge itself on its creation, must be limited; but the limits, who has fixed them? The greater the incomprehensibility of the mystery, the greater the necessity, and the greater the triumph of faith.'—Vol. i., p. 60.

We are not sure we quite comprehend this; but, so far as we do, it seems to us a very strange beginning of a Catholic creed. It certainly implies a singular idea of God, of Providence, whose names are constantly under the pen of our author, and almost always with the same degree of propriety; thus we find (Vol. ii. p. 235,) that 'the man who occupies the place of God upon earth, *ought to acknowledge no other possibility but that of doing evil. He is constrained to resemble Providence,* in order to legitimate the power which he ascribes to himself.' In two or three different parts of the work, we read, that such or such things 'make us doubt the power or the compassion of Deity;' that such and such other things 'are the *justification* of God,' '*justify* Providence;' and with such notions our author pretends to be a Christian, a Catholic! he boasts of having faith; and assumes the right of condemning all those who differ from him! ! His faith is much of the same character as his notions of providence. It originates, he tells us, in the impossibility of understanding. He believes, because he cannot account for any one thing; and Russian sorcerers themselves contribute their share, in making the Marquis a believer:—

'Sorcerers are not scarce amongst the Russians, with whom they supply the place of physicians; these rogues perform numerous and complete cures, as is corroborated, even by the scientific practitioners! What a triumph for

Molière! and what a vortex of doubt for all the world! . . . Imagination! . . . Who can tell if imagination is not a lever in the hand of God to raise creatures of limited power above themselves? For my own part, I carry doubt to a point that brings me back to faith; for I believe, against my reason, that the sorcerer can cure, even unbelievers, by means of a power whose existence I cannot deny, and yet know not how to define.'—Vol. iii., 242.

In the second volume, page 236, he says: 'Faith will remain upon earth, as long as will the inexplicable and the incomprehensible.'

It is in vain that we have looked into these volumes, for the matters of the faith of the author; the only passage in which he attempts to explain it, is in the preface:—

'Nothing is less ambiguous than our faith; it is no system of philosophy, of which each one may take or reject what he pleases. An individual is altogether a Catholic, or he is no Catholic at all; there can be no almost, nor yet any new manner in Catholicism. Neo-Catholicism is a disguised sect, which must soon abjure error, to return into the bosom of the church, under penalty of being otherwise condemned by a church justly impressed with the necessity of preserving the purity of faith, much more than with the ambition of increasing the number of her doubtful and equivocal children. When the world shall adopt christianity with sincerity, it will take it as it is. The essential point is, that the sacred trust remains pure from alloy.'—p. xiv.

In despair of finding out the creed, the faith of the author, shall we aim to discover what he means by Christianity and Catholicity? Here, again, our attempt will be fruitless. There is not a single sentence in the thousand pages which we have read with the most scrupulous attention, which enables us to guess at the signification he gives to those words; and it is evident that his christianity and his catholicism are, like all his other notions, the fantastic dreams of a diseased brain. Illiterate, unlearned, unable to argue, his phrases upon the matter are like the ravings of a madman. The least unintelligible extract we can find, is the following:—

'I am not one of those who view Christianity as a sacred veil, that reason, in its illimitable progress, will one day tear away. Religion is veiled, but the veil is not religion. If Christianity mantles itself in symbols, it is not because its truth is obscure, but because it is too brightly dazzling, and because the eye is weak. . . Beyond the pale of Christianity, men remain in a state of isolation; or, if they unite, it is to form political communities; in other words, to make war with fellow-men. Christianity alone has discovered the secret of free and pacific association, because it alone has shewn to liberty in what it is that liberty consists. Christianity governs, and will yet more rightly govern the earth by the increasing strict application of its divine morals to human transactions.

Hitherto the Christian world has been more occupied with the mystic side of religion, than with its political bearing. A new era commences for Christianity: perhaps our grandchildren will see the gospel serving as the basis of public order. . . . . Unless you can substitute the peace of your conscience in place of the agitation of mine, you can do nothing for me. . . . Peace! no, however bold you may be, you would not dare to pretend to it! and yet, peace is the right and the duty of the creature rationally endowed; for, without peace, he sinks below the brute. But, O mystery of mysteries! for you, for me, and for all, this object will never be attained by ourselves; for, whatever may be said, the whole realm of nature does not contain that which can give peace to a single soul. . . . Thus you have furnished me with new proofs of the need of a physician of souls; of a redeemer, to cure the hallucinations of a creature so perverse, that it is incessantly and inevitably engendering within himself contest and contradiction; and which, by its very nature, flies from the repose it cannot dispense with; spreading around itself, in the name of peace, war,—with illusion, disorder, and misfortune. Now, the necessity of a redeemer being once admitted, you must pardon me if I prefer addressing myself to Jesus Christ, rather than to you! Here we come to the root of the evil! pride of intellect must be abased, and reason must own its insufficiency. As the source of reasoning dries up, that of feeling overflows; the soul becomes powerful so soon as she avows her want of strength; she no longer commands, she entreats; and man approaches near his object when he falls upon his knees. But when all shall be cast down, when all shall kiss the dust, who will remain erect upon the earth? what power shall exist amid the ashes of the world? The power that shall remain, is a pontiff in a church.

'If that church—daughter of Christ, and mother of Christianity—has seen revolt issue from her bosom, the fault was in her priests; for her priests are men. But she will recover her unity, because these men, frail though they be, are not the less direct successors of the apostles, ordained from age to age, by bishops, who themselves received, bishop from bishop, under the imposition of hands traced backwards up to St. Peter and to Jesus Christ, the infusion of the Holy Spirit, with the requisite authority to communicate that grace to the regenerated world.'—p. 6.

We are almost inclined to beg pardon of our readers, for transcribing such a long extract of the most contemptible trash we ever read; but we considered it our duty to give it in full, as it contains the whole system of Catholic-christianity of our author. There they find his reasons for believing in a Redeemer, for making a pontiff the representative of the Redeemer, and for subjecting the whole world to the authority of that pontiff, and of his church. Besides this, we thought it of some importance to expose, in his own language, the basis upon which the Marquis de Custine rests his religious system; in order that, his logical power being ascertained, the value of his attacks upon other systems may be the more easily appreciated. Every one of us resents an insult proffered by a stranger, but if the stranger proves

to be an idiot, our resentment is soon changed into pity. Such ought to be the case with the poor Marquis. From what he himself states, it is clear that he has no distinct idea of catholicity, or even of christianity; that he hardly ever took the trouble of studying the matter; that he never even read the bible, or any of the books, numerous in France itself, in which the truth of the Christian religion is defended. It is no less evident, that he knows no more of Protestant, or of Greek Christianity; that he never inquired into the principles of the Reformation; and that he attacks Protestantism, not as it really is, but as he imagines it to be. Thus he says, (Preface, p. 13,) 'To acknowledge the divinity of Jesus Christ is, undoubtedly, to do much; it is more than is done by the greater number of Protestants.' And in his concluding chapter, (Vol. iii., p. 340,) we read: 'When hypocrisy ceases to triumph in England, the greater part of the kingdom will again become Catholic.'

Our patience is quite exhausted. We cannot go any further with this work,—a compound of religious and political hallucinations, of mischievous misrepresentations, of bombastic nonsense, of superlative vanity, of perpetual contradictions, intermixed with as many asseverations of the author's love for truth, which he declares to be nothing but '*an assemblage of contrasts.*' It is, indeed, painful to us to be compelled to censure with such severity a man whose admirable family still lives in our grateful recollections; but we have a duty to perform towards the public, and we can boast, as well as the Marquis de Custine, of the motto:—

'*Fais ce que dois, avienne que pourra.*'

Art. IV. 1. *Die Authentie des Daniel und die Integrität des Sacharjah. Erwiesen von E. W. Hengstenberg Dr. der Philos. und der Theologie.* Berlin: 8vo. 1831.

2. *Commentar über das Buch Daniel. Von H. A C. Hävernick, Licentiat der Theologie.* Hamburg: 8vo. 1832.

3. *Neue kritische Untersuchungen über das Buch Daniel. Von H. Hävernick der Theologie Doctor, u. s. w.* Hamburg: 8vo. 1838.

4. *Daniel neu uebersetzt und erklärt. Von L. Bertholdt.* 2 Theile, Erlangen: 8vo. 1806, 1808.

5. *Das Buch Daniel verdeutscht und ausgelegt. Von C. V. Lengerke.* Koenigsberg: 8vo. 1835.

It is wise occasionally to review the grounds of our opinions, especially when they are assailed by new opponents. There may be something untenable in them, which the progressive wisdom

and ingenuity of ages succeed in detecting. Truth and candour will always welcome the light; while an obstinate adherence to former sentiments refuses to accept any addition to the stereotype stock of knowledge once laid up in the mind. Persuaded that there is nothing in the Bible of which we should be ashamed—nothing unsound or worthless; it is matter of comparative indifference to us, whether it be openly or insidiously invaded with new weapons. For the result of such attempts there is no cause to fear. The rock of ages is firm. Former endeavours to shake its authority have failed, although acute and powerful intellects were enlisted on the side of its enemies. It is true that weak and wavering minds may be disturbed at these unhallowed movements. Timid Christians may be alarmed when they hear of plausible objections; and they may tremble for the ark of truth; but let them stay themselves upon God, and look with confident expectation to the issue of the controversy between light and darkness.

Believing that it may be profitable to state the grounds of our belief in the authenticity and genuineness of the Scripture-books, and at the same time to demonstrate the weakness of modern scepticism in its bearing upon them, we have selected the book of Daniel as a specimen suitable to our purpose. The artillery of rationalism in modern times has been displayed with much appearance of power against it. Old arguments have been revived; and its predictions have been robbed of their essential character. The wand of neology has converted prophecies of clear import and indubitable verity into prosaic history penned subsequently to the events described. It becomes, therefore, a matter of some importance, to look at the reasons of long-cherished opinions, lest perchance we have been building on frivolous and fanciful ground. Are the arguments by which the integrity of Daniel is supported sound and safe? Was the book that bears his name written by himself, or by some later person? Does it exhibit the stamp of Heaven's inspiration, or is it to be put in the class of mere human compositions? Are we at liberty to reject any part of it as incorrect or untrue? Have the neologians of Germany succeeded in destroying its credit in the eyes of intelligent men? These are serious questions to which the attention of Biblical students should be directed. They involve the momentous interests of eternal truth.

The following considerations may serve to establish some who are wavering, to confirm the simple believer, and to expose the superficiality of corrupt rationalism. Perhaps they may tend to the strengthening and consolation of the faithful, who have been accustomed to repose upon the plain affirmations of this

holy book, and in whose ears the distant echoes of neology have resounded, interrupting the tranquillity of their soul.

In discussing the various topics which naturally demand attention, the following order will be observed:

1. The contents of the book of Daniel.
2. Its authorship, and the time when it was written.
3. Its unity.
4. The language, diction, and style.

1. The book is partly *historical*, and partly *prophetic*. The historical portions are chiefly contained in the first six chapters, the prophetic in the last six; but they are not always kept distinct. The first chapter narrates the deportation of Daniel and his companions to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, with the treatment they received in the palace. The second records a dream which Nebuchadnezzar dreamed in the second year of his reign, the interpretation of which by Daniel caused his elevation to the highest honours. In the third chapter, Daniel's companions are represented as nobly refusing to bow to a golden image set up in the plain of Dura for idolatrous worship, and as cast, in consequence of their disobedience, into a fiery furnace, in which they are miraculously preserved. The fourth chapter brings before us another dream of Nebuchadnezzar respecting himself, the interpretation of it by Daniel, and the change which passed upon the king in fulfilment of his vision, as well as his subsequent restoration from among the beasts of the field to his former state. The fifth chapter describes a feast given to his nobles by Belshazzar, with the hand-writing that appeared upon the wall, its explanation by Daniel, and the taking of Babylon by Cyrus on the same night. The sixth chapter relates how, in the reign of Darius, Daniel was cast into a den of lions, and miraculously saved. The rest of the book consists of four prophetic visions granted to the prophet, in the first of which he saw four beasts symbolizing four kingdoms; and in the second, a ram and he-goat, denoting the Medo-Persian and Macedonian kingdoms. The third consists of the prophecy of seventy weeks, and the fourth relates either to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, or a period still future.

In the historical part, the order of time is observed; but the visions and dreams must be inserted in their proper chronological places. Chapters seven and eight come before the fifth chapter in the order of history; chapter ix. should follow chapter v., while the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth come in regular succession. The visions and dreams have been kept apart, so as to be continuously narrated, instead of being mixed up with the purely historical sections.

II. Authorship and time of writing.

It has always been the prevailing opinion that Daniel himself was the writer of the book. In the following passages he seems to speak of himself as such.—Chap. vii. 2, 15, 28; viii. 2; ix. 2; x. 2, &c. But in the first six chapters he speaks of himself in the third person—a circumstance that has led some commentators to assign their composition to another author. It is quite consistent, however, with the supposition, that Daniel himself wrote these chapters also; for in Isaiah vii. 3, Jeremiah xx. 2, 3, Ezekiel i. 3, Hosea i. 3, and in other prophets, the same circumstance occurs.

The testimony of the New Testament is decisive in favour of Daniel. Our Lord himself has stamped the seal of his infallible authority upon the book, and thus asserted its authenticity; Matthew xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14. It has also been supposed by many, that there are allusions to Daniel's book in 1 Cor. vi. 2, Heb. xi. 33, 34, and in 2 Thessal. ii. 4; but this opinion is very questionable. It is certain that the writer of the Apocalypse was acquainted with the predictions of Daniel.

In essential connexion with the authorship stands the question of time. Josephus, in his treatise against Apion, affirms that the canon was closed by Ezra and Nehemiah, and that no books were admitted into it later than Artaxerxes Longimanus. This tradition respecting the canon has been always current in the Jewish and Christian churches, and we do not see how it could have originated without some foundation. Again, the narrative of Josephus in his Antiquities, Lib. xi. 8, implies that the book of Daniel was in existence in the time of Alexander the Great. The book of Sirach, the oldest of the Apocryphal collection, contains various allusions to Daniel's prophecies. The first book of the Maccabees pre-supposes on the part of its author an acquaintance with our prophet, showing that his writings were generally circulated at that time. The circumstance that the book is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Chaldee seems to point to the time of the captivity, when both languages were in use among the Jews. Besides, the Chaldaisms of Daniel are similar to those of Ezra, whereas the Chaldee of the Targumists is quite different. The former are more Hebraised, and therefore less pure than the latter. Hence Michaelis justly observes, that from the Hebraisms peculiar to Daniel and Ezra it should be inferred they were both written about the time when the Hebrews mixed their vernacular idioms with the newly-acquired Chaldee, and that they were not composed at a later period. The nature of the Hebrew diction employed resembles most nearly that of Ezekiel the contemporary of Daniel, which goes to prove that Daniel was the author. Thus both external and internal evidence combine to place the composition of the

book about 600 years before Christ, and coincide with the hypothesis that the prophet himself was the writer. It is impossible too for any one to study the book with impartiality without seeing many minute and undesigned particulars that confirm the current opinion regarding its author and age. The manner in which various events are mentioned, the characters of certain kings drawn, the manners and usages of Babylonia described, is exactly accordant with the time and country to which they are represented as belonging. Proofs of authenticity and genuineness may be gathered from every page; and the more enlarged our acquaintance is with profane historians who relate any of the same transactions, we shall be able to discover the greater resemblance. In short, the more the entire production is examined, the greater air of truthfulness, honesty, and accuracy will it be found to possess. Many circumstances of this nature have been noticed by Hengstenberg in his excellent treatise on Daniel; but still more may be searched out and brought to light by some scholar endued with the sagacity of Paley, as displayed in the *Horæ Paulinæ*.

But yet it has been maintained, that the book was written by some other person. A Pseudo-Daniel has been framed to be its author—a Jew living in the time of the Maccabees. After all the events predicted in it had taken place, some unknown person undertook to compose the book, and appended to it the name of Daniel celebrated for wisdom, in order that it might command attention. Such is the arbitrary assumption of neologians, who have raised numerous objections to the work. Let us attend to some of them; we cannot allude to all. Those which proceed on a denial of inspiration and miracles we must be excused for omitting. That the book is full of what rationalists call *improbabilities* and *miracles*, is to us no ground for its rejection. Our reason will not presume so far as to regard an unusual occurrence or an extraordinary event, in the light of *irrationality* or *absurdity*. But the charge of historical inaccuracy deserves to be carefully noticed. Let us therefore examine the principal inaccuracies, as they are seriously styled.

1. In chaps. v. 31; ix. 1; xi. 1, *Darius the Mede* is put instead of Cyaxares II. In answer to this, we refer to Josephus, who states that Darius was known among the Greeks by another name. It was by no means uncommon for kings to have two different appellations, one before their advancement to royalty, another after their investment with supreme power. Thus Cyrus was called Agradates, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Arsicas, &c.

2. Another historical inaccuracy is stated to be the transference to Darius the Mede of what is ascribed in Herodotus, lib. iii., to Darius Hystaspis. On comparing, however, the state-

ments in Daniel, vi. 1—4, with those in Herodotus iii. 89, we shall find considerable dissimilarity. Herodotus relates, that Darius, son of Hystaspis, divided Persia into twenty provinces, called satrapies, to each of which was assigned a governor, and from which an annual tribute was exacted. But in Daniel it is related that Darius set over the kingdom one hundred and twenty princes, and over them three presidents, of whom Daniel was the first. We have thus one hundred and twenty satrapies instead of twenty.

3. In Daniel, ix. 1, *Ahasuerus* is called *the father* of Darius the Mede, although we learn from Xenophon that the latter was son of *Astyages*. The two names Ahasuerus and Astyages must be identical.

4. In Daniel, v. 11, 13, 18, 22, Belshazzar is styled the son of Nebuchadnezzar; but in profane writers he is the fourth in succession to Nebuchadnezzar. In answer to this objection, the usage of אב *father*, may be referred to. The term is taken in a wider sense than that of father to denote ancestor. Probably Belshazzar was son of Evilmerodach, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.

5. In chapter viii., 1, 2, Bertholdt affirms that Elam is spoken of as a province of Babylonia, in which Daniel acted as a royal officer (v. 27), whereas it belonged to Media, as we learn from Jeremiah, xxv. 25; Isaiah, xxi. 2. In the same passage mention is also made of a palace at Shushan, although it was built by Darius Hystaspis, as we are informed by Pliny, and the name Shushan given to it long after Darius, to express the beauty of the edifices. In answer to these particulars, it is sufficient on the present occasion to remark, that Daniel speaks of being at Elam, *in vision*, though *in body* he was at Babylon. He was carried thither in spirit, to behold what he describes. The reason of his being taken to Shushan is founded on the circumstance, that it was to be the metropolis of the two-horned ram which he saw, *i. e.* of the Persian empire. In like manner Ezekiel, an exile at the river Chaboras, was taken in vision to Jerusalem, chap. viii. 3; xl. 2. Thus Elam, with its capital Shushan, is not assigned to the Babylonish empire in the second verse of the eighth chapter. Again, the words of Pliny* do not say that the palace merely, but that the whole city was built by Darius Hystaspis. Both Herodotus and Strabo relate that the city was very ancient, having been founded by Tithonus, father of Memnon. The words of Pliny must therefore mean, that Darius Hystaspis enlarged and adorned it, so as to make it a new place. As to the last particular, Athenæus, and Stephanus

* In Susiana est vetus regia Persarum Susa, a Dario Hystaspis filio condita.

of Byzantium, expressly state, that the town was so called from the number of lilies growing in its vicinity.

6. In Daniel, i. 1, it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, and took the city. De Wette pronounces this to be obviously false, because, according to Jeremiah, xxv. 1, xlvi. 2, the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first of Nebuchadnezzar. Various modes of solving this difficulty have been adopted. C. B. Michaelis and Bertholdt suppose, that the third year of Jehoiakim is according to another mode of reckoning the eleventh, in which latter, Josephus says that Jerusalem was taken, and the people carried away captive. Others think, that the third year of Jehoiakim is a mistake for the third month of Jehoiachin, which would coincide with 2 Kings, xxiv. 8—16. These, however, are conjectural remedies, destitute of all authority. It may be proper to state, that three deportations of Judah are narrated in Jeremiah; while only two are mentioned in the books of the Kings. The question is, does the commencement of Daniel allude to any of the deportations described in Jeremiah and Kings, or to an earlier occurrence which the writers of those books omit. It will not be maintained, that two writers contradict one another because the one records particulars unnoticed by the other. Omission is not contradiction, although the German rationalists, in their blind zeal against the credibility of revelation, frequently fall into such an error. If Daniel be found a faithful, honest historian in other instances, why should credence be refused to a circumstance related by himself, though it be omitted in all other authors? Is it fair or candid to refuse assent to any assertion which his book contains, merely because the same assertion is not made by some other prophet or historian? Every one will see the injustice of such a procedure. It has been thought, that some clue to the solution may be found in an extract from Berosus in Josephus' Antiq., lib. x., where we are informed, that Nebuchadnezzar was sent by his father, then old and feeble, to reduce his deputy in Egypt, Coelo-Syria, and Phenicia. The son accordingly attacked the rebel, and recovered all the revolted provinces. It was in this expedition that the Egyptians under Pharaoh-Necho were routed at Carchemish, as related in Jeremiah xlvi, 1, &c. The battle at Carchemish took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and then the victorious prince marched directly against Jerusalem. Jehoiakim, after a short siege, surrendered, and was again placed on the throne by the Babylonian conqueror. Daniel says, that this was in the third year of Jehoiakim. Jehoiakim came to the throne at the end of the year which Jeremiah reckons as the first; but Daniel, neglecting the incomplete year, numbers one

and the prophets, as already completed. Hence, the book of Daniel could not have been written at the captivity, because the collection of the law and the prophets was not made until a considerable time after. But the term הַסֵּפֶר means, *the writing, the well-known writing*, i. e., the book of Jeremiah; or rather *the single epistle* written by Jeremiah to the exiles at Babylon. The usage of סֵפֶר in the plural, preceded by the article, warrants this latter signification. (Comp. 2 King's xix., 14; Isaiah xxxvii., 14; 1 Kings xxi., 9.) It has been further argued, that the position of the book among the hagiographa, not the prophets, proves that it was not known until after the collection of the prophetic writings had been completed. Jewish writers assign different reasons for putting Daniel among the hagiographa. Maimonides says, that his writings were so placed, because both Solomon and Daniel are improperly called prophets, inasmuch as they designate their visions, dreams. (See Dan. vii., 1; 1 Kings iii., 15.) Abarbenel refutes this explanation. Other Jews have frivolously asserted, that because Daniel lived in a court out of Judea, he could not write a prophecy; and, therefore, the men of the great synagogue committed the book to writing. It is pretty evident, that the Jews have never regarded Daniel as a true prophet. They suppose that the book was written, not נְבוּאָה, but רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ. Daniel had the gift of prophecy, but he did not exercise the prophetic office. Those who lived and laboured in the prophetic office, were put into the second division of the sacred books; but Daniel, who only possessed the prophetic gift on particular occasions, could not be put into any other division than the third. This seems to be a distinction without a difference. It cannot be allowed that the Jews were justified in thus placing Daniel in the third rank.* The true reason must be sought in the nature of his predictions, which are so precise and definite respecting the Messiah, as not to be withstood. The time of the Redeemer's advent, and the destruction of Jerusalem, are specified with such minuteness as to perplex the Jews. Hence they seek to deprive him of the name and dignity of a prophet. But our Saviour has rebuked their scepticism, by styling him a prophet. Again, Jesus the Son of Sirach, when mentioning the other prophets, (chap. xlix.), omits Daniel. It is therefore concluded, that the book of Daniel did not then exist. This argument proves too much. The twelve minor prophets are also passed over, as well as Ezra. It was not the writer's object to mention all the prophets, but only such as had particularly distinguished themselves. The existence of Greek words in Daniel has also been adduced against its authen-

* See Carpzov's Introd. ad libros Canonicos Biblior. Vet. Test. Lipsiae, 1721. p. 235, et seq.

ticity. In chapter iii., vss. 5, 7, 10, occur the terms פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, סוּמְפֹנְיָה, קִיתָרוֹס, סַבְּכָא, which are thought to be the same as *κίθαρις σαμβύκη, ψαλτήριον, συμφωνία*. Strabo however, says, that the first two names are Asiatic. To derive the third from the Greek *ψαλτήριον*, is attended with insuperable difficulties. It is rather of oriental extraction. That the last term is Greek is uncertain, since it was the name of a musical instrument. Perhaps it was derived from the Hebrew קול. But it may be granted that the words are of Grecian origin, though found in a book written in the time of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. Grecian instruments and their names may have been known to the Babylonians at that period. Even then the Greeks had some intercourse with several Asiatic nations, as is shown by Rosenmüller from Berosus, Strabo, and Curtius. Hence Rosenmüller refuses to urge this argument; and even De Wette admits the uncertainty of it. To us it seems probable, that the terms in question were originally Asiatic; and, that the instruments denoted by them, came to the Greeks from the Asiatics.

3. Unity of the book.

Eichhorn and Bertholdt relying upon the fact that two languages are employed in the book, as also upon a fancied incoherence, and certain imaginary inconsistencies, have alleged that there are different compositions in it, proceeding from various authors. Eichhorn divides the entire into two parts, viz., chapters vii.—xii., to which some other writer prefixed the first six chapters by way of historical introduction. Bertholdt splits up the book into no less than nine sections, each proceeding from a different writer. But these fanciful commentators have been solidly refuted in this notion by Bleek and Kirms; so that the book is now generally admitted to be one connected whole. In one passage there is reference to another so frequently, as to confirm the impression of general unity. Thus, iii. 12, comp. ii. 49; v. 2, comp. i. 2; v. 11, comp. ii. 48; v. 18, comp. iv. 22; vi. 1, comp. v. 30; viii. 1, comp. vii.; ix. 21, comp. viii.; x. 12, comp. ix. 23. It is also observable, that the historic and prophetic sections bear a similarity as well as an affinity to one another. Comp. ii. 47, iii. 29, iii. 31—33, iv. 34, vi. 27; comp. iii. 30, with vi. 29, ii. vii. viii.; comp. viii. 26, with xii. 4, 8; ix. 3, with x. 2; viii. 16, with ix. 21, x. 5; viii. 18, with x. 10. It is impossible also not to observe both in the Hebrew and Chaldee parts, the same designations of time, the same expressions to denote threatening judgments, the same terms employed in reference to Daniel, and various repetitions. (See De Wette, Einleit. § 256.) The use of different languages cannot be taken as a ground for assuming different authors, because both were current at the time, and both familiar to the writer. With the

greatest facility he passes from the one to the other. And we have already seen that there are no contradictions between different parts of the book, which Bertholdt eager to discover has invented.

4. Language, diction, and style.

From the second verse of the fourth chapter, to the end of the seventh is written in Chaldee, the rest in Hebrew. Assuming, as we are warranted to do, that the book was written by Daniel himself, it is easy to account for the use of both languages. The Hebrew was then falling into disuse. The Jews in Babylon, in their intercourse with foreigners, gradually forgot their ancient tongue and adopted that of their conquerors. There is also a propriety in the use of the Chaldee language, in the chapters where it appears. They chiefly relate to Babylonian affairs, and the prophet introduces his characters as speaking in their own words. This evinces his exactness.

The Hebrew employed by Daniel agrees in all essential features with that of Ezekiel. Compare, for example, בַּג i. 5, with Ezekiel xxv. 7; חוג i. 10, with Ezekiel xviii. 7; בנ אדם viii. 17, in Ezekiel frequently; קָלָל x. 6, compare with Ezekiel i. 7; חזר xii. 3, with Ezekiel viii. 2; לגוש גדים x. 5, with Ezekiel ix. 10, 12, &c. &c.—(See Hävernick's neue kritische Untersuchungen, p. 97). The style is prosaic, and devoid of elegance, but characterised by precision and accuracy; yet it rises in elevation when the subject is of such a nature as to require it. Thus the descriptions of visions are more poetical than other portions, while the delineation of Jehovah and the Messiah in chap. ix., is the most dignified. The Chaldee remarkably corresponds with that of Ezra as already remarked. Those who desire to see the proof of this are referred to Hengstenberg, where the analogy is minutely drawn out.—(Die Authentie, p. 302, et seq.) It is quite obvious that the style of the book is congruous with the situation of the writer. 'The whole of the book,' says Pareau, 'has something of a foreign air, such as argues the author a Jew by nation, but educated by foreigners. Again, from Aramæan habits and language, to which Daniel was accustomed from his youth, he was rendered less capable of the poetic style. Besides, as neither the Aramæans nor the Chaldean nation were in any degree distinguished by the more elegant cultivation of genius, and as Daniel by his civil functions was bound to labour at the attainment of an accurate description of things,—hence in his whole book no small care of such exactness is perceivable, without any aim at superior elegance of style. Lastly, we can understand, in the writings of such a man, the employment both of a more impure Hebrew and Chaldee style, in which last there is somewhat of the

Hebrew language intermixed, which is not observable in the later Chaldee writings.'*

We are thus warranted to infer, that the book was written by the Daniel of whom it speaks, about 600 years B.C. With this opinion agrees the unbroken testimony of the Jewish and Christian Churches down to a late period. Josephus and the Talmud quote it as the genuine production of Daniel, while our Lord and some of his apostles give their infallible sanction to the same truth. Internal evidence harmonises with the external; and it requires the hardihood of unbelieving man to impugn such authority. The authenticity of the book was denied by Porphyry the ancient enemy of Christianity. He affirmed that it was written by a Palestinian Jew in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the Greek language, so that the prophet did not predict things future, but narrated the past. Jerome states that of the fifteen books into which his work against Christianity was divided, the whole of the twelfth was directed against Daniel. It was to him a stumbling-block that everything had been so exactly fulfilled as far as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, while all beyond that was unaccomplished. He was refuted by Eusebius, Methodius, Apollinaris, and Jerome. Spinoza† asserted that Daniel himself certainly wrote the last five chapters, but that the first seven were probably derived from Chaldee annals by a later writer. Sir Isaac Newton conjectured that the last six chapters alone were written by Daniel. Beausobre, in his remarks on the New Testament, advanced the same opinion. Anthony Collins endeavoured to oppose the authenticity of the whole book, while Semler rejected its inspiration. J. D. Michaelis suspected chapters iii—vi.; of the rest he had no doubt. Corrodi boldly attacked the book as the production of an impostor at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; he was followed by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Griesinger, Gesenius, Bleek, Kirms, De Wette, Rosenmüller, Von Lengerke, and Koester. On the other hand, there have not been wanting able defenders of the book, among whom the names of Jahn, Hengstenberg, and Hävernick, stand conspicuous. The treatise written by Hengstenberg is by far the ablest that has appeared in opposition to the Rationalists, and leaves little more to be said by such as agree with him in abiding by the canonicity and inspiration of so important a part of the Old Testament. It is not difficult to perceive that a lurking unbelief in all supernatural communications lies at the foundation of the rationalist theory. Daniel predicted the death and sufferings of the Messiah; his words must therefore be turned aside from their legi-

* Introd. to O. T. translated in the Bib. Cat. vol. ii. p. 259.

† Tract. Theol-polit., cap. x.

timate import, or the composition of the book must be attributed to a much later person. It is thus that men, in the madness of their reason, attempt to divest the Bible of its divine character, robbing it of all its value, and subverting its precious authority.

There are various apocryphal writings connected with the canonical book of Daniel, which also require some notice.

History of Susanna.—This piece was originally written in the Greek language, as Porphyry long since inferred from the play upon words contained in verses 54, 55, 58, 59. Eusebius, Apollinarius, and others, in ancient times, held the same opinion. Eichhorn, however, has adduced its Hebraisms in proof of a Hebrew original, especially those occurring in 1, 7, 14, 19, 28, 52. Nothing can be weaker than this argument; for if we suppose that it was composed by a Hellenistic Jew, the occurrence of such idioms can be easily explained. Nor can its reception into the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, avail to establish the same hypothesis. Jerome thinks that the statement found in Jeremiah xxix. 23, &c. gave rise to the history in question. Whatever truth be in this, the object of the writer is manifest. He meant to praise the youthful Daniel.

Story of Bel and the Dragon.—The composition of this piece seems to have been suggested by Daniel, chap. vi., ver. 30, et seq. The author is stated to be Habakkuk.

In early times, as we are informed by Jerome, Porphyry and the Palestinian Jews ridiculed the Christians for supposing these pieces to be the authentic productions of Daniel. But although the great mass of Christians in that age regarded them as a genuine part of the Old Testament, their reception was not universal. Julius Africanus disputed with Origen on the matter, and questioned their inspiration. Jerome declared them to be fabulous.

In the Septuagint version of Daniel, which was rejected by the Christian Churches even before the time of Jerome, there are also additions to the original Hebrew, which must be declared apocryphal. Of these the most important are—Azariah's prayer (chap. iii. 24, et seq.); the song of the three children in the furnace (iii. 51, et seq.). That these interpolations were written in Chaldee cannot be proved, although Eichhorn, Michaelis, and Bertholdt have advocated such an opinion. It is almost certain that they did not proceed from the same author, else he would have been consistent with himself.

With regard to the position of these apocryphal productions, the history of Susanna and the story of Bel and the Dragon are found in the Chigian MS. of the Seventy, from which the genuine Hexaplar version of Daniel was printed for the first time (Rome, 1772), after the inspired book itself; they consti-

tute the 13th and 14th chapters. In the Vatican and other MSS. of Theodotion's version, the history of Susanna stands before the book of Daniel, the story of Bel and the Dragon at the end of it. It is worthy, however, of especial notice, that at the conclusion of the twelfth chapter in the Chigian MS. there occurs this subscription, Δανιὴλ κατὰ τοὺς Ο'. The locality of Azariah's prayer and the song of the three children is the same in the Septuagint and in Theodotion. In the Vulgate Latin all of these apocryphal productions exist: they were translated from Theodotion; and Jerome expressly affirmed, that they were not found in the Hebrew. This father separated Susanna and Bel and the Dragon from the canonical book by putting them together at the end, and appending the remark, that he did not find them in the Hebrew. The Romish Church, in a decree promulgated at the Council of Trent, pronounced all these spurious additions to Daniel to be authentic.

Art. V. 1. *Fifty Sermons delivered by the Rev. R. Hall, M.A., chiefly during the last five years of his ministry: from Notes taken at the time of their delivery.* By the Rev. Thomas Grinfield, M.A. London: Hamilton and Co.

2. *A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Philippians: in twelve discourses, delivered at Cambridge, in the years* 1801 *and* 1802. *To which are added several Sermons on various Subjects, by the late Rev. R. Hall, A.M., from Short hand Notes.* By John Greene. London: Hamilton and Co.

Relic-worship, like Hero-worship, has innumerable devotees. Both of them arise out of some of the first principles of our nature, and have an intimate connexion with each other. The hero is first exalted to honour, and set upon the pedestal to be adored; then every shred of his garment, and every production of his mind is solicitously sought for, cabinetted, and consecrated: till, from the ashes of the great god of our idolatry, hundreds and thousands of little objects of deification spring forth in endless shape and variety; and we—the civilized, the refined, the intellectual, and so forth,—emulate the number of the three hundred and sixty millions of the gods of Indian adoration!

In itself considered, the love of relics, and especially of the intellectual fragments of deceased and distinguished men, can scarcely be deemed an unreasonable passion: it is so only when, being indulged to excess, it becomes either ridiculous by its extravagance, or injurious by its superstition. The same feeling which

induces us to cherish the *remembrance* of those who are gone, not unnaturally leads to the preservation of whatever may strengthen that remembrance, and invest it with a kind of form and body. The memorial, whatever it may be, that stirs up pleasant reminiscences of those whom we held dear or admired when living, is not to be disdained, and may even be more than permitted when they are concealed from our view for ever. It would seem to be a very severe law indeed, to interdict as wrong such an associating power of the mind; for it would at once quench a thousand interesting sympathies, darken and annihilate unnumbered happy visions, enfeeble the motive to many useful activities and aspirations after excellence, and cause us to stand aghast in utterable distress, as the objects of our friendship or admiration disappear, like some mariner who, having escaped from a wreck alone, contemplates in solitary sorrow the last plunge of his ill-fated vessel. With what great delight, therefore, may we look upon, and how conducive in its tendency, to awaken emotions and efforts of no common order, may be a sight of the pulpit of Baxter, at Kidderminster; or of the chair, the cup, and other remains of Bunyan, at Bedford! To look on these and similar mementos of the past with indifference, would bespeak, either an uninstructed mind, or an insensible heart; a defect, and a lamentable one, in a kind of moral sense, which connects the present generation, with the past and the future—inspiring us alike with grateful retrospections, and animating hopes.

It is curious to observe the growth of that class of feelings on which we are remarking, from the merest insignificant grain or atom, into the full and branching tree of superstition. The kindliest and the best sentiments at first dictated, as we see they often dictate still, the desire to perpetuate the memory of the departed, by a lock of hair, a signature, a book full of dogs' ears and pencil marks, a favourite piece of dress, a walking stick, or any other trifle. It is nothing in itself; but becomes everything when the affections are concerned. Here is evident and ample room for the play of the domestic attachments; and whatever adorned, or in any way distinguished, or was valued by the parent or the child, the brother or the sister, and then the patron or the friend, acquires a new and increased degree of worth. Hence arises in the next step of the process, an artificial estimate of whatever belonged, and because it once belonged to a person of notoriety,—of great private or public excellence and repute. And, hence again, when the religious feelings become associated with others, the deification of the eminently good, and the elevation into comparative greatness also, of whatever might have been theirs, by birth or acquisition; till, in the excess of

admiration, and in the process of time, virtues are attributed to these remnants of their existence, as well as to themselves,—to the hem of a garment and the very paring of a nail,—and the deluded worshipper lives in a world of ideality.

How and where to check these feelings, and to what only they should be applied, is a problem which requires some skill to solve. That their indulgence to a certain extent, being of the character of a natural instinct, is justifiable, cannot be questioned; but their proneness to extravagance and folly, demands the curb of reason, and the direction of a sober judgment. That they may be subservient to useful purposes, we have already admitted; that they may be perverted, and are very liable to be perverted to improper ends, we have also seen; and we have almost daily evidence in the walks of literature, of a misuse of this class of natural sentiments. There is something sacred about the intellectual phenomena of man, and the productions of the mental faculties; and we wish to see these bright emanations in all their entireness and beauty. We are jealous with regard to every thing that tends to depreciate or disparage those, of whom posterity can only judge by their writings; whose well-matured writings, as they are the basis, must be the conservators of their fame; and whose merits should be as religiously preserved, as the ashes of their urns.

There can be no doubt that some of the publishers of the posthumous scrapiana of eminent men, are influenced by motives of reverence for their memories, while with others it is a matter of mere mercenary calculation. The one class is desirous of enhancing or perpetuating the celebrity of the illustrious dead, the other of filling their own pockets. Or, with the latter, there may be a lurking feeling of another kind, and as selfish and discreditable; namely, to obtain a name by hanging upon the skirts of the intellectual giant. We cannot help being reminded in this case of the story told of Johnson, we believe by his biographer, whose naiveté is often sufficiently amusing. 'They have been caricaturing you,' said Boswell, 'in some of the newspapers.' 'Have they,' returned Johnson, 'and pray what have they said?' 'Why, they have represented you as the great English bull dog!' Johnson was a little piqued at this no very beau ideal of his character, and tartly answered, 'And what do you think, Bozzy, they have said of you?—That you are the tin-kettle tied at his heels.'

It appears then, that genius like royalty, in despite of its superiority—nay, in consequence of it—must pay heavy taxes. By being raised above the common mass of mankind, each must have its share of disquiet, and must suffer during life, a privation

of repose. Both the one and the other, are born to be gazed at; tracked in every wandering, and in every place; and instead of being buried, are to be embalmed for the ages to come. Complaint is vain; for the multitude *will* starē, and seek to satisfy curiosity. Shrinking and remonstrance are alike useless, men must pay for being great: one thing is thus set over against another; and if we would have privacy and peace, we must be content to be insignificant; or to be—nameless reviewers!

Rank, however, has one advantage, even in this respect, over intellectual distinction; namely, that generally speaking it is either let alone in its glory, or its honour is carefully enhanced after death. Not so genius. Survivors will neither let it alone, nor pursue the proper methods to secure its renown. Genius, therefore, pays the heaviest tax of the two. It is forced to yield up its scraps, unfinished sentences, and crude thoughts, its very lumber, its all, to the rapacity of the tax collector, or rather his employer, the public. And who are the public to demand all this; and what right have they to send their agents to require this great legacy duty, on a man's brains and powers?

There are objections then, a priori, to that general system of search and ransackings of papers, portfolios, and bureaus, which commonly ensues upon the departure of acknowledged greatness. In the first place, it is unauthorized. No one scarcely would consent to such posthumous meddling; and we take it that every man has a right to make his own will, and no one has a right to alter it after his decease. Now, the publications which are issued under the writer's own authority and correction, during his life, and which he has prepared with a due concern for his reputation, constitute his will or the legacy which he bequeaths to posterity. These are what he meant future times to possess; the rest he has virtually bequeathed to oblivion. In the next place, very few instances occur, we will not say there are no exceptions, but the instances are rare, in which the fair fame of a distinguished individual, is not injured in some degree, and often very greatly, by publications of this nature. In the style, the argument, the fragmental composition, whatever it may be, there is a want of finish and completeness, which do injustice to the author. It is in most instances certain, that he would not have left them in this state for the public eye. Often they are mere sudden thoughts or plans unpursued; links which have never been connected into a chain, and perhaps were never intended to be; or momentary caprices of imagination, the fancies of a leisure hour, or even the cast off materials of works already published, or of projects laid aside after mature deliberation. Now why these should be raked up from the dusty floor, and

snatched from the fire, to which many of them at least were destined, we cannot well divine—or divining, we cannot well approve.

To these objections, were we to pursue the subject, might perhaps be added others. But it has been intimated, that there may be exceptions to this just condemnation of the general proceedings of the literary spoilers of the dead. And we are inclined to regard the first of the volumes named at the head of this article, as among the number, although it might have been constructed upon a more rigid plan of revision and exclusion. We are not quite sure, indeed, whether we are not beguiled into a somewhat higher estimate of its merits, than we could otherwise accord, by those recollections of our own, as to the manner of the illustrious preacher, which seem to vivify and give intensity to some of the passages which are preserved. Yet, it is no mean praise to say, that we have been frequently reminded of the style and pathos which so often rivetted us to lips, now silent in the grave. We could have wished, that several of the shorter discourses had been omitted; and, we cannot help thinking, it is a false taste which has induced the editor to append his own remarks to guide the judgment, or inspire the passion of the reader. Every man may be allowed to decide for himself, and every man will not always be in agreement with Mr. Grinfield. Still we are much gratified with a large proportion of these sketches, regarded simply as sketches; and when we call to mind the rapidity of Mr. Hall's utterance, especially in his finest passages, both of argument and eloquence, we are rather surprised at the degree of accuracy with which some parts of the discourses are taken. Of both the remarks now made, we shall furnish a brief illustration.

Of the false taste displayed, and the forced decision that is attempted, the following sentence at the close of a sermon, on 'Early Piety, exemplified in Abijah,' may be adduced:—'The preceding sketch presents a beautiful specimen of the preacher's ingenious wisdom, in deducing principles and sentiments, the most important and affecting, from a few words of scripture biography.' Now, we are convinced every impartial person will see, that the discourse as here given, contains in its leading sentiments, scarcely anything but such ideas, as an ordinary preacher would have deduced from the text; and for the rest, it can be nothing but a meagre representation, of what such a preacher as Mr. Hall, must have actually delivered. The text is, 'All Israel shall mourn for him; because in him, there is found some good thing towards the Lord God of Israel.' '1. It is here implied, that religion is an internal principle. 2. Religion is the best of

principles. 3. Religion has 'the Lord God' for its author and its object. 4. The smallest degree of real religion does not escape the eye of God. 5. Early piety, always pleasing to the Lord, is pre-eminently pleasing when it appears amidst an irreligious family; as in the case of Jeroboam's son. 6. Yet early piety affords no security against an untimely grave. 7. Lastly, early piety, though cut off in its opening bloom, has a record in heaven and earth; there is a fragrance in its remembrance.' The fact is, that Mr. Hall never particularly excelled in what are technically termed the divisions of a text; though *these* are good, there is nothing in them very peculiar or indicative of pre-eminence of talent, or extraordinary depth of reflection.

We shall now introduce two or three passages as specimens, which, though not elaborated with the finish that could have been given, had they been prepared by the author, nor probably so perfect as they were really delivered from the pulpit, are, nevertheless, characteristic. It may be observed, that in all the short hand reports, little connecting words which complete sentences, are continually omitted. The reason we presume is, not that they were not spoken, but that they were not heard; for, they were in truth frequently all but inaudible. In speaking of 'present sufferings, as contrasted with future glory,' Mr. Hall thus proceeds:—

'With respect to mental powers, there will take place a corresponding expansion. The intellect will be enlarged, in proportion to the enlarged sphere in which it is to expatiate; and knowledge will proportionately pour in upon the mind. The apostle illustrates the vast superiority of the future state, as compared with the present, in respect to knowledge and intellect, by the supremacy that now exists in the enlarged faculties and views of manhood, as compared with the very limited powers and ideas of children; 'When I was a child, I understood as a child.' Here we are in our infancy of mind and knowledge; intelligence, even of a Newton, which here seems to border upon angelic intuition, it is probable, appears rather as an infantine than a matured intelligence: we know nothing but in part, and that part but as in a dark reflection. Above all, we entertain most imperfect and vague conceptions, of 'the glory to be revealed.' Even the inspired and highly-favoured apostle, John, was compelled to say, 'it doth it not yet appear what we shall be.' That state can be known only by the light of eternity. We have not powers to comprehend, nor capacities to enjoy it. Were an angel to descend from that state, and give us a glimpse of his brightness, like the apostle, we should fall at his feet as dead. Under the exceeding weight of that eternal glory, we should swoon and die away; our small measures could not contain that 'fulness of joy.' There the vessel will be inconceivably dilated; the body will be 'raised to power,' like that of angels, who 'ex-

cel in strength,' endued with immortal vigour, with adamantine energy: the eye will be strengthened to behold those beams of divine effulgence which, were they to be manifested to us now, would blind us with their blaze,—would sink us, dazzled and astounded to the earth, like Saul on his way to Damascus! The ear will be fitted to receive, the voice to respond, those eternal hallelujahs! Every cloud will be dispelled from the mind, every imperfection of its powers removed. 'We shall see face to face, and know as we are known.' There will exist a totally different scale of faculties, adapted to the magnitude of the objects to be comprehended, to the inconceivable splendours of the beatific vision! What are the very limited sufferings of this present time, proportioned as they always are to our present very limited powers of sustaining; what, placed in comparison with that ineffable glory of the future world, to which powers of a different order are adapted, powers expanded in proportion to the surpassing greatness of these objects?'—pp. 102, 103.

The following passage is clearly Mr. Hall's; it occurs in a sermon, in which reasons are assigned for a Judgment to come:—

'Man is naturally created heir to such a state of being. Man has an immaterial, invisible property,—a soul, as well as a material, perishable body. This has been the conviction of all the wisest amongst mankind. The thinking principle, that which we mean when we speak of self, that which we call *I*, is something that consists of perfect unity and simplicity, something not to be separated into parts like the body. Otherwise, thought must be supposed to arise from the union of the several parts of the body, and every part must have its portion of thought, which is absurd; for then there must be supposed as many centres of thought, as many minds and souls, as there are parts; and thus every individual would contain an infinity of selves within him. The spirit of man is something uncompounded; therefore not destructible; not to be scattered by winds, or consumed by flames. No outward force can touch thought, can affect the inward consciousness of guilt or innocence. Spirit naturally ascends to God, the infinite spirit, the Father of all spirits, as dust naturally returns to dust. If God does not destroy the spirit of his creatures, it cannot be destroyed; but what reason can be assigned, why he should destroy that which is the chief work of his creative power? What atom of matter did he ever yet annihilate? Is it conceivable, then, that he should annihilate that alone which partakes most of his own nature, and renders the creature capable of an immortal union with himself? Can mind, which is an eternal thing, an emanation of the Father of spirits, be supposed to perish? No; be assured you are born to immortality as your natural inheritance; your being, once commenced, must go on for ever.'—pp. 124—126.

Again—

'The last judgment is described as being exercised on man in his incarnate state. This circumstance is a pure discovery of revelation: it was utterly unknown to nature. We are taught by Scripture, that

the dead will be raised with bodies changed and fitted for that fiery ordeal which they must undergo. In 1 Cor. xv., the apostle says, 'Behold I show you a mystery; we shall all be changed in a moment at the last trump;' whence 'the last trump' appears to be that which will change those that remain on earth, after the first trump has raised those that were dead, as the same apostle writes in another place, 'We that remain shall not prevent,' or precede 'those that sleep; the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that remain shall be caught up to meet the Lord.' Two miracles are described: the first, the raising of the dead; the second, the changing of the living. Christianity puts a new dignity even upon the fleshly part of our nature, teaching us that we shall rise with the body, as the companion of the mind, the instrument and partner of its ideas. We shall give an account in the body of the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Hence arises a new argument for purity and temperance: 'the body being dead because of sin, but quickened by Christ, we are therefore to mortify the deeds of the body,' and to regard it as 'the temple of God.' 'The body is for the Lord.'

'We learn from Scripture that the judgment of all will be simultaneous; all will be judged together. This also is a circumstance for which we are indebted solely to revelation. Reason might probably have supposed that every one would be judged separately at the time of his death. But God has reasons for a public judgment: God must not only do right, but be known to do right. Though every one at death enters the region either of happiness or despair; yet it is fit there should be a day, prefigured by the day of visitation at the deluge, at Sodom, and at Jerusalem,—a day for the gathering of all men to their own class, as either righteous or wicked. This arrangement, if not necessary, is expedient for the illustration of the divine justice: thus all may be convinced of the fitness, not only of their own retribution, but of that of others also. The day, thus designated, signifies a portion of duration set apart for this purpose, for which one might suppose an eternity would scarcely be too great, when we consider the immensity of the subject, and the multitude of the persons concerned; but we must recollect that God can in a moment let in such light as would equal what, according to our present ideas, it would require eternity to disclose, just as our Saviour could in a few moments impress on the woman of Samaria such a sense of his omniscience, that she went away declaring, 'he had told her all that ever she did,' and demanded, 'Is not this the Christ?' Thus God can make men retrace all the past at once, and 'set all their misdeeds and secret sins in the light of his countenance.'—pp. 130—2.

The publication of Mr. Greene furnishes a fair sample of the objections already urged against the injudicious attempts of mistaken friendship, which so often mars, rather than exalts the fame of the departed. When we first beheld the advertisement of 'A Practical Exposition of the Epistle to the Philippians, delivered at Cambridge, by Robert Hall,' our expectations were considerably excited; and we looked with eagerness for

what we believed must be substantially the delivered discourses of the illustrious preacher. We fully calculated that the intense admiration of the short-hand writer, in taking down the preacher's words, for the purpose of deliberately reading over and studying again what he had heard, together with the probable intermixture of the motive to present these fruits of genius to the world, at some distant period, would have quickened his pen, and enabled him to have given a tolerably, if not entirely, accurate report. By the help of our own recollections of Mr. Hall's style and manner, we were therefore anticipating the gratification of almost literally realizing the scriptural account of Abel,—that 'being dead he yet speaketh.' What may be the sentiments of 'the Church of Christ, with the minister and deacons, meeting in St. Andrew's-street, Cambridge,' to whom these transcriptions from the short-hand book are dedicated, we cannot presume to say: for ourselves we must frankly declare, that we have been bitterly disappointed. We can scarcely trace anything whatever of the spirit, the diction, the exuberance of thought, and felicity of illustration, which distinguished Robert Hall; while, on the contrary, there is plenty of the wording and filling up of John Greene. Not only the flesh and blood, but the very bones of Mr. Hall are mangled. We have looked again and again for paragraphs, nay, for sentences only, which he would have written or spoken; and if any one can point out half a dozen such in the whole volume, all we can say is, that he is more fortunate than we have been. Mr. Greene may think this severe; but it is the severity of truth, with possibly a little infusion of the acerbity of vexation.

Let any one who knew Mr. Hall, or ever heard him preach, say whether they think he uttered such unfinished and ill-turned sentences as the following, selected from a mighty mass of others:—'We shall notice the inscription and the salutation, *which were agreeable to the other epistles on like occasions;*' 'real religion in the heart is a good work;'... 'until that day;'...'then true Christians will be found entirely like him, and this work will be complete. *It expands towards that day.*' The first division in the second discourse is thus announced:—'*Here is a piece of pleasing intelligence with respect to religion.*' V. 15—'*There was a disagreeable effect produced,* some preached Christ even of envy and strife.'—V. 23—'I am in a strait betwixt two.' '*It produced a sort of difficulty,* having a desire to depart.' 'His benevolence dictates his presence on earth; his piety inclines him towards heaven; *this made him in a strait.*' 'Fulfil ye my joy,' &c. '*It is remarkable the tender manner with which he addresses them.*'

'Rejoice in the Lord alway, and again I say rejoice.' 'There is scarcely any precept the apostle *furnishes us so much with* as 'joy in the Lord.' 'It is evidently implied in the text—(for we should have said the volume contains a few specimens of sermons)—that none will be admitted to heaven *without* they are prepared for it.' This is on the passage, 'Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.' And mark the manner in which the divisions are announced:—'In order to understand what that preparation is, which is here spoken of, it will be proper for us briefly to consider, 1st, *The views which are given us* of the heavenly state in the Scriptures; 2ndly, *What those views and principles are;* 3rdly, The ground this lays for habitual gratitude to God.' Only think of Mr. Hall announcing, as the two principal divisions of his subject, first, *the views*, and, secondly, *what the views are!* Credat Judæus Apella! He is made to say of the inheritance of the saints in light, '*There* there will be nothing but light and beauty, and order and rectitude, as well as knowledge; and this will produce *a sort of extatic heat of enjoyment as will change* us into their resemblance.' But, enough. We must add, however, one specimen of exquisite grammar—'*Each* of these expressions *are* remarkably emphatic; they rise one above another in majesty and significancy.'

We could have wished to spare this gentleman the pain which we fear must be occasioned by our remarks; but justice to the public demands them. We have no idea of letting a dog tear the skin of a dead lion, without beating him off. From the specimens which are found in Mr. Grinfield's volume, we should judge that many of Mr. Hall's sermons would have been best reported by means of a severely taxed memory, rather than by short-hand writing; for whatever might have been the degree of manual dexterity employed, such a speaker could not have been well followed. It was the ox—sometimes we have been ready to say the ass—running after the race-horse. The consequence is, that many a hiatus remains, and many a sentence is sadly impoverished or distorted, by the want of tact or taste in the finishing.

But we have done. Some of our readers may think that we have prolonged our article beyond the proportionate limits; but we deemed it desirable for once to express our sentiments rather fully on the subject of posthumous publications, and the practice of rifling the papers of authors, and snatching away the unfinished sentences of orators. We might also plead the fascination of the name of Hall, which always induces us to linger over whatever attaches to it. Admiration of his genius and jealousy for his fame have equally influenced us on this occasion;

and as we have heard of the existence of some volumes of his discourses, taken with the utmost care, and perfected under his own verbal corrections, we earnestly entreat the possessor to produce them at once, to justify the exception we have already made to the general rule of exclusion, and to gratify ourselves and the public with the real feast, which would then be prepared for them.

Art. VI. *The Life and Times of John Reuchlin, or Capnion, the Father of the German Reformation.* By Francis Barham, Esq. London: Whitaker and Co. 1843.

'It was in the course of the fourteenth century,' observes M. Guizot, 'that the Greek and Roman antiquity was restored, so to speak, to Europe. The ardour with which Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and all their contemporaries, sought out Greek and Latin manuscripts, and gave them to the world, is matter of notoriety. The least discovery of that sort excited an amazing bustle and transport of joy. In the midst of this excitement a school began to be formed, which has played a much more important part in the development of the human understanding than is ordinarily attributed to it; namely, the classical school. Without attaching to this word the meaning in which it is used at present, it was then concerned with anything but a literary system or contest. The classical school of that epoch was inflamed with admiration, not only for the writings of the ancients, for Virgil, and for Homer, but also for the whole ancient society, its institutions, opinions, and philosophy, as well as literature. It must be confessed that antiquity, under the heads of politics, philosophy, and literature, was far superior to the Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is not, therefore, at all surprising that it exercised so great an influence, or that the majority of enlightened, active, refined, and fastidious minds conceived an utter disgust for the coarse manners, confused ideas, and barbarous forms of their own times, and gave themselves up with rapture to the study, and almost to the worship, of a society so much more regular, and at the same time so much more developed. Thus was originated that school of freethinkers which appeared at the commencement of the fifteenth century, and in which prelates, jurisconsults, and scholars, were united together.' Moreover, in the midst of this movement Constantinople was taken by the Turks, the eastern empire came to an end, and the fugitive Greeks settled in Italy.

Through their agency was diffused an increased knowledge of antiquity; they brought with them the Hellenic language, and numerous manuscripts, and thus afforded the means by which the ancient civilization might be more thoroughly studied. The classical school became animated with redoubled admiration and ardour. But other stimuli were applied to the transitional spirit of the times, insomuch that it may be justly said, three great facts of the moral order present themselves at this epoch. First, an ecclesiastical reform attempted by the church itself; for this was the period of the most brilliant development of the aristocratic church, especially in Italy; it abandoned itself with lordly pride to all the pleasures of a voluptuous, effeminate, elegant, and licentious civilization, to a taste for letters and arts, for social and material enjoyments. We observe, with some degree of astonishment, the prevalence among some of the higher church dignitaries, Cardinal Bembo for instance, of a medley of refined sensuality and intellectual development, of enervated manners and hardihood of mind. Secondly, a popular movement for religious reform; and lastly, an intellectual revolution, which formed the school of freethinkers.

Among the most celebrated scholars that flourished at this period to whom M. Guizot alludes, was John Reuchlin, Capnion, or Capnio,* the precursor of Luther, and hence usually termed the Father of the German Reformation, whose life and times are now for the first time published in English. It is a work, though not bulky, evidencing much patient research, and is calculated to explain a multitude of interesting facts connected with the Reformation, which have hitherto perplexed many critics and historians. It is a valuable counterpart to the Life and Times of Savonarola, the Italian reformer, and will be recognized as a book occupying a vacant space of ecclesiastical history, and filling up a very deplorable chasm in the records of literature. When it is considered, moreover, how great an influence Reuchlin exercised over Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, and the chief spirits of his age; and that no German of the fifteenth century can be said to have approached him in depth of classical erudition, with the exception perhaps of Agricola and Celtes, the utility and worth of such a publication must be at once admitted. Those English authors to whom we are accustomed chiefly to look for information on topics connected

* The name Reuchlin, in German signifying *smoke*, was sometimes substituted by its Greek equivalent *Capnion*, in the same manner as *Gerard* assumed the name of Desiderius Erasmus, and *Schwartserdt*, which signifies *black earth*, was changed to Melancthon. This transmutation appears to have been the fashion of the age; but in the case of Reuchlin the change of name never became so completely established as in the case of the two latter.

with the literature of the middle age, such as Berington, Roscoe, Hallam, &c., have too much neglected the subject of those memorials, affording little light where much is required. Mr. Barham professes to have borrowed his materials principally from the pages of Mayerhoff, Maius, Erasmus, Brucker, and other foreign sources,—of which writers the most recent and valuable is Dr. Mayerhoff, whose German biography of Reuchlin, after that of Erasmus lately given to the world by Dr. Müller, is one of the most interesting and instructive little treatises it has been our good fortune to meet with. Dr. Neander, who introduced Mayerhoff's publication* by a preface, makes use of the following very appropriate observations:—'As returning centuries present in a new and striking manner to the consciousness of our contemporaries, the memory of the great Christian revival to which our evangelical church owes its existence; so must the remembrance of those great men employed by God as instruments in preparing for this new order of things, gain fresh interest. But among them Reuchlin takes the most considerable place next to Erasmus. Luther himself wrote to Reuchlin, that no remarkable new manifestation of the Divine Word had ever taken place except a John the Baptist had preceded, making way for it by the revival of knowledge, which, according to Luther's idea, may particularly be applied to what Reuchlin effected in this respect. And, besides, by fighting for freedom against slavery of mind, Reuchlin helped to establish that which is, and ever will be, an indispensable condition of all healthy development of the human mind. 'The period to which Reuchlin actually belonged especially resembles ours, inasmuch as that the new system in the church had not yet arisen, but was only prepared, and that the lot which falls to our time, is to make ready great things which are to come. In such times there usually appear many conflicts between the old and the new, light and darkness. In the age of Reuchlin the contrasts were more simple, in ours more complicated, and the mingling of light and darkness produces many compounds and shadowings.'

In a connected narrative of the life of such a man is necessarily mirrored the whole state of religion, of the cultivation of literature, and of the manners and customs of the era. His career was a long and influential one. No other biography thus comprehends the days previous to the great religious revival, or is so connected with its controversies in different directions, both singly and in the aggregate. Erasmus lived later, and was so much acted upon by the Reformation itself, that his life can-

* Dr. M's. treatise was written in 1830, at the commemoration of the Confession of Augsburg, three centuries back.

not be expected to give so striking and comprehensive a picture of the origin and progress of this moral revolution. But, however this be, we have not yet been favoured in England with any well-executed history of the life of the latter reformer and scholar; that of Butler is too meagre, and the other by Dr. Jortin is amusing indeed, but the author was but superficially versed in the literary history of the sixteenth century. In reference to these subjects we are glad to find that Mr. Barham is still extending his valuable researches, and that, as he informs us, the dispersion of Reuchlin's letters in various works, and the scarcity of the first collection of them, makes him wish to be able to collect and publish the letters to and from him. There are indeed many difficulties connected with the execution of this purpose, but he will have to trust to the kind assistance of those who have the cause of learning at heart.*

John Reuchlin was born at Phorzheim, on the confluence of the Würm and the Nagola in the Enz, on the 28th of December, 1455, and educated, together with a younger brother, Dionysius, and a sister, Elizabeth, by his virtuous and honest parents, George and Eliza Erina, who, if they were not in affluence, were at least not in great poverty. He was early sent by his father to the then flourishing Latin town school, where he learned the rudiments of language and music. His active industry ensured a successful progress, and high expectations were raised of him. His lively social disposition, and gentleness of spirit, gained him the love of his teachers and schoolfellows. When about eighteen he repaired to the high school of Paris, where from some fugitive Greeks or their pupils he learnt the principles of Greek literature, and was afterwards the first German who communicated them to his countrymen. At this time, also, the disciple of the truly pious Thomas à Kempis, the celebrated John Wessel of Groningen, called by his friends *lux mundi*, and by his enemies *magister contradictionum*, from his disputes with the *Scholastics*, was living in Paris, and distinguished himself, as much by acuteness, as by complete knowledge, and the defence of evangelical doctrines. By this person, Reuchlin was led to study the Bible ; and, as Melancthon assures us, learnt from him the elements of the Hebrew language; he was also exhorted by him to prosecute the study of Greek, with the utmost zeal. At Basle, where Reuchlin came at the end of the year 1474, he availed himself with much profit, of several Greek codices brought by Nicholaus de Rhagusio, the papal legate. While here, he

* The life of Reuchlin by Majus is, in many respects a very interesting work ; it is industriously compiled, but is often written carelessly and uncritically; and being composed in Latin, and somewhat scarce, is the less accessible to the general reader.

gave lectures on the Latin language, explained the classics, and practised literature, with more regard to grammar than elegance, because that plan seemed to him most necessary, under existing circumstances. He composed a Latin Dictionary, became *Magister Artium*, in 1477, and began to teach Greek. In this he gave so much satisfaction, that his college course was soon the most frequented. When the first reforming movement commenced, especially in Lower Germany, Reuchlin determined to be useful to his native country; and, first in his birth-place, to contribute his share towards the revival of learning and true religion. He hastened, therefore, to Tübingen, and caused himself to be entered in December, 1481, in the hope of being employed in the new university, founded by Eberhard 'the Bearded.' His pecuniary circumstances now permitted him to marry; and his marriage, though childless, was as happy as it was lasting. He accompanied Eberhard to Rome, in 1482, where he earned no inconsiderable fame. When that prince paid his respects to the Pope, Sixtus IV., surrounded by his cardinals, Reuchlin, his spokesman, made an oration in such pure fluent Latin, and with so polished an elocution, which was then little expected from an ultra-montane, that the whole assembly not only heard him in preference to any other German, but listened even with admiration; and the pope himself declared, that Reuchlin deserved to be placed among the best orators of France and Italy. From this time, the prince kept Reuchlin always at his side, showed him all possible regard, and employed him in all important embassies.

From Rome, the prince and his companion repaired to Florence, where the arts and sciences were prospering under the protection of the Medici. They found there, besides the fugitive scholars from Constantinople, such men as Marsilius Ficinus, (a great commentator on Plato, and one of the chief propagators of the Platonic philosophy, in opposition to Scholasticism, in the 15th century); Count Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, Aurispa Philelphus, and Angelo Politiano, tutor to the sons of Lorenzo. In connexion with the last of these we are told, that—

'When Eberhard came with his companion to Lorenzo, the latter showed him his treasures, and, among these his collection of books, on whose value and beauty Reuchlin exclaimed aloud, in the utmost admiration. Upon this, Lorenzo went up to him, and promising to discover to a man so athirst for knowledge, a yet more precious treasure, he opened an apartment in which Politian was instructing his family in polite literature. This spectacle, as well as the wisdom of the prince, surprised and delighted not only Reuchlin, but Eberhard so much, that he cried out: 'Indeed, friend, there is no more precious treasure for a father, than such children.' '

In 1484, Reuchlin removed from Tübingen to Stuttgard, where he found many hours which he could devote to his darling employment, the study of the Greek language, philosophy, and the New Testament. In 1490 he again visited Rome, and was afterwards ennobled by the emperor. About this time, he was carefully assisted in his researches in Hebrew, by a learned Jew, the court physician of Frederic III. The knowledge of this language was indirectly the foundation of his future fate and of his combat with those who loved darkness; as his endeavours to find and to bring forward truth, and to oppose all falsehood and all which hindered truth, were the immediate foundation of subsequent important occurrences. His acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue is shown by his work, '*De Verbo Mirifico,*' a book which introduced into Germany the cabalistic philosophy.

Being persecuted by Hotzinger, a vicious and dissolute monk, he took refuge at the court of the elector-palatine in Heidelberg, by which prince he was sent to Rome, in 1498, on an important mission, it being no less than to induce the pope to withdraw the sentence of excommunication which he had passed on the elector Philip, without hearing him. The discourse which Reuchlin addressed to Alexander VI. shows, that, though he calls the pope successor of St. Peter, he does not yield to popish usurpations, does not flatter him, but with freedom of speech points out the love and imitation of Christ, by which alone popes become worthy and true followers of Christ. Few men, and among them Savonarola was most deservedly distinguished, spoke so truly and freely in those days to the sovereign pontiff. Reuchlin concluded his business in Rome favourably for the prince, and after a year's sojourn there, returned to Heidelberg, enriched by knowledge, and also laden with many manuscripts and printed works, which he bought in Rome. An anecdote is recorded of him, in connection with his stay there, which will give us some idea of the state of classical learning in Germany at that period, and which becomes the more interesting when we consider its present state; and, that for many years the ancient literature has been more cultivated there, and has attained to a higher degree of profound research than in any other country in Europe. We are told by Mr. Barham, that—

'As Reuchlin took an interest in the college where Johannes Argyropilus, the learned Bizantine, then lectured, when the latter was reading Thucydides, he inquired from what country Reuchlin came, and how much Greek he knew, put Thucydides into his hand to read a little, *and translate if he could, for not much was to be expected from a German.* Reuchlin not only translated it into Latin with great facility, but also interpreted it in Latin. This knowledge, which the lecturer did not expect in any

learned man of the time, and, above all, not in a German, so astonished him, that he exclaimed: 'Our persecuted Greece has fled over the Alps to Germany.'

Reuchlin came back in the summer of 1499, to his native country, ready to devote to it all his powers; and was received with joy in Stuttgard. His wish was now, withdrawn from country life, to bestow his time wholly on science, and he began to execute this purpose. He occupied himself principally, therefore, in the Hebrew and Greek languages, and philosophy; in the two former he instructed such friends as were athirst for knowledge, that they might add to their learning for the benefit of religion, and be capable of eliciting truth from Holy Writ without other assistance. The study of the Hebrew tongue was then in its infancy: there were not yet either grammars or dictionaries. Conrad Pellican, after some years of self-teaching, made for himself a sort of small dictionary, and a collection, though very incomplete, of rules and examples. One difficulty with him was, that he so seldom found the first person present, because he supposed that this was the root, as in Latin and Greek. Reuchlin, hearing of this, sent for the young Pellican, taught him the difference of the Hebrew, from Latin and Greek in conjugation, showed him that the third person preterite is always the root; and dismissed him with much kindness.

In 1504, appeared at Phorzheim his work, '*De Arte Prædicandi*,' which was calculated to draw the attention of preachers to many faults, partly in the composition, partly in the delivery of their sermons; and to give them many practical hints. Two years before, on the renewal of the Swabian league, Reuchlin had been elected to the office of general judge of alliances in Swabia, to his imperial majesty, as arch-duke of Austria, and to the electors and princes; he had a salary of two hundred guilders, and fulfilled this duty eleven years with great faithfulness. This charge claimed much of his time, and he complained to his friend Lempus of his being obliged to devote so great a portion of it to the study of law. One employment following so close upon another, this period is particularly rich in his writings. The desire of Reuchlin to promote and assist the already awakened inquiry after truth, gave him patience for many years in a very laborious task—the composition of his great work, '*Linguæ Hebraicæ Rudimenta*,' which first appeared at Phorzheim, in 1506. His leisure hours were now also generally spent in translating several Greek classics into Latin, in order to procure them a freer circulation. His bodily weakness, which continually increased, now induced him to disengage himself still more from all laborious offices of state, and to employ his time and strength in the culture of younger and stronger friends and pupils. These fre-

quently visited and stayed with him; but with proper discernment he prized and loved, above all his young relations, Melancthon, who, after he he had studied in Heidelberg, being furnished with good philosophical knowledge, repaired in 1512 to Tübingen, according to the advice of Reuchlin. The latter had taken an active part in the establishment of the university of Wittemberg, and the elector, Frederic of Saxony, addressed to him in 1518, a request to go to Wittemberg, or at least to nominate qualified professors. Reuchlin declined himself, on the score of age and sickness, but proposed Melancthon for Greek; who, after some demur accepted the invitation, and although Leipzig, as well as Ingoldstadt tried to obtain him, proceeded in the same year to Wittemberg, there, by the wise purpose of God, to perfect by his own thoughtful gentleness the vigour of Luther.

Mr. Barham has some excellent observations on the state of scientific education, and of literature in Germany, Italy, and Spain at this period, as well as on the effect of the invention of printing. We have only room, however, for a few of his remarks on the condition of Germany:—

'Now commences that period in the life of Reuchlin, whence he derives his historical importance—the time of his controversy with the lovers of darkness, the monks of Cologne; but before we direct our eyes to the history of a time of great consequence to religion and knowledge, this is the most appropriate place to consider more attentively the services of Reuchlin to science, and his consequent influence upon the Reformation. Before the diffusion of Christianity in Germany, there was no trace to be found of literary cultivation. Ecclesiastics first began to give a written expression to the still rude language, and this they naturally did in the Latin alphabet, with which they were conversant. Here and there arose schools for the education of the clergy, but all that was communicated there was a little reading, writing, and a very scanty portion of Latin,—that is, just enough to enable pupils to read mass.

'Charlemagne and his learned friend Alcuin, by their efforts for the diffusion of intellectual culture, and by establishing monastic schools, succeeded in infusing somewhat more knowledge into Germany; but literary cultivation still remained the affair of some few, and the ecclesiastics took no share in it. The bishops often complained that their clergy could not even read; which was so much the worse, as they constituted the only class of learned men. Hence, if the subject be the advancement of learning in Germany, it really treats only of individuals, and generally not of men educated in that country, while the people are most correctly estimated as in the greatest possible ignorance and barbarism. Soon there arose among individuals, a disposition to historical literature, and several chronicles are the early results of their progress. Roman law passed from Italy into Germany, and was practised there. The study of history, whose first appearance was in particular chronicles, now advanced to the form of universal history. Philosophy, in its mischievous union with theology, occupied here and there isolated monks and bishops; but, even

on this subject they generally knew only a translation of Aristotle, and a few much admired scholastic works. Around these scattered men, instructed either in monastic schools, or in foreign universities, assembled a number of young people desirous of knowledge; yet only by the utmost diligence, and no less patience, could they obtain any degree of education. At last, after Paris and Bologna, as well as Salerno, had worked with the greatest reputation and success in foreign parts, Germany rejoiced in the first university in the midst of her land, Prague, founded in 1348, upon the model of the far-famed university of Paris. Now, as several colleges succeeded the first, instruction in science became easier to the Germans, and these new institutions were everywhere filled with teachers and learners. Individual great men made immeasurable efforts for their benefit, who, as deeper theologians, had prepared men's minds, and excited an inclination for better instruction. Meanwhile, theology had long made philosophy her slave, and she was still enchained, when the age in which Reuchlin was born and educated broke through the shackles. While the number of persons anxious to learn increased in the universities, there began also to be some education among the people. In the great towns there were schools preparatory to the university, called town-schools, in which might be learnt the elements of the most useful knowledge, as well as the Latin language. It was a great matter, if any one not a student knew anything of Latin, and even the students themselves were very backward in this. Besides these town-schools, there were also the monastic schools, usually conducted by monks. Libraries, on account of the costliness and scarcity of writing, were likewise only in monasteries or the courts of princes, and very seldom in the possession of wealthy individuals.

'This was about the literary state of Germany, at the time of Reuchlin's birth. Under all these difficulties did he educate himself; yet, notwithstanding his industry, he could not have attained the point he did reach if he had been obliged to improve himself in Germany alone, for all solid knowledge was still to be sought in France and Italy; the progress of learning was long in reaching his native country, and the general inclination for culture was the less lively in Germany, because people still clung to the ancients.—pp. 76—79.

What influence the almost forgotten Greek language and literature, and the increasing taste for knowledge had upon Reuchlin, Mr. Barham has well shown. In half a century, Germany advanced in this respect from infancy to maturity; and Reuchlin's part in this movement, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to contend with, was pre-eminent and conspicuous. The end to which it was his object to make all learning subservient, was divine knowledge; and hence with respect to his services in the promotion of particular branches of learning, they are the greatest and most important in the department of languages, more especially in Greek and Hebrew. Afterwards, the learned Erasmus, to whom the Reformation was so much indebted, and who also gained so many disciples in England and the Nether-

lands, shared with Reuchlin the pre-eminence of the most perfect knowledge of the Greek language. Reuchlin's method of teaching this tongue was general during the Reformation, until the seventeenth century; it was also followed by Erasmus, Melancthon, Æcolampadius, and Zwinglius. It was natural, that Reuchlin should be copied in his pronunciation of Greek, as he had learnt it from the Greek fugitives. Erasmus, indeed, by one of his sportive dialogues, which he represented as taking place on the subject between a lion and a bear, became, unintentionally it is said, the originator of a change in the pronunciation of Greek, which hypothesis was revived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This new pronunciation, denominated the Erasmian, was adopted for a time; but its absolute correctness being doubtful, the subject has come again into controversy* among the learned of modern days. We regret that we have not space to enter into any detail of Reuchlin's studies in Hebrew, and the services thereby rendered to his country; suffice it to say, that it was considered as something impracticable to learn this language amidst such a multitude of difficulties as everywhere opposed it, and still more to attain any facility in it. However, Reuchlin completely surmounted the one, and arrived at the other.

'The influence of Reuchlin upon philosophy,' says Mr. Barham, 'was important in two ways; first, by his opposition to scholasticism, and next, by his own free speculations.' Scholasticism, indeed, contained within itself the seeds of its own dissolution, and to this result also, the revival of literature, which had been suppressed by it, was peculiarly favourable: and here Reuchlin appears as a considerable agent in Germany for its destruction; indirectly, by extending and promoting a taste for classical studies, directly, as the avowed opponent of this philosophy, and the establisher of another. Many external occurrences of importance, which produced changes both in ecclesiastical and political relations, contributed to overthrow the scholastic philosophy. But on its ruins arose another heterogeneous species of wisdom,—an esoteric and exoteric eclecticism. Such a mistaking and confounding of Christian notions with those of earlier philosophic schools was the new cabala, first established in Italy by Giovanni Pico di Mirandola. Reuchlin was the author of what may be called the Pythagorean-Platonic cabalism. But for a more full exposition of the nature of his specu-

* See Seyffarth *de Sonis Literarum Græc.* 1824, Liskow von *der Aussprache der Griechischen*, 1818 and 1825. Neidlinger, *Ideen über unsere Erasmische Aussprache* 1826, and above all, Bloch, *Revision der Lehre von der Aussprache des Altgriechischen.*

lations comprising this pseudo-theosophy, we can only refer the reader to the pages of Mr. Barham.

That the effects of the diffusion of learning, by Reuchlin, in Germany upon the Reformation, were many and evident, will not be doubted for a moment: Mr. Barham observes, in reference thereto :—

'The inert spirit was awakened from slumber, and obtained means of looking around; the faculties were stimulated and sharpened by the study of languages; criticism was aroused, what was unreasonable was detected and rejected; and error, which by custom had come almost to pass for truth, disappeared in proportion as it was suspected. Literary cultivation, which not only enlightened the understanding, but was also favourable to morals, by driving away the darkness, deprived superstition of powerful support, although unable to destroy it, not being absolute truth; the the fetters of spiritual dominion slackened, and fell as the knowledge of right advanced. We must not indeed assume, that learning alone revived the disposition to religion, and that the Reformation would have followed from the effects of literary cultivation alone; for history itself proves, by innumerable instances, the truth of the contrary proposition; but we must allow that it may well have prepared the mind for something higher, and when that which was higher began to spring up, might have kept it pure from extraneous matter, and fenced and secured it by various means. Precisely here must the influence of Reuchlin have been so much the greater, from his subordinating learning to its rightful aim, and so much the more did it become a preparation for the Reformation; since its purpose being to promote the religious culture of mankind, the mind thereby received a continual tendency and inclination to apprehend what was more elevated. Reuchlin's innumerable disciples were naturally the most zealous promoters of the Reformation; for it gave them back what their spirit sought after, finding its path already smoothed by them [him ?] The rapid spread of the Reformation could not have been expected, if the minds of men had not taken a direction towards improvement, by previous cultivation and enlargement. We must indeed acknowledge the providence of God, who sent Reuchlin and Erasmus, his free agents, to prepare for the Reformation. Luther himself, who says a great deal that is excellent on that subject in his memorial to the senators of every town in Germany, fully recognizes the divine guidance; among other things he says, 'We cannot deny, that although the gospel came, and comes daily, by the Holy Ghost, yet it comes by means of languages, has been advanced by them, and must be sustained by them; even as when God willed to send the gospel by the apostles into every part of the world, he gave the gift of tongues for that purpose. No one knew wherefore God permitted languages to be brought forward, till they first saw that it was for the sake of the gospel which he chose to publish by them, and by that means discover and destroy the kingdom of Anti-Christ. Therefore let us open our eyes, thank God for the precious jewel, and hold it fast, that it may not be again snatched from us.' '—pp. 109—110.

We now arrive at the most remarkable event in the life of

Reuchlin. This was his dispute with the monks of Cologne. Our limits will not permit us to go into all the particulars of this celebrated controversy, and therefore we must content ourselves with a brief summary of its leading circumstances.

Reuchlin was now in the decline of life, when, his reforming labours beginning to exhibit their natural effect, he suddenly found himself the victim of a formidable persecution, which not only disturbed his former tranquillity, but threatened utter ruin to himself, and proscription to his favourite pursuits. As the study of Greek literature had already come under the ban of the lovers of darkness, so it was thought that that of Hebrew learning and the influence of Reuchlin could not be more effectually suppressed than by rendering both the objects of religious suspicion. To carry out this design the monks of Cologne found a fitting instrument in John Pfefferkorn, a baptised Jew; a man of much arrogance, excessive vanity and ambition, who, glad to escape the punishment which his crimes had merited from the hands of his own people, had taken refuge in Christianity about the year 1504. In the course of the years 1508 and 1509 he wrote four treatises, the scope of which was to represent the Jewish religion in the most odious light. The Colognese, in concert with this tool, now petitioned the Emperor Maximilian for an edict, commanding that all Hebrew books, except the Bible, should be sought out and burnt, throughout the empire; on the ground that all Jewish learning was nothing more than a stock of libels on the character of Christ and Christianity. Through weakness or negligence the emperor was induced to issue the required mandate, dated August 19th, 1509. Pfefferkorn was entrusted with the powers necessary to carry it into effect; but, through some informality in the terms of the commission, the Jews obtained a suspension of the order; and, in the interim, another mandate was issued, requiring, among other opinions, that of Reuchlin, as to the character and contents of the Hebrew writings. He alone, of the referees, complied with the requisition. He stated his reasons against the extirpation of Hebrew literature in the most masterly and convincing manner.

This was precisely what the obscurantes of Cologne might reasonably expect, and desired. Reuchlin's opinion was furiously opposed by Pfefferkorn, with the assistance of the monks of Cologne, in a tract entitled 'Handspiegel' (hand-glass), published in 1511. In this treatise, Reuchlin was held up to religious detestation, as the advocate and abettor of Jewish blasphemy, as guilty of serious errors in the faith, and as ignorant of the Hebrew language, &c. Finding that his reasons had not been forwarded to the emperor, but suppressed, he condescended to reply to this attack; and his 'Augen-Spiegel' (eye-glass), ex-

posed the ignorance and falsehood of his contemptible adversary. Scarcely was this work known in Cologne, when the whole faculty of theology took part in the quarrel. They committed the examination of the 'Augenspiegel to Arnold von Tungarn, Dean of the Faculty; and the result was, that forty-three propositions 'de Judaico favore nimis suspectæ' were extracted and published; these movements were communicated to Reuchlin, and the consternation awakened by a dread of the power of the order, and examples of their severity and cunning, 'so overcame the timid man, that he forgot how upright his conduct had been in this matter, and how decidedly it was his duty not to give up the truth he had defended, and not to forsake the innocent.' In this terror he wrote to Arnold von Tungarn, and was induced to make use of very impolitic deprecations, which only had their natural effect of emboldening instead of allaying, the audacity and bitterness of his adversaries; and he was summoned to an open recantation, (1512,) which, however, he did not think fit to comply with. All hope of reconciliation with the Colognese at length vanished, and in his 'Defensio contra Calumniatores Colonienses,' published in 1513, Reuchlin annihilated the accusations against him, and treated his accusers with the unmitigated severity which their malevolence and hypocrisy deserved. The quarrel having arrived at this pitch of intense hostility, the emperor, by an edict of 1513, enjoined silence on both parties. The Colognese were so enraged at this measure, and at the complete escape of Reuchlin from their hands, that they were determined to put him down by force, and a convenient instrument for this purpose presented himself. This was the inquisitor, James Hochstraten, Prior of the Dominican Convent of Cologne; a man of no inconsiderable ability and influence,—'in whom,' says Mr. Barham, in reference to his acrimoniousness of character, 'the whole herd of monks was personified.' This person now cited Reuchlin before the Court of Inquisition at Mentz, (1513). Reuchlin declined Hochstraten as a judge, inasmuch as he was his personal enemy and not his provincial; the elector of Mentz interposed to stay the proceedings, and Reuchlin appealed to the new pope, Leo X., who delegated the investigation of the matter to the bishop of Spires. Notwithstanding this appeal, however, and the electoral interference, Hochstraten and his theological brethren of Cologne, proceeded to condemn and publicly burn the writings of Reuchlin, as 'offensive, dangerous to religion, and savouring of heresy;' and to heighten the infamy, they obtained from the theological faculties of several cities and towns, and from the Sorbonne of Paris, an approval of the sentence. This triumph, however, was but short. The bishop of Spires decided summarily in favour of Reuchlin, and Hochstra-

ten was condemned in the costs of process (1514). Hochstraten and his followers paid no attention to this verdict, but quite despised the papal decision through the bishop; Reuchlin therefore again referred his suit to the Roman see, and the cause was now entrusted by Leo to Dominicus Grimani, a truth-loving and liberal minded man. He (on the 8th June, 1514), summoned both Hochstraten and Reuchlin to Rome; the latter had the privilege of not appearing personally, but sending a procurator;—the former, amply furnished with money, proceeded to that capital. In the meantime, every means was employed by the Dominicans to secure a victory. To Grimani, was now added as a second judge, the Cardinal de St. Eusebio. And while the process was going on in Rome, the Colognese were very abusive towards Grimani, and publicly declared, 'that if the matter were not decided in their favour, they would revolt from the pope, and create a new schism; others despised the pope's sentence, and were of opinion that it little signified what he determined, for the church consisted of themselves only, and the pope would not be acknowledged as pope if they did not agree to it.' In Rome, they made every use of bribes and intimidation; and at length Leo was prevailed upon to grant a complete commission for the decision of this important matter, amounting to about eighteen members. After several sittings, on the 2nd July, 1516, a written vote, accompanied by the reasons for the decision, was required from each judge, and here the majority of voices was for Reuchlin, and Hochstraten was pronounced worthy of punishment.

Pending the process at Rome, the obscurantes in Germany vented their malice, and essayed to promote their cause by caricatures and libels, while their pulpits rang with the most audacious calumnies against their victim. Meantime, the confederacy of Reuchlinists, (and they were powerful and talented), were not idle; for, at this moment appeared a most tremendous satire, under the title of, 'Epistola Obscurorum Virorum.' Of all the works of the Reuchlinists none obtained so much attention, because none contained so striking a portraiture of the whole life and conduct of these obscurantes. 'Never,' says an able cotemporary, 'were unconscious barbarism, self-glorious ignorance, intolerant stupidity, and sanctimonious immorality, so ludicrously delineated; never did delineation less betray the artifice of ridicule.' The effect was prodigious. The persecution of Reuchlin was converted into a farce; the enemies of intellectual improvement were annihilated in public consideration; a reform in the German universities was determined; and it was even acknowledged by Luther's friends that no writing had

contributed so effectually to the downfall of the papal domination.*

Perhaps no anonymous publication of note was ever more misunderstood as to its aim and drift than these celebrated letters, both when they appeared, and for some time afterwards. So completely did they hit the mark, that those against whom the ridicule was levelled, read the letters as the genuine product of their brethren, and even hailed the publication as highly conducive to the honour of scholasticism and monkery. Several even of the learned scholars and satirists of England have noticed the publication without any suspicion of the lurking Momus;—and among them, besides Michael Maittaire, who published, in 1710, the most elegant edition of these 'Epistolæ' that has yet appeared, we may class Sir Richard Steele in the 'Tatler,' Dr. Jortin in his 'Life of Erasmus,' and another late accomplished author, who asserts that they were written in imitation of Arias Montanus's version of the Bible (!); whereas that learned Spaniard was born about ten years subsequent to the supposed parody of his 'Interpretatio Literalis!'

The authorship of these epistles has been a matter of as much dispute and conjecture as the drift of them has been mistaken. No question perhaps in the history of literature has been more variously determined, except it be the authorship of the Letters of Junius. The 'Epistolæ' have been regarded as the work of an *individual*,—of a *few*—and of *many*. 'Suffice it to say,' in the words of a learned writer in the Edinburgh Review some twelve years ago, 'that as yet there has been adduced no evidence of any weight to establish the co-operation of other writers in these letters besides Ulric von Hutten and Rubianus Crotus; and independent of the general presumption against an extensive partnership, there is proof sufficient to exclude many of the most likely of those to whom the work has been attributed,—in particular, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Erbanus. We propose to shew that Hutten, Erotus, and Buschius are the joint authors; and this, in regard to the first and last by evidence not hitherto discovered.'

The enemies of Reuchlin not finding means to injure him personally, tried another plan to deprive him at least of outward repose. They found an opportunity for this in the enmity of Duke Ulrich to the family of the Huttens, and especially to Ulric von Hutten, one of Reuchlin's staunchest friends. Stuttgard was besieged by the duke, and eventually Reuchlin with-

* 'Nescio,' says Justus Jonas, 'an ullum hujus soculi scriptum sic papistico regno nocuerit, sicomnia papistica ridicula reddiderit, ut hæ Obscurorum Virorum Epistolæ, quæ omnia minima, maxima, clericorum vitia verterint in risum.' —Epist. Anouymi ad Crotum.

drew thence to Ingoldstadt; here he lived in the house of Dr. Eck, and gave lectures on the Greek and Hebrew languages, whereby he gained many friends to Luther's cause. In a short time he removed to Tübingen, and taught for the second time in this university. But sickness at his great age gave much reason to fear for him. He continued to decline, and was obliged to retire to Stuttgard, where he died of the jaundice in June, 1522, in his sixty-seventh year. The following is one of the expressive epitaphs on him:—

'Inclyta magnum oculum amisit Germania: quando
Reuchlinus superos (morte ferente) petit.'

'When Reuchlin soar'd to God's eternal throne,
Fair Germany's great eye of light was gone.'

Art. VII. *The Life and Defence of the Conduct and Principles of the venerable and calumniated Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London in the reign of Henry VIII. Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, in which is considered the best mode of again changing the religion of this nation.* By a Tractarian British Critic. Dedicated to the Bishop of London. Seely & Burnside. 8vo. pp. 382.

HISTORY has been defined to be, Philosophy teaching by example. If that be true, in reference to Church history, then the sage instructress is verily to be pitied: for there never was such a set of dunces and incapables as those pupils of the Church, which from age to age have been conning her first principles, and have not yet mastered them. The lessons have been plain enough, the ferula has not been spared, the fool's cap has been transferred from head to head, not green but grey, and yet the pupils are as obtuse as ever: they still persist in spelling church *establishment,* and in teaching all the lessons backward. Philosophy has just reason to complain that her undermasters have been treacherous, and her pupils perverse and inattentive, or long ere this they might all have learnt by heart that first momentous lesson of history, that church establishments through all nations, have never answered any other purpose than the personal benefit of civil and ecclesiastical rulers—that they never could promote, never have promoted, and never will promote the cause of Christ's religion, or the spiritual good of immortal souls, for which true religion is intended, but must necessarily lead, as they have invariably led, to the corruption of truth, the disquietude of nations, the oppression of conscience, and the support of arbitrary power. The mass of mankind

think that religion is essential to their happiness individually, as well as to the good order of society; and yet they cannot believe, that it has hold enough upon human nature to accomplish its divine behest without the reinforcement of civil power; that is, it cannot work adequately by reason, love, and truth, but must be backed by the truncheon, mace, and sword; or else, poor feeble thing, it would be trodden in the dust. Some allowance, however, may be made for these short-sighted and earthly notions of a divine institution, on the score of early habit and respect for ancestors. Some people love the convenience of arraying themselves in ready-made clothes, and entering ready-furnished lodgings; for though neither may be quite the thing, yet to busy people they save a world of trouble, and to those who do not calculate, they may seem to have the recommendation of cheapness. Philosophy, however, appears to be turning over a new leaf. She has enlisted a few superior teachers of late, and raised a new school for church history, which has wonderfully sharpened the wits of the old scholars, and made not a few of them play truant to their old instructors. The schoolmaster is indeed abroad, and the genuine lessons of philosophy are becoming the order of the day. Free-trade agitation is doing much to show the mischiefs of huckstering legislation in the temporal welfare of nations; and the standard of freedom for the Church of Christ has been erected, not by the regular leaders against establishments, but by a rebellious party of the old-school men, whose revolution, though conducted apart, will and must, inevitably, and before long, lead to the defence, in theory, of that which they have adopted in practice. Philosophy is, indeed, now teaching by example, and her lessons, though slowly and doubtingly admitted, will assuredly prevail. It is only a question of time. The great lesson must not be expected to commend itself intuitively, and all at once. Patience must be exercised by the teachers, for *cramming* will do no good in this school; it has done much harm in all others. Let the disciples well digest the first elements of church history; and if they be carefully and gradually led to the higher lessons of the great Interpreter, they will be the better able to comprehend them fully, hold them firmly, and propagate them extensively.

The present volume, which is history written satirically, as might be guessed from the title, and discovered upon the perusal of a few pages, is a very fair hit at the Puseyite faction, though it will not be severely felt, since they openly applaud, and, as far as their advocacy extends, maintain the principles of that proud and cruel prelate, named on the title-page. The vein of satire is not very deep, nor very rich. It may raise a smile occasionally at the idea of applauding the enormities in conduct,

and frivolities in opinion, for which the Bishop contended against the civil authorities of his time; but the subject is altogether, and throughout, too grave, and treated in too literal a manner, to admit a single hearty laugh. The Puseyites, as personified by the author, defending Bonner's character, explaining his sentiments, and running a parallel between them and their own, cannot fairly complain, while all those who are satisfied with the Church as it is, may probably congratulate themselves that the writer has done something to rebuke the evil spirit, and check the monster-power, that threatens to transform the religion of these realms. But the *ridiculum acri* becomes utterly powerless where there is a full, open, and explicit adoption of such sentiments as the 'bloody Bonner' upheld. His fearless and determined advocacy of them in times when they were not in full favour at the court, no less than his carrying them out to their natural consequences when they were, prove at least the consistency of the man, and render him an object of veneration to those who look more at the true churchman than at the true Christian, or whose standard of the latter lies in the former. The conflict in which Bonner engaged was the old cause of the church's dominion over the state. In his fall the state triumphed, and has kept its power ever since, with no inconsiderable increase thereof, as time has rolled on. But the great question, then, as between church and state, was far less a question of principles than of dominion. The state gained the supremacy which the church lost at the Reformation, and the church now is seeking to regain its supremacy. If the issue depended upon sentiment, it is abundantly clear that the Puseyites or Bonnerites would win the day, and again be in the ascendant. Those who care anything for Protestant principles, or even understand them, are pitiably outnumbered by those who care for opposite sentiments, and those who care for none, so long as they can secure worldly interests. So that, after all, the chief security of the Protestant cause lies not in numerical strength; but, first, in the manly principles and spiritual vigour of those who are its true friends; and, secondly, in the feeling of self-interest which the state may be expected to entertain for its own supremacy, until there should come a prince weak enough, false enough, or foolish enough, to prostrate his intellect at the feet of the church. The first is a living and lasting security, to some extent, in the hearts of the people and their leaders; the latter is a mere contingency—an accident or casualty of time.

The entire peril arises from the dulness of the people to perceive that grand lesson of history—that established churches must always keep up a strife for supremacy with the civil power, just as the spirits of ecclesiastics rise or fall in the assertion of

these rights. The question of the church's independence is one that may be safely affirmed, when it is taken in its full and true latitude of temporals as well as spirituals; but never when it seeks alliance with the state for the former, but reserves to itself the latter. The theory of our Scottish friends of the free church is precisely this: essentially, it is the highest assertion of church principles equally with the Puseyites and Bonnerites, and in the eye of philosophy it is equally absurd in itself, and contrary to all the lessons of history. There can be no safe union of church and state that shall leave the church independent, but make the state its paymaster and taxgatherer. Better for the nation were the most abject vassalage of the clergy, like that of England, where they dare not move a pin nor stretch a cord without authority of state, than such an independence as some men dream of who stand, in point of doctrine, at the wide extremes of rigid presbyterianism and thorough popery. The Puseyites claim the independence of the church, which means nothing but the independence of the clergy, and their indefeasible right to do what they will with their own (the people), just as the lords of the soil assert the same right to do what they will with the earth. Suppose their claim granted, and we should see the religion of England instantly changed. They are not at all reserved in this part of their teaching, whatever they are as to the cross of Christ. On the other hand, the Scottish clergy, now in a state of secession, have forced themselves into their present position, because the state would not concede their independence. It happens that the party are the true orthodox or evangelical; but the concession of independence, if once made, would not be made to them as such, but must be made to the whole church as a body—in which, though there is now a majority of that class, yet it has not been attained many years, and it cannot be guaranteed for a single generation; their opponents were long in the ascendant, and might be again, and were that to happen while the church possessed a complete independence of the state, the evangelicals might all be ejected, or means might be used to keep out all successors to their principles; or indeed the principles might be fixed at any standard the dominant party might think right. We cannot even see how they could then be prevented, if so it should even please them, from unprotestantizing even the presbyterian church of Scotland, or of assimilating it to the socinian and semi-infidel establishment of Geneva. But apart from those mischiefs that might result from the entire independence of the northern establishment, we could never consent even to make the selectest body of clergy in all Christendom, were they all Chalmerses, and Candlishes, and Cunninghams, a free church, in their own sense of the term, paid by the

state out of national property, and backed by the civil power in the execution of their spiritual legislation. They would be, and could not help being, a persecuting church. We are not sure that they would not then invoke the dormant spirit of their existing standards, and call upon the magistrate to extirpate false doctrine and heresy out of the land. We would not suspect the present leaders of any such intention, but with such independence as they claim, there could be no security to the national liberty against the fullest exercise of ecclesiastical power, whenever it had shaken off the shackle, and made the state its minister instead of its ruler. A warm sun brings strange and noxious creatures into existence. Those who, a few years ago, imprisoned the citizens of Edinburgh for not paying the church dues, might just as reasonably incarcerate the same citizens for speaking or writing to the disparagement of the church and its clergy.

But not to overlook the volume before us. Our readers will understand, that it is intended hereby to place the present apostacy in the church of England in the light of Bonnerism. And in order to do this, the strong parts of the bishop's character, and the enormities of his public life, are brought pretty fully to bear upon the doctrines of the tracts, reviews and treatises of the new party. The cloven foot is sufficiently revealed, and the friends of the Bible, liberty of conscience, and evangelical religion may congratulate themselves that the state is still supreme over the church, and is not at present likely to change places with it. The worthy author must, however, allow us to observe, that as the connexion still exists, by which the two parties have long been playing at see-saw, one up and the other down, as they were enabled alternately to put forth superior strength for the time being; and as by his own showing there exists, even at this moment, no valid security for their continuing in their present relative positions; but on the other hand, some imminent danger of a change—whether the true philosophy does not here teach us by example, that it would be better at once to destroy this strange kind of church-and-state plaything, this expensive see-saw. Her Majesty would not be a whit less a Christian, and might be still more a queen, if she and her heirs ceased to be the head of the church, and were exclusively the head of the nation. There would at least be then no more danger of her becoming the *tail* of that which now grudgingly and unfaithfully calls her its "head."

The dedication to the volume, which is addressed to the Bishop of London, will show our readers the bearing of the sarcasm, and give them an adequate insight into the author's manner.

'My Lord,—I presume to dedicate the following pages to your Lord-

ship, without previously soliciting permission to do so; because I am most anxious to obtain the favour, approbation, and patronage of your lordship, to the opinions and labours of the 'Tractarian British Critics.' Nearly ten years have elapsed, since I and my brethren, lamenting the sad condition to which the church was reduced, by the detestable ultra protestants of the day, resolved to endeavour to restore the pristine regard to external religion, to direct public attention to the ancient observances of the primitive churches, to re-set the limb of the Reformation, to go back nearer to Rome, though without submitting to the papal supremacy altogether, or fully embracing the articles of the Council of Trent. *The time has not yet arrived, for our deciding how far we shall go;* but we have resolved to commence our progress back to Rome, by adopting the principles of Bonner and Gardiner, and many other eminent prelates, who opposed the present prayer-book of the church, the second service book of King Edward, on account of the omissions which render it dissimilar to the venerable liturgies of antiquity. We have begun to wage war with our Prayer Book, because it has omitted prayers for the dead, the doctrine of an actual and indefinable sacrifice in the Eucharist, the use of altars, the exorcism of the devil from the infant in baptism, and the use of the chrism in the same sacred ceremony. I have pointed out the miserable state of the Prayer Book in these respects, in my Tracts and Reviews; and I have considered in my survey of the conduct of Bonner, during the reign of the pious Mary, the best mode of once more changing the religion of the country. The venerable Bonner, your lordship's predecessor in the See of London, was most anxious to destroy the influence of the present Prayer Book, to do away communion tables, to restore altars, candles, vestments and ceremonies, which our wretched ultra Protestant innovators, I will not call them Reformers, abolished and destroyed. (?) He was anxious to restore prayers for the dead, the actual Sacrifice, and the Holy Canon of the Mass. All these things, I and my brethren are eagerly desirous to restore. In all these points we agree with the venerable Bonner. Whether it be, that the name of Bonner is odious to your lordship's episcopal brethren, or that they are not yet prepared to second our useful and reasonable projects, I cannot say; but so it is, that, in carrying out our plans, we have found ourselves opposed and thwarted by many, from whom we more particularly anticipated protection and defence. Anxious as we have been on all occasions to declare our veneration for the bishops of our church, to defer to their office, to declare them to be the successors of the apostles, and the representatives of Christ; *we have not found one bishop of the Anglican Church, who has ventured to become our partizan, supporter or friend.* (?) One wise American bishop alone, is said to be the only episcopal upholder of our projected changes, and our proposed schemes of good. In these afflicting circumstances, I have thought it advisable to endeavour to obtain, by one bold effort the countenance of the successor of the apostolical Bonner, in the See of London, and to solicit his candid consideration of our efforts. Though your lordship, equally with Bonner, is the successor of the apostles, your lordship up to this time, resembles that illustrious anti-protestant, neither in principles, temper, severity, zeal, nor energy. You have been contented with the patient administration of the discipline of the church, without

innovation or change. You have taught its doctrines, without qualifying or doubting them. You have proposed no novel opinions, whether by reviving those that are obsolete, or introducing those that are (*were*) unknown before. (?) You have withheld your express condemnation, however, from us, though you have not publicly approved of us. Permit me then, my lord, to beg you to read our tracts, to study our reviews, to ponder the pages of Froude, our great hierophant, and to become a convert to the revival of the primitive customs, practices, and institutions of the purer ages of antiquity. If your lordship says that you are satisfied with the church as it is, and demand by what criteria you may form your conclusions of the expediency and utility of the customs and doctrines we propose to revive; I implore your lordship not to be still guilty of the ultra-Protestantism which is contented with what is called the Reformation; and never with the miserable ultra-Protestant to seek to know the expediency or the utility only of an ecclesiastical rite, ceremony, or ordinance. I beg your lordship to consider with us, not whether it be useful or expedient, but whether it be ancient, and sanctioned by antiquity and tradition,—whether it be sanctioned by that one beloved rule of Vincentius Lirinensis—'*Quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique.*' If we can prove that any custom was engrafted upon the four earliest liturgies of the church, and was thus adopted always, by all people, and everywhere; then, I trust, your lordship will agree with me, that such custom, *whether it be useful and expedient or not*, is of apostolic origin, and, therefore, it *ought to be retained in all the churches throughout England.*'—pp. 13—17.

We confess we scarcely know what place to assign the author among the heterogeneous body which he calls his church. He would seem to belong to the evangelicals, but if so, his compliments to the Bishop of London have been misplaced, and his eyes must have been somewhat more opened, both in illumination and astonishment, since he wrote his book. His satirical lament also, that none of the bishops have patronized, or favoured the anti-protestant party, is scarcely correct; for many have, more or less, approved; while a few, and but a few, have gone the courageous length of a thorough and hearty condemnation. Is it the timidity of the bishops that keeps them back? Is it a want of harmony among themselves? Or is it a consciousness of the real predicament in which the Puseyites have placed them? The public have long looked for some thoroughly Protestant and thoroughly Scriptural denunciation of the entire system from the heads of authority—a remedy which shall reach the evil, and let the younger clergy know what their diocesans believe. But none appears, yet the plague spreads, and the few and feeble and partial rebukes rather embolden than repress the leaders. This proves, that the church as a system is utterly inefficient even to preserve Protestantism in the nation. A very tame and pointless protest, originating with private individuals, has been announced

as signed by about two thousand clergy, but there are more than ten or twelve thousand who, by their refusal, have indicated their adhesion to, or their complacency in, the new system. Does not this shew that the Church of England is far gone towards Romanism? Does it not equally show every candid Protestant, that our establishment is corrupting truth and religion at the fountain head—that the greatest peril to the gospel at the present moment is the establishment—and that the question is forced upon the consideration of the people—ought not the establishment to be put down—as a pest to the country, an impediment to pure religion, and as threatening ruin to the liberties, both civil and religious, of the British nation?

Art. VIII. 1. *A Sketch of the History of the Regium Donum and Parliamentary Grant to Poor Dissenting Ministers of England and Wales, with a Vindication of the Distributors and Recipients from the charge of Political Subserviency.* By Thomas Rees, L.L.D., F.S.A. London: Longman.

2. *Brief Statement of the Regium Donum and Parliamentary Grant to Poor Dissenting Ministers.* By the Trustees.

3. *Return of the Names of the Committee by whom the Parliamentary Grants to Protestant Dissenting Ministers have been distributed, and the mode in which they are apportioned. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, March* 17, 1837.

4. *Regium Donum: a Legislative Endowment for the Priesthood, and the Duty of Protestant Nonconformists.* By the Rev. J. M. Massie. Manchester: Prentice & Cathrall.*

THE church question is evidently destined to become *the* question of the age. Numerous circumstances have contributed to this, and are still operating with daily augmenting force. To whatever quarter of the empire we look, the same conviction is

* It is due to Dr. Rees to state that we are indebted to his courtesy for the first three pamphlets placed at the head of this article. Having failed in our efforts to procure them elsewhere, we addressed a note to him, stating our object, and asking if he could furnish us with copies. To this communication we received a prompt reply, in which, with the urbanity so characteristic of the writer, he handsomely complied with our request. 'My own opinion,' says Dr. Rees, 'as to the grant is unaltered. But I have no objection to any *fair* discussion as to its principles, or its administration, and will willingly furnish the assistance I may be able, to have everything accurately known as to its history.' Were we otherwise disposed to indulge in personal and acrimonious reflections, the evil spirit would be exorcised by the candid and handsome style of this communication.

forced upon us. The strength and glory of the Scottish kirk have passed away, the monstrous enormity of the Irish establishment is now admitted by every impartial man in the empire, Wales repudiates and abhors her hierarchy, and throughout the length and breadth of England the utterance of dissatisfaction is daily becoming more emphatic and audible. Our statesmen are strongly disinclined to look these facts in the face. They affect to doubt, they even venture to deny them, and when the notoriety of the case renders this no longer possible, they endeavour to divert public attention by absurd palliatives, which only serve to aggravate the evil. Ignorant of the character, and incapable of rightly estimating the force of the causes which are operating, they hasten on the progress of events by the very means which they employ to arrest it. It is no new thing in the history of the world that mere politicians should be perplexed by the operation of religious influences. It has always been so; and the distraction and national injury hence ensuing will continue until statesmen learn that the domain of conscience—the province of religion—is too sacred an enclosure for their intrusion. They are slow to receive this lesson, and it would be surprising were it otherwise. The controul of the religious faith of a nation is too flattering to human pride, and too favourable to the despotic tendencies of rulers to be easily relinquished. Could it once be effected,—and on the theory of our opponents it is not only practicable, but ought to be aimed at,—freedom of thought would be unknown, the more generous sympathies of our nature would be extinguished, and the terrors of the world to come would be employed to confirm and perpetuate the reign of tyranny on earth. Moreover, the present state of things has existed for centuries. Our statesmen have been familiar with it from their infancy; they have been taught to regard it as part of Christianity, yea, to cherish it as the only part which has claims on their support, or for which it becomes them to care.

Reluctant however as they are to address themselves to the honest and fearless consideration of the facts of this case, they cannot avoid them. Necessity is laid upon them, and though we affect not prophecy, we venture to say that from this necessity they will not be able to escape. The character of the movement to which we advert, the deep and settled conviction out of which it has grown, the vast multitudes who are taking part in it, the clear yet forcible apprehensions of duty under which they act, and the solemn sense of responsibility to God, and of tender pity for the souls of men which impels them onward, all constitute a case as distinct from the combinations of party or the intrigues of faction as light is dissimilar from dark-

ness. The ordinary rules of political management are inapplicable to this case, which stands isolated from all others, and must be judged of and be legislated for on vastly different principles. We are converging towards a struggle, not of parties, but of principles; not of passions, but of systems. Coercion and voluntaryism, human authority and inspired truth, are coming into close and deadly conflict, and upon the issue of the struggle are suspended the best hopes of the human family. Could we doubt what that issue will be, a dark shadow would be thrown across our path, the future would lose its radiance, and the hope and glory of our world would pass away.

In this approaching struggle much will depend, under God, on the dissenters of Great Britain. They are the true conservators of the kingdom of Christ, amongst whom the neglected doctrines of the church's spirituality and genuine independence have found refuge. Upon them it has hitherto devolved to defend and expound these great truths, and on their energy and self-consecration our hope of seeing their practical adoption mainly relies. Help may be drawn from other quarters,—the indolent, the timid, the lukewarm amongst ourselves may be stimulated by the activity and zeal of new allies, but it is to the descendants of the puritans, the representatives of those who, in evil days, and with defective knowledge, stood up manfully in the sight of the nation to contend for their own religious freedom, that we look for the vigorous prosecution of this holy warfare. Their principles and past history, the sufferings of their fathers, their own reiterated professions, their recent training in the work of evangelization, and their growing sense of religious wrong done to the souls of men by the hierarchy of this realm, all commit them to the enterprize, and qualify them for it.

In proportion to this conviction is the solicitude we feel that the dissenters of Great Britain should be thoroughly furnished for the work which devolves upon them. Firmly attached as we are to their principles, we have never been amongst those who deem them faultless. To flatter is no proof of friendship, and to pretend that there are not amongst ourselves many things which need correction—nay, which must be corrected before we shall be prepared for the work we have to do—would be to display the blind spirit of partizanship which we condemn in our opponents, and to expose ourselves to the contempt of all judicious men.

We are aware of the disfavour which may attach to a frank and candid acknowledgment of the peccability of our friends, and of the ungenerous use which may be made of our admissions; yet we prefer this course as infinitely preferable to any other—the only one in fact which is consistent with enlightened attach

ment, or with the fidelity of truth. Many evils have grown out of the circumstances of dissent, and some are threatened by the new organizations which have sprung up in our own day. To these we shall freely advert from time to time as they present themselves to our views, regardless alike of the fears of the timid, the misconstructions of the prejudiced, or the temporary exultation of short-sighted foes. We have no sympathy with those who deprecate the exposure of what is defective amongst ourselves, who would have nothing adverted to but what is excellent, nothing pointed at but what is praiseworthy. This is a mistaken and vicious course, whose only effect is to strengthen self-complacency, and to perpetuate the evils under which we suffer. To keep from opponents the knowledge of our imperfections may gratify our self-love and pride, but the best way to effect their correction is, fearlessly, but in a spirit of love, to point out their incompatibility with the genius and honour of our profession.

At present we shall confine ourselves to the grant annually made by parliament to 'poor dissenting ministers,' in doing which we shall not hesitate to express, with all personal respect to the distributors, our sense of the wrong which they are unwittingly doing to the dissenting body. As it has frequently happened to us to express opinions in advance of the community whose ecclesiastical principles we advocate, we are glad, on the present occasion, to be sustained by their all but universal feeling. The reception of this grant we deem both discreditable and pernicious, inconsistent with our solemn and deliberate professions, and adapted to bring our principles into disrepute and contempt.

This is our strong and growing conviction, the foundation of which we have examined again and again. Deeply sensible of the pecuniary necessities of many of our ministers, we have been indisposed to adopt a conclusion which would divert from them any present supply; whilst our knowledge of some of the gentlemen who undertake the office of distributing the fund, and our entire confidence in their attachment to the great principles of voluntaryism, have led us to mistrust our own judgment, and to doubt whether our conclusion has not been moulded by some unrecognized influence. These circumstances have repeatedly induced a re-consideration of the case, in which we have endeavoured to protect ourselves from every sinister influence, and to ascertain with the utmost distinctness the truth of the matter and the obligations consequently resting on us. The result we shall proceed to state, with a due regard to what is owing to our principles on the one hand, and to the unquestioned integrity of the distributors on the other.

It would lead us too far astray from our immediate object, and be incompatible with the necessarily brief limits of the present paper, to comprehend in our discussions the historical details of the Irish branch of this question. We shall therefore reserve the *Irish Regium Donum* for distinct consideration, simply remarking as we pass that we deem its principle to be as vicious, its administration more objectionable, and its influence a hundredfold more pernicious than that of the English grant.

Money grants had occasionally been made to non-conforming ministers by former monarchs, and it is necessary that this fact should be borne in mind, that justice may be done to the men who consented to receive the gift of George I. It was no new fact in the history of dissent, but merely an expansion and more systematic development of a principle previously known and acted on. This statement is due to Dr. Calamy and his associates, and is fully sustained by the facts of the case. Speaking of the thanks rendered by the presbyterians to Charles II. for his suspension of the penal laws, Bishop Burnet says,—and though his statement is probably overcharged, we know no reason to doubt its substantial truth,—'There was an order to pay a yearly pension of fifty pounds to the most of them, and of an hundred pounds a year to the chief of the party. Baxter sent back his pension, and would not touch it. But most of them took it. All this I say upon Dr. Stillingfleet's word, who assured me he knew the truth of it. And in particular, he told me that Pool, who wrote the synopsis of the critics, confessed to him that he had had fifty pounds for two years.'*

The circumstances under which these pensions were granted could not fail to engender suspicion, and warranted, to some extent, the affirmation of the bishop, that the parties in question were hired to be silent.

A similar remark is applicable to the case of Dr. Owen, of whom it is reported, that having been sent for by Charles II., he was assured of that monarch's regard for liberty of conscience, and of his deep sense of the injuries done to his dissenting subjects; in proof of which the doctor was requested, on behalf of his brethren, to accept one thousand guineas. It must be borne in mind, rightly to estimate this proceeding, that the king had been actively concurrent in the persecuting measures which disgrace his reign, and that the new born zeal and sympathy now professed were obviously designed to stave off opposition to his majesty's lenient policy towards the catholics. It was not that he loved dissenters

* 'Hist. of Own Times,' vol. i. p. 565.

better, but that he wanted to make them the unintentional instruments of advancing his popish policy.'*

A similar proffer was made, in the reign of Queen Anne, to Dr. Daniel Williams, who, however, declined its acceptance; and for so doing, was censured by many who were more alive to the necessities of their brethren, than to the requirements of their Christian profession.†

The circumstances under which the *parliamentary* grant was originally made are involved in some doubt, and have been differently represented. The trustees, in their *brief statement*, and Dr. Rees, as an advocate of the fund, naturally rely on the version of Dr. Edmund Calamy, one of the original distributors, who represents it as a pure act of favour on the part of George I. His account is briefly as follows, the period referred to being the year 1723:—

'About this time his majesty was pleased in a private way to give the dissenters a considerable taste of his royal bounty and kind regard to them by an annual allowance. The first motion for it was made by Mr. Daniel Burgess, who had for some time been secretary to the Princess of Wales. He of his own head, out of good will to those among whom he had had his education, moved for something of that kind to the Lord Viscount Townshend, who readily fell in with it, and afterwards discoursed with his brother Walpole about it, who also concurred. Upon its being mentioned to the king, he was very free to it, and soon ordered 500*l.* to be paid out of the Treasury for the use and behoof of the poor widows of dissenting ministers. And some time after 500*l.* was, upon application made on that behalf, ordered to be paid each half year for the assisting either ministers or their widows that wanted help, or to be applied to any such uses as the distributors thought to be most for their interest. An order was each half year obtained by Mr. Burgess, payable to Mr. Ellis the surgeon; and when Mr. Burgess received it, he paid it to the following persons, viz.:—Mr. William Tong, Mr. Jeremy Smith, Mr. Merrill of Hampstead, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, Mr. Mathew Clarke, Dr. Joshua Oldfield, Mr. John Evans, Mr. William Harris, and myself; and as any of these persons died, the survivors chose another in his room.

'It was paid yearly generally; though sometimes I observed (without being able to discover what it was to be ascribed to), we were passed by and forgotten. An equal dividend was made of the sum received, among those that received it, and each person disposed of what he received as he thought best, generally shewing an account to the rest, how it was disposed of, that so several might not give to the same persons. A charge was given that this matter should be kept secret; nor was there any occasion to make a common talk of it, and I believe it was kept as much a secret as a thing of that nature, with which so many

* Orme's Life of Owen, p. 289.
† Calamy's Life, vol. ii. p. 471.

were acquainted, could be well expected to be, though by degrees it became first suspected, and afterwards more known than were to have been desired. Nor was this the first instance of kindness of this sort that the dissenting ministers had received from the court.'—pp. 4, 5.

The charge given that the matter should be kept secret—on which the opponents of the grant have been accustomed to insist—might have been founded, not upon the supposed discreditable nature of the transaction, but upon the desire of the government, to avoid the irritation which the knowledge of such a grant would administer to the intolerant churchmen of the day. The Jacobites were at that period a numerous and not uninfluential body, and would gladly have availed themselves of such an act of favour towards dissenters, to inflame the zeal of their followers against the Hanoverian dynasty. We are not, therefore, concerned to drag this circumstance into the controversy, and merely advert to it to admit the validity of the plea urged by Dr. Rees.

This gentleman refers to Dr. Calamy's testimony as 'authentic and incontrovertible;' and the trustees, in like manner, term it 'the only authentic account' possessed of the origin of the grant. Now we are not disposed to disparage Dr. Calamy's testimony, yet it must be remembered that in his narrative, on which so much reliance is placed, he does not appear in the simple character of a historian, but in that of a party standing on his defence, and furnishing, by way of anticipation, an answer to charges which might be preferred. His account was drawn when the matter was but little known, and that, too, with a specific design, the effect of which, even on the most honourable minds, in colouring the statements made, is too notorious to admit of implicit trust.

Placing then, for the instant, all other versions of the affair out of account, let us look at the narrative in order to ascertain its import, and see how far the transaction it records was wise and expedient. A money grant was obtained through the medium of Sir Robert Walpole, the prime minister of the day, to which the title of *Regium Donum* was subsequently applied. It was paid out of that portion of the monarch's income which was derived from possessions legally attached to the crown, and which constituted as really a portion of its revenue as that which came to it through the votes of the Commons House. In no proper sense can the hereditary possessions of the crown be said to have been private property, so as to take their disposal out of the range of those laws which ought to regulate the disposition of that which is public. In the present instance no such distinction appears to have occurred to Dr. Calamy as a ground on which the reception of the grant was to be justified.

It would seem never to have suggested itself to his mind, as the necessity for it did not appear from the view probably entertained by himself and his brethren respecting the relation of human governments to the offices of religion. From aught that occurs, Dr. Calamy would not have objected to receive pecuniary support from the state, supposing that it were not clogged with conditions, against which conscience protested. Neither the puritans nor the early nonconformists had any scruple on this point; and as Dr. Calamy was one of the moderate men of his day, it is not likely that he had outstripped his compeers in his views respecting it.

The reasoning he pursues in vindication of the course adopted by the recipients of the grant leads to a similar conclusion. Not one word is uttered about the private source whence it was drawn, which could scarcely have failed to be the case had he entertained the theory of the modern defenders of the grant. On the contrary, some of the cases to which he refers lead to an opposite conclusion, as no pretence can exist for applying to them the distinction contended for. Having specified the cases already referred to, Dr. Calamy adds:—*

'Nor could we indeed see why we might not thankfully accept of such an help as this here in England, as well as our brethren in the North of Ireland, who in the year 1690, had a grant from King William, of £1200, per annum, to be paid by quarterly payments. . . Nor would it be an easy thing to give a good and substantial reason, why we that are Dissenters in England, and excluded from the emoluments of the national church, may not as warrantably receive a thousand pounds a year from the Government, as our Presbyterian brethren in Scotland do, (according to the current and uncontradicted report of our public newspapers,) in order to the promoting Christian knowledge in their Highlands.'

But supposing that all this were fallacious, supposing that the public and private revenues and character of the king, could be so dissociated as to render it becoming in some instances to receive from the latter, what must be rejected from the former; still we say—judging of course by our own ecclesiastical views, and not by those of the original trustees—it was inexpedient and most unwise, to receive the grant in question, as it could not fail, in popular apprehension, to be confounded with a state endowment; and would therefore operate to prevent an unsuspected and effective vindication of the spirituality and independence of the church. Acute men may make subtle distinctions, but the great body of a community will not. They laugh at the splitting of hairs, and knowing nothing of the king, but *as* king, will maintain, whatever be asserted to the contrary, that any class

* Life of Calamy. ii. 471.

of religionists who receive from him an annual allowance, are disqualified, *ipso facto*, for the consistent and successful advocacy of the voluntary principle. To this objection we hold, under the most favourable construction of the origin of the grant. Admitting all that Dr. Rees and the Trustees maintain respecting its source and history, we contend, that its reception was most inexpedient; inasmuch as it bore the appearance of evil, and would be regarded in this light by the great body of the community. Constituting one of the three estates of the realm, it would be utterly hopeless to dissociate such a grant by the king, annually made, and administered through the ordinary channels of the Treasury, from a state allowance to the ministers of religion. This was the tendency, the natural and inevitable tendency, of the measure; and ought, in our judgment, to have induced its rejection. The private bounty of the monarch, thus systematically administered to an ecclesiastical class, ought not to have been received, unless the recipients admitted the principles which lie at the basis of all state establishments of religion. The new mode of administration adopted at the commencement of the present century, has greatly increased, as we shall presently see, the force of this objection.

Hitherto we have dealt only with Dr. Calamy's account of the origin of the grant; but we must now advert to other versions of it, which place it in a somewhat different, and still more exceptionable light. The first of these, in the order of publication, appeared in the *London Magazine* for 1774, and was 'reprinted nearly verbatim,' as a separate pamphlet, in the year 1792. It is generally attributed to Dr. Henry Mayo, an independent minister of London, and one of the tutors of Homerton college. We are not concerned at present with the reflections passed by this writer on the policy observed by the trustees of the grant, in the subsequent public movements of dissenters. These may have been more severe—and in some cases we believe they were so—than the occasion justified; and it is probable, that from the position and feelings of the writer, the most unfavourable view was taken of the circumstances connected with the origin of the grant. As Dr. Calamy's position must have inclined him to view things in the most favourable light, and to represent them accordingly, that of Dr. Mayo would dispose him to an opposite extreme. The truth, therefore, will probably be found to lie midway between the two: and this is all for which we are disposed to contend. We transcribe Dr. Mayo's account as it is given by Dr. Rees:—

'Sir Robert Walpole was then chancellor of the exchequer—a statesman, who knew too well for the real interests of his country, the passions which are most apt to be predominant in the heart, and whom no man

ever equalled in the application of gold. By this, he daily converted his enemies into friends, and so charmed even the flaming votaries of liberty, dissenting ministers not excepted, as to reconcile them to corruption, and even to court fetters, and rejoice in them. He had observed from year to year the wonderful effects which the smiles of the Treasury bench had on all ranks of men; and finding that the Protestant Dissenters, after being years trifled with, were moving in earnest to obtain deliverance from their bondage, he closeted a few of their ministers, whom he thought to have the most influence among their brethren, and who would best answer his purposes. In their presence, he wore the mask of friendship and sanctity,—he complimented them on their great abilities,—assured them he had the heartiest zeal for the Protestant Dissenters and their interests,—lamented the poverty and small incomes of many of their ministers through the kingdom, and that any laws should hang over their heads. The reverend gentlemen (like their successors of the present day) were soon overpowered with his condescension, eloquence and goodness. He then declared his readiness to serve them any way, even in parliament, for the repeal of the cruel statutes against them; but the present year, 1723, 'was a very improper time—he, the greatest friend they had, would not advise them to apply that session; if they did, it would greatly injure, if not ruin the cause; but the postponing it would greatly promote its success in a future period. A respectful postponing of it was very likely to obtain its success; whereas to bring it on without any regard to circumstances, or contrary to the advice of the best judges and their most able advocates, might be called rashness, and would do dishonour to the cause.' The language of courtiers and their tools is the same from one generation to another.

'To enforce this reasoning, he drew £500. out of the Treasury, by a warrant payable to a surgeon, and which was paid by another agent into the hands of nine ministers. The bait was, '*Pray, receive this for the use and comfort of the widows of dissenting ministers,* TILL ADMINISTRATION CAN MORE EFFECTUALLY SERVE YOUR CAUSE;' but a strict charge was given with the money, that the matter should be kept very secret. Grateful Sir Robert! to conceal the virtues of his royal master, and not suffer his favourites so much as to speak of this considerable taste of royal bounty, which was also promised to be annual.

'Very soon afterwards, the crafty statesman, finding that this money had produced just the same effects in the conversion of these dissenting clergy, as benefices and bishoprics always had done with respect to many ecclesiastical members of the Establishment, he doubled the pension, and ordered that £500. half-yearly should be paid to those nine ministers, and with larger powers, '*to be applied to* ANY USES, *as the distributors should think proper.*'—pp. 17, 18.

On this account it is obvious to remark, that the means said to be employed, are in perfect keeping with the known and avowed policy of Sir Robert Walpole. Money was his grand instrument, by the unsparing use of which he bought off opposition, and secured to himself a long tenure of office. Parties were at the time greatly divided. The Whigs themselves, were

broken up into sections, and it was therefore of the utmost importance to the minister, that he should at once conciliate the dissenting body, and, at the same time, prevent their urging their claims for redress of grievances, on the legislature. No means were so likely to accomplish these ends, as those which he is here represented to have employed; and there is, therefore, a *prima facie* probability in the case, as stated by Dr. Mayo, whatever may be thought of the complexion of the account given of the subsequent conduct of the ministers concerned. Dr. Rees is of opinion, that 'the whole story, has the air of a pure but clumsy fable, the creation at once of the fancy and of the malignity of the author;' but from this opinion we are compelled to dissent; no probability being violated, nor any internal evidence of inaccuracy being furnished, by the narrative. Dr. Rees refers as conclusive evidence against its authenticity, to 'the shallow sophistry,' by which Sir Robert Walpole is represented to have imposed on the ministers, 'and the idiotic simplicity with which they are stated to have allowed themselves to be overpowered and cajoled.' But is it not notorious—we have read history to little purpose if it be not so—that the language here attributed to the premier, was precisely in substance that which he was accustomed to address to the dissenters of his day; and that they never, for a considerable time, questioned its sincerity, but deferred to it as the counsel of a friend. Dr. Rees's own pages furnish evidence of this, while the histories of the period place it beyond doubt. He perpetually made professions of regard, at the same time that he as uniformly advised delay. His sincerity was, however, put to the test in 1739, and it miserably failed. 'Whatever were his private inclinations,' he then informed a deputation which waited on him respecting the Test Act, 'the attempt was improper, and the time was not yet arrived.' 'You have so often Sir Robert,' replied Dr. Chandler, 'returned this answer, that I trust you will give me leave to ask you when the time will come?' to which the minister, evidently thrown off his guard, rejoined, 'If you require a specific answer, I will give it you in a word—never'—* It is needless to add, that the Whig House of Commons, led on by Sir Robert himself, rejected the measure of relief by a larger majority than their Tory predecessors.

Nor is it necessary to suppose, as the defenders of the grant seem to imagine, that some condition would have been insisted on, some explicit engagement of subserviency have been entered into, if the grant were designed to operate as a bribe. We fully admit, that there was nothing of this kind; nay, we go farther

* Cooke's History of Party, ii. 271.

and say, that had there been any attempt of the sort, it would instantly have defeated the minister's design. He was too sagacious an observer to make so false a step. He knew too well the men with whom he had to do, and therefore contented himself with conferring a favour, at the same time that he counselled delay of their claims. This is precisely the course we should have anticipated from a man so long and deeply versed in the science of controuling the actions of others. He wanted time, he sought to be relieved from the perplexities to which an earnest prosecution of dissenting claims would expose him, and what surer method was there of compassing his purpose than to advise delay, and at the same time to confer the royal bounty. The former might, by itself, have awakened suspicion and given rise to hostility, but associated with the latter, it became the language of friendship, and was entitled to considerable weight. We are not disposed to take the worst possible view of the acts of statesmen, yet we confess we have no such exalted opinion of the patriotism or the benevolence of Walpole as to attribute to him a virtue so foreign from his class. The one motive to which we refer his conduct was perfectly equal to its production, whilst the other was alien from his character, and utterly incompatible with his subsequent policy. We confess, therefore, our own conviction that Dr. Mayo's account supplies some facts which Dr. Calamy has omitted, and that the admission of these goes to effect a material alteration in our estimate of the origin of the grant.

But Dr. Mayo's account is confirmed, as to its substantial accuracy, by Mr. Richard Ricards, 'a gentleman of great respectability, and a zealous dissenter in the earlier part of the last century.' This gentleman left some unpublished memoirs of his life and times, from which Dr. Rees, with a candour that cannot be too highly praised, gives the following extract, which we transcribe entire:

'The dissenters, in the year 1732, being generally of opinion that it was then a proper time to apply to parliament to release them from their shackles, imposed and fastened on them by the high church persecuting party when in power, they thought the test act an infringement upon liberty, a hardship on conscientious clergymen as well as on the dissenters, and was of no efficacy to keep out of place the atheist, the irreligious, or the profane, and therefore a national evil. They therefore appointed deputies from the several congregations in and about London to prosecute the repeals of the said act and the corporation act, which was equally pernicious. But their friends in the administration desiring it to be postponed, they not being yet ready to assist them, it was deferred until about this time, [1734,] when the said deputies thought it necessary to proceed, not only as believing it to be a proper time to ex-

pect success as they ever again were likely to have, but also to comply with the general sense and desire of the dissenters of all denominations throughout the kingdom. A committee of twenty-one was therefore appointed from among them by ballot to solicit the affair, I was one of that committee. How the attempt came to miscarry, many now living can well remember. The secession of many of the principal deputies [Mr. Holden, Mr. Brooksbank, who had court boroughs given them afterwards, and others] from their meeting at Pinner's Hall, and their making a separate assembly, the boroughs given or promised to some of the dissenting laity, and some of their clergy suffering themselves to be corrupted by the most expert and successful man in that way, Sir Robert Walpole, that ever England bred, it struck a damp and coldness on the application, and gave such a spirit to the opposition that it is a wonder there were so many friends to liberty, and independent, that had the courage at that time to own their principles, when they had the ministry as well as the tories to contend with.

'Thus fell our hopes of recovering religious liberty for this age, at the least; for who can be trusted when our own pastors betray us and touch the poison? It may be asked, what could our ministers allege in excuse for their behaviour, and to what purpose did they finger public money? The only plausible reasons for it (and those very bad ones) were given me by one of those very ministers (Dr. Harris) who, in every other respect, was esteemed as a man of learning, integrity, and good nature, viz. that there were many poor ministers among them who wanted help; that it made the distributors of the money more respectable, and of consequence more capable of being useful, and that if they refused the money it would come into the hands of persons that were more exceptionable, and who might make a bad use of it; and insinuated that if the Test Act, &c. were repealed, and the dissenters got into places, it might make them more remiss in their way of living, more wavering in their principles, and thereby weaken the dissenting interest. The very reverse thereof many now living are able to demonstrate. Have not many of the rich dissenters left us quite, notwithstanding the Test Act remains in force; others of them married their children to conformists, and given them large fortunes; and not a few who, seeing no prospect of the repeals, from ambitious views or worse, have left off all public worship as unnecessary?'—p. 84.

The personal respectability of Mr. Ricards is beyond all question, and that he took an intimate and zealous part in the proceedings of the dissenting body, at the period referred to, is clearly shown. He is stated to have commenced his memoirs in 1750, and it is urged by Dr. Rees that the more active and decided measures which he advocated brought him into collision with the leaders of his body, and thereby inclined him to look with suspicion and disfavour on their movements. 'It is apparent,' he remarks, forgetting it would seem that the observation is applicable also to Dr. Calamy, on whose evidence he so implicitly relies, 'that Mr. Ricards must be viewed as an historian liable to be biassed

in his judgment and his statements by a regard to the personal reputation of himself and his associates.' All this is true, and should be borne in mind, in order to an impartial estimate of the evidence given; but the writer, it must also be remembered, was a man of integrity, who lived in the times referred to, was intimate with the persons concerned, and took an active part in the proceedings carried on. Bearing all these facts in mind, we are constrained to attach more weight to the evidence given than Dr. Rees admits to be due to it, though we do not go to the extent of adopting all Mr. Ricards' reflections, or of exempting him on some points from a charge of uncharitableness. On the whole, we are of opinion that on this occasion, as on all others admitting it, Walpole employed money to compass his political ends; that the recipients of his money were not required, and would indignantly have refused had they been so, to give any pledge of subserviency to the minister, but that the imperceptible, the unrecognized influence of the grant was traceable in the deference subsequently shown to his wishes, and in the moderate counsels which prevailed amongst the leaders of dissent. This could not but be, human nature remaining what it is, and the fact constitutes a strong objection to the course adopted by Dr. Calamy and his brethren.

The force of our objection to the grant has been greatly strengthened by the alteration effected at the commencement of the present century in its mode of administration. The trustees advert to this in their *Brief Statement*, and it is due to them that we extract the following passage as explanatory of their views on the point:

'Formerly the kings of England, on their accession to the throne, became possessed of large hereditary revenues, out of which were defrayed the expenses of the royal establishment, a great part of the charges of the executive government, and such charitable donations, whether of a temporary or a permanent nature, as the sovereign might deem it proper to bestow. From this personal fund was paid, during the reigns of George I. and George II., the royal grant to poor dissenting ministers. On the accession of George III. it was thought advisable to substitute for these hereditary revenues, a fixed annual sum, equivalent to them in amount, which obtained the technical name of the civil list. The charges which had been usually defrayed out of the rents and profits of the royal demesnes, including the grant to dissenting ministers, and other permanent charities, were now paid out of the new fund. In 1804, some alterations were made in the civil list itself. Owing to heavy war expenses and other causes, it was found inadequate to all the purposes for which it had been designed, and the parliament, on the application of the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, voted an annual addition to it of £60,000. In order, however, to simplify the public accounts, and to prevent the civil list falling into arrear, it was at the same time

settled to take from it certain payments, to the amount of £135,000 per annum, and to provide for them separately by an annual vote of the House of Commons. Among the permanent charges thus transferred were certain royal charities, including the bounty to the poor French refugee clergy and laity, and to the dissenting ministers of England and Wales. By this change the *Regium Donum* became a *parliamentary grant*. Its character was not, however, changed. The parliament became, in fact, the King's almoner, and pledged its faith to continue the royal charities, which were considered as permanent charges on the crown estates. Nor did the parliament enter into this compact without securing ample means to fulfil it. When called upon to add the large sum of £60,000 per annum to the civil list, it was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that so favourable to the country had been the bargain for the crown lands, that after making up the full amount of the civil list, with this increase, and defraying all the expenses chargeable upon it, there would remain a considerable balance in favour of the nation, to be appropriated to the public service.'—pp. 5, 6.

On this account we take liberty to remark that the distinction here contended for is more apparent than real. The 'hereditary revenues' referred to, as we have already intimated, were not a *personal* fund in the sense contended for by the trustees, but were part of the income provided for the sovereign by the legislature, and were designed to meet, according to the admission of the trustees themselves, 'a great part of the charges of the executive government.' Whatever precedents may therefore have grown up in the course of years favourable to a disposal of a part of them at the mere pleasure of the King, they must, in a constitutional point of view, and *ought especially in relation to the present question*, to be regarded as a national contribution, substantially similar to money grants by parliament. This was the view taken by the leading statesmen of the day when the revision of the civil list, referred to by the trustees, was under the consideration of the House of Commons. Mr. Addington, the premier, remarked on that occasion:

'His Majesty on the throne had not the power of applying any part of his revenue to his own purposes, either in a manner offensive to the people of the country, or for purposes of prodigality and corruption: it was only, sir, in the commencement of the reign of Charles II. that estimates were introduced as means of control on the expenditure of the public revenue. It was in the time of Charles II. that the right of purveyance and pre-emption was given up, as a source of enriching the king: for the purpose of relieving the people of this country from a prerogative so injurious, a price was to be paid for it by parliament; in consequence of which an hereditary revenue was granted in lieu of it. I mentioned this rather incidentally, the main purpose being to establish the point that the whole of the king's hereditary revenue consists of the

grant to Charles II. for the abolition of the court of wards, and the privilege of purveyance and pre-emption.'*

Mr. Fox took the same view of the question, which he expressed with a distinctness and force characteristic of his oratory.

'The King,' he observed, 'certainly possessed immense revenues in former times, totally independent of parliament; but for this revenue what had he to do? He was to raise and maintain fleets and armies in times of war, as well as in peace. It was no private income of his own, as an individual, but a trust from the public. . . . . The proposition so much boasted of, which was made in the beginning of the present reign, would have been a good one, if properly followed up. By that proposal the King relinquished nothing, because, constitutionally, he had nothing to give up in point of right, there being no right in existence. All that was done may more properly be considered in the way of an exchange.'†

By the arrangement effected at this time, every shadow of pretence for the view taken of the grant by its advocates was removed. It was to be submitted annually to the revision of parliament, and was taken—avowedly now as it had always really been—from the pockets of the people. To pretend that though thus voted, and though liable to be withheld at any time at the pleasure of the Commons, it yet differs in its essential character from a money grant by the legislature, does appear to us, we confess, to be one of the most singular and instructive instances on record of perversity of view, for which it is impossible to account on any other principle, than that of the imperceptible influence exercised over the judgments of men by their position. It may suit the purpose of our more sagacious opponents to deny the competence of parliament to withhold the grant, but we must have further evidence than has hitherto been adduced before we can deem such a position worthy of serious reply. The view we should have taken of the *parliamentary* grant would have been in substance what we have expressed, even had the theory of the trustees respecting the *Regium Donum* been admitted. We should, in that case, have contended that dissenters were not in a position to allow themselves, without serious discredit to their principles, and corresponding injury to religious truth, to be handed over from the royal bounty to the public treasury; that they ought to have dissented from the proposed compact, and while grateful for the past favours of the monarch, have declined the proffered votes of parliament. This was due to their self respect, as well

* Past Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 374.
† Ibid pp. 383 and 386.

as to the principles they held: was enforced alike by the duty incumbent on them, to avoid the appearance of evil, and to maintain the uprightness and consistency of their principles. But if our judgment would have been such in the case supposed, how much stronger must be our conviction under the views we entertain of the falsity of the theory advocated by Dr. Rees.

We hold it as a primary truth, the slightest deviation from which is fraught with serious evils, that the support of the ministers and offices of religion should be purely voluntary. Dr. Rees,—if we do not misapprehend the spirit of his pamphlet, which we should be exceedingly sorry to do—differs from us on this point, and is therefore so far consistent in his advocacy of the grant. We cannot otherwise understand the somewhat contemptuous expressions, such as 'fine-wrought theory of religious freedom,' and 'fanciful speculation,' by which he designates the principle on which it is opposed, nor fairly interpret the following brief passage, in which he more distinctly refers to this point:—

'There is one other objection of more recent growth, upon which it may be proper to offer a few remarks, not so much on account of its intrinsic weight, as of the extraordinary importance assigned to it by some zealous dissenters in their late public proceedings. It has been contended that the grant is paid out of a fund created by the compulsory taxation of the people for the support of religion, and therefore violates what is pronounced to be a fundamental dissenting principle, that the maintenance of Christian worship should be left wholly to the voluntary offerings of its votaries.

'Whether it be inexpedient in all conceivable circumstances that some contribution should be made from the national purse to provide the means of religious and moral instruction for all, or for any portion of the subjects of the state, is a question too large in its extent to be incidentally discussed in a work of this nature. Certain I am, however, that such a provision as is here supposed, whatever place it may hold in the opinion of any class of modern dissenters, militated against no principle of the early non-conformists, the first trustees and earlier beneficiaries of the *Regium Donum*, and constituted no part of the conscientious scruples which compelled them to keep aloof from the communion of the established church.'—p. 71.

This is not language which some of his co-trustees would employ, and we call their attention to it as suggesting an inquiry, which, if thoroughly prosecuted, will go far in our judgment to induce an abandonment of their present false position. But we must pass on to other topics, having already devoted, to those noticed, more space than we originally designed.

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From its origin, as already seen, strong objections have

been urged against this grant by dissenters themselves, and resolutions expressive of such objections have been adopted by all the more powerful bodies amongst us. We shall place a few of these on record, and shall follow them up with such counsel as the nature of the case appears to us to require. The Congregational and Baptist Unions are unquestionably the most influential organizations which exist amongst evangelical dissenters. Each of them comprises many hundred churches located in various parts of the empire, and their view of the matter before us has been recorded in unequivocal and emphatic terms.

At the adjourned autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union, held at Leeds in October last, the following resolution was unanimously adopted,—

'That this meeting fully concurs in those principles and views which lead to an almost universal and a very strong desire, prevalent throughout the denomination, that no ministers connected with the Congregational churches should any longer be recipients of the Regium Donum; and entertains confident hope that early and effective measures will be adopted to enable the denomination to repudiate all participation in the grant, without depriving any minister of assistance derived from this source.'

The sentiments of the Baptist Union were expressed with equal explicitness in a memorial presented to Lord Melbourne in 1837, from which we extract the following paragraph:—

'Your memorialists take the present opportunity of adverting also to the subject of parliamentary grants for religious and ecclesiastical purposes, all of which, whether made to poor Protestant Dissenting ministers, to Maynooth College, to the presbyterians of Ireland, or to other similar objects, they reprobate, and in which they most sincerely desire never to be implicated either as recipients or as contributors.'

The ministers of the three denominations have not been less decided in their views on this subject, or less zealous in their expression of them, than their brethren in the country. On the 14th of April, 1840, it was resolved—

'That this body regret that any sum of the public money should be granted or received by any of our dissenting brethren, either in the form of Regium Donum or in any other form; and that this body hereby disclaim any participation in such grants, as inconsistent with their avowed principles, and calculated to mar their efforts in the maintenance of their scriptural views of the kingdom of Christ.'

The Congregational Board of London has at various times recorded its condemnation of the principle of this grant; and on the 11th April, 1837, resolved that the following declaration

should be published as expressive of its views, and a memorial in accordance with it be presented to the government:—

'The board of Congregational ministers, after repeated discussions on the subject of the Regium Donum or parliamentary grant to dissenting ministers, of January 7, 1834, resolved—that it is desirable that the grant should be discontinued.

'The conviction of the Board thus deliberately expressed has been strengthened and matured by extended inquiry and the progress of events, and its members now feel constrained to avow publicly the opinion recorded more than three years since upon its minutes.

'They deliberately disclaim the slightest imputation on the integrity of the distributors of the grant, towards whom they entertain every feeling of respect, but they conscientiously believe that the reception of such grant is utterly inconsistent with the principles of Congregational churches, that its operation is highly injurious to the interests of dissenters, and that its continuance is unnecessary for the support of those ministers for whom it is designed, since they believe such aid will be adequately supplied from other sources. In accordance with these sentiments the members of the Congregational Board feel further compelled by a sense of duty to present a memorial to her majesty's government against the continuance of the said grant.'

We know not how to account for the fact that no similar resolution has been passed by the Baptist Board of London. From our knowledge of many of the members of that Board, we should have judged that they would be foremost in the vindication of themselves in this matter. The body to which they belong is generally reputed to be more decided in its ecclesiastical views than any other; and many of its members are, to our certain knowledge, deeply aggrieved by the reception of this grant. How, therefore, it has happened that the only entry on their minutes pertaining to this subject is one indicative of indifference, if not of approbation, we are at a loss to understand. Our respect for the body would lead us to suppress what we consider matter of reproach, but the higher interests of truth require an explicit statement of the fact that, on the 4th of February, 1834, it having been moved 'That in the opinion of this Board it is inconsistent for dissenting ministers to receive the grants of parliament annually made in their favour,' an amendment to the effect 'That it is inexpedient for this Board to entertain the question now,' was carried by a majority of one. We leave the statement of this fact without comment, and shall be glad to find that the future action of the body replaces it in its natural and consistent position.

The London deputies, constituting the most influential non-ministerial body existing amongst us, have been equally explicit in the expression of their views, while our county associations

have, with almost entire unanimity, condemned the principle, and repudiated the continuance of the grant.

So far then, Dissenters as a body, stand clear in the matter. They have recorded their protest, and have conveyed that protest to the Government. They have refused to sit down under the reproach cast upon them, and have made it clear to all candid men, that whatever inconsistency attaches to the reception of this grant, belongs to a few individuals, and is wholly unshared by the general body. They have washed their hands of the iniquity, and have called upon their countrymen to bear witness to their having done so. Still we think, there are further measures incumbent on them, in order to their complete exculpation. They have to do with men who are unwilling to be convinced, who gladly avail themselves of the plea—miserable as it is—which this alleged inconsistency furnishes, and they should therefore see to it, that their vindication be triumphant as well as satisfactory; such as will leave opponents without excuse, whilst it meets the demands of conscientious repugnance. It is not enough to record on our several minute books, our condemnation of the grant: we must take every step which circumstances permit, to place beyond dispute our deep conviction of its incompatability with our principles, and our earnest desire to be relieved from the opprobrium which it engenders. In order then to this, it seems to us desirable, as a basis for immediate and more decided action, that the views entertained by our several organizations, ministerial and other, should be recorded anew. All questions respecting their *present* opinions on the subject, would thus be set at rest, another opportunity would be given for its discussion, and our several communities, as well as the public at large, would have notified to them through the medium of the press, the grounds on which a position hostile to the grant is taken up.

Another step, and one to which we attach still greater importance,—seeing that the sentiments of our several associated bodies have already, and on various occasions, been recorded,—is this; that a respectful and earnest request be presented by the several bodies implicated in the grant, to their respective members, intreating them to resign their appointment, and thereby decline its future distribution. The trustees,* nine in number, belong in equal proportions to the Presbyterian, the Congregational, and the Baptist denominations. What may be the feeling of the first of these bodies—understanding the term Presbyterian as synonymous in this case with Unitarian—we know not; but of

* The present trustees are, we believe, Presbyterians—Dr. Rees, and Messrs. Aspland and Maidge: Independents—Dr. Pye Smith, and Messrs. John Clayton and Collison: Baptists—Drs. Cox and Murch, and Mr. Pritchard.

the other two there can be no doubt. Let resolutions then, of the nature we contemplate, be adopted at the next annual meetings of the Congregational and Baptist Unions, as also by the London Board of Ministers. These organizations may be taken fairly to represent the views and feelings of these respective bodies,—certainly in whatever degree they fail to do so, arises not from their being in advance of their brethren in their ecclesiastical views, or more prompt or energetic in the expression of them. Should it then appear, on a grave consideration of the matter, that these bodies are prepared earnestly, and in the spirit of Christian brotherhood, to represent to their respective members, that the continued reception of this grant is felt to be a wrong done to the principles which are held in common, that the course of religious freedom is impeded by it, and the integrity of their profession brought into doubt, we cannot but think that the gentlemen in question will take the matter into serious consideration; and that some of them at least, will feel called upon to defer to the views of their united brethren, even if their own estimate of the grant remain unchanged. The bodies to which we refer have, of course, no right, as they are evidently without power, to controul the proceedings of the trustees. Any attempt to do this, would be as impotent as it would be unconstitutional, and we should be amongst the first to oppose it; but a respectful, yet earnest memorial, setting forth the views which are entertained, and entreating that, on the ground of those views, the trustees would resign their appointment, would be perfectly free from any objection of this kind, at the same time that it would clearly contribute to exonerate the general body from participating in the inconsistency involved in the grant. It may probably be urged—and we admit the truth of the plea—that in the event of the present trustees resigning, others would be appointed in their place. It might be so, nay we feel convinced that strenuous efforts would be made on the part of government to bring this about. They would be unwilling—a Tory government more especially—to allow us to escape from the false position in which we are placed. They would hold us to the inconsistency, the more zealously, as we became more anxious to be freed from it. If it be so,—and the consideration in question is urged, be it remembered by the friends of the grant, as a practical objection to our views,—then, what need we further to convince us of the thorough unsoundness of the whole affair, of its unsuitableness to our position, and of the obligations under which we are placed, to put an end to it at the earliest possible moment. To pretend that Sir Robert Peel, or any other Tory minister, would be prompted in their efforts to continue the grant by benevolent feeling towards our ministers, is to insult our understandings,

and to falsify the uniform testimony of their political life. For more than two hundred years the Tory party, existing under various names, has been our sworn and inveterate foes. So long as they possessed the power, they impoverished, imprisoned or expatriated our ministers: and it is only in modern times, when a new system of tactics is rendered necessary by the altered state of public feeling, that they are anxious to feed us from the national purse. Supposing then, that other distributors of the grant would be sought, and that such would be found—a not improbable supposition—still much would be gained by the course we advise. The matter would be known, publicity would be given to the transaction and our moral integrity would stand clear. If the trustees rejected the prayer of their brethren, the responsibility would be more clearly and wholly theirs than it is at present; but if—and we are not without hope that this would be the case—they met that prayer in a different manner, their successors, should such be found, could not fail to be men of an inferior grade—*and the lower the better*—whose actions would not be considered, even by a prejudiced tribunal, as implicating the body at large. The respectability—personal and official—of the present trustees, we say it advisably, constitutes one of the worst features of the case. While such men give their name and consent to act as distributors of the grant, it is next to impossible to persuade the public, that the dissenting community is not implicated in its reception. Their names are familiar to the public ear, their position is known to be one of prominence and respectability, and their actions are, therefore, naturally regarded as carrying with them the sanction of their respective denominations. This illusion would be at once dispelled, if they were succeeded by men whom none venerate, and of whom the public had never heard. We have insisted the more largely on this point, because we deem it to be one of the greatest practical importance, and would gladly follow it out yet further, if there were not other measures which we are desirous of indicating.

The next step incumbent on us, is the presentation from our several bodies, either separately or in unison as may be thought most advisable, of a memorial to the Government, and a petition to Parliament, setting forth *distinctly* our objections to the grant, and praying that it may be discontinued. We know that this has been already done to some extent, nevertheless, we would have it repeated as indicative of our present views, and as preparatory to the parliamentary action which must crown the whole. Representations have been made in influential quarters, of which our rulers gladly avail themselves to throw discredit on the opposition evinced to this grant. Let them, therefore, be again informed, and that *most distinctly*, of our views, that they them-

selves may be without the excuse of ignorance, and that the country at large may learn that we have acted as honest and earnest men, concerned to relieve ourselves from unmerited reproach, and our advocacy of the church's freedom from the suspicion of insincerity and selfishness.

One more suggestion, and we bring our remarks to a close. In order to our complete exoneration, the Commons' House must be divided against the grant. What we have already advised will be incomplete without this, and will therefore fail of the entire and triumphant vindication which we contemplate. Each measure indeed is so much gained towards the object sought, but it is only by parliamentary action, known to have originated from ourselves, and to be urged forward at our request, and for the accomplishment of our wishes, that we can gain the ear of the nation, establish the sincerity of our resolutions and memorials, and hope to accomplish the object we have at heart. Let, therefore, a united application be made to some member, in whose knowledge of our principles and firmness in their maintenance confidence can be placed, requesting him to divide the House against this grant, when it is next submitted to parliament; and, in order to his doing this with effect, let him be entrusted with petitions from the two Unions, the ministers of the three denominations, the deputies, and as many provincial associations as possible. Let such member be empowered to state, that it is on the behalf, and at the earnest request of dissenters themselves, that he calls upon the House by a direct vote to withhold the grant; and then, whatever be the result of the division, our integrity will be clear as the light of heaven. We shall have done all which honest and zealous men can do, and may thenceforward pursue our vocation without fear of reproach, or sense of inconsistency. If the vote be forced—as it probably would be—by a ministerial majority through the House, the country will learn to distinguish between its recipients and ourselves. Its continuance would be understood, the policy by which it was dictated despised, and justice be done to a body, the overwhelming majority of which regards the grant as incompatible with their principles, and a hindrance to their religious labours.

We had intended to say something respecting the position of those ministers, amongst whom the grant has been distributed. Dr. Pye Smith, with the kindness of heart which forms so prominent a feature of his character, has recently urged this consideration in a letter to the editor of the 'Patriot;' to which, with the subsequent letter of Mr. Hinton, we should be glad to refer at large had we not already exceeded our limits. We must therefore content ourselves by remarking, that the consideration mooted is beside the principle of the case, and ought not to be

permitted, save in a very limited degree, to influence our course respecting it. But apart from this, we are clearly of opinion, that provision may easily be made, either through existing organizations, or by the creation of new ones, to continue to the present recipients the grants to which they have been accustomed. Let the Trustees but distinctly inform us, that on such arrangement being made, they will relinquish their post, and we are satisfied it would speedily be done.

Brief Notices.

Treatise on the Greek Verb: with Reference to the Evolution of it from primary Elements, the Causes of its Amplification, and the proper power of its various Forms. By L. Junius. London: Longman.

This essay undertakes to discover the historical order in which the tenses of the Greek verb were produced, and the essential meaning of its forms. The substance of the book was composed, as the writer informs us, twenty years ago; and he has lavished on it so much erudition as to claim respect. Moreover, the tone of his preface, though confident, is decidedly such as to win our moral sympathies, and to make us sorry either to differ from, or to undervalue his production; which has some very good thoughts in it, if they were but duly sifted from the rest.

Independently of his peculiar views, we cannot help complaining that his book is written without a due consideration who are to be the readers. In a language such as Greek, the practical grammar must have been thoroughly mastered before a student is qualified to judge of philosophical theories. On its manifold irregularities most of these theories depend; and the argument is complicated out of the double fact of the *form* and of the *use* of tenses. A learner in Greek will perhaps find this treatise unintelligible; at any rate he will be unable to appreciate its argument aright. A scholar, on the other hand, as he drudges wearily through its pages, will complain that so much is obtruded on him by formal teaching and illustration, with which he is perfectly familiar: and the author's inadequate apology for this only serves to show that he has not inflicted it unawares. The new theories which he has to propose are in fact half buried in a mass of common-place grammar, and useless mention of learned names. In order to secure attention, we think he would have done better to remember the old proverb, 'A Word to the Wise;' and four or five pages in some periodical devoted to classics would probably have more than sufficed. Such a method, also, with a real name affixed, would have better secured him from the plagiarism which he seems to dread; since at present the doctrines which he claims as his own are inconveniently mixed up with so much beside.

His misapprehension, also, of the *practical* grammarians gives him a great deal to say which was not needed. Before the *historical* method of studying the forms of language had come in, teachers delivered mechanical rules for deducing the tenses of the verb, without at all assert-

ing that they were really thus invented originally. If it was alleged that ετύφθην '*is* formed' from τέτυπται, this did not mean that it '*was*' so derived historically; but it laid down a fixed relation between the two forms, so that (with very few exceptions) one being given, the other can be found. This remark applies to nearly all that the author advances against grammarians of the older school; and not least to his strictures on the received doctrine of the middle voice. Let us grant that *all* the tenses of that voice, even the first aorist, were invented by an effort of the language after a passive sense: it will not follow that either those tenses or the Latin deponents are *still* passive. An anatomist might as well infer that a man is a woman, because he discerns a nisus after the production of a female breast.

The principle with which the author opens, is just and valuable; that 'the tendency of *design* is to lengthen words, but the tendency of common use is to shorten them.' Hence he is justified in regarding the shorter forms as *ordinarily* the older; τυπ than τυπτ, λαθ than λανθαν. (Yet this is not equally true of long and short *vowels*, nor in special cases, as γεν and γα, &c.) A fragment of his theory, which he proceeds to unfold, we have long entertained and propounded in a modified form. The analogy of the Syro-Arabian languages strongly confirms an idea, which might be gathered from the *double tense* system of the Indo-European and of the Turkish tongues, namely, that in the most primitive system, two tenses only unfold themselves, a Perfect and an Aorist. In a *rudimental* Greek, we can imagine the whole verb λεγειν once shut up into ελεγον and λεγω, the latter word combining the uses of a Present or Future, and also of a Subjunctive Mood. Yet not only does the settling down of the forms to *any* fixed time, seem to us quite of later growth; but it appears doubtful whether we ought to call the tongue Greek *at all*, at the time to which we are pointing; whether, in short, we do not here see merely lumps of the older rock, of which Greek is a conglomerate. We trust Mr. Junius will not tax us with stealing an idea from him; as for ourselves, it has never occurred to us to claim originality for what has probably presented itself to so many. But we must add, it is an equally familiar thought to us, that the oldest Greek passive was formed, (like that of the old Arabs,) by vowel-change; thus, ἔτυπον, ἐτύπην. We, however, refer this to a time when no Present, such as τύπτω, *yet* existed; nor do we for a moment admit that we may infer such a method to have been once used with other tenses also. Too many principles were working at once, to allow any of them to be steadily and consistently carried out. So far only can we go in the direction of his views. But that the forms in ομαι were *meant*, originally and exclusively, for Passives, we cannot grant. Such cases as ἕδω ἕδομαι, πίω πίομαι, ἔσμι ἔσομαι, εἶμι ἴσομαι, μολῶ μολοῦμαι, &c., show that ομαι *might* quite as well have become the mark of the future active; only later accident has fixed its meaning. Too much of the author's reasoning unduly assumes that language-making is an affair of the logical, self-conscious, and consistent intellect, instead of being the outbursting of emotion, and the varying effort of sentiment. He imagines that by mechanical analysis of syllables, 'the *real* power,' (p. 114,) of different forms can be arrived at; as if there were *any* real,

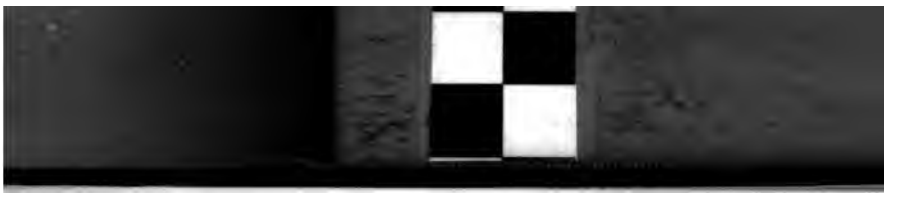
natural, essential meaning in the interposition of one vowel, or the shortening of another. A man of his erudition, (which at least covers no small surface,) might know how heterogeneous are the influences out of which Greek inflections have been born. The collision of dialects is an obvious phenomenon; and instead of deciding that κέλσω is more recent than κιλῶ, on the ground that κέλσω *may* have been shortened from κελέσω, which is *longer* than κελέω—it would seem to us more consistent with philosophic caution to observe, that 'two modes of formation—in ιω and in σω—struggled together, *perhaps simultaneously in different primitive dialects.*' We see nothing to prove that one was earlier than the other; for though we allow that the principle of vocal change was probably, as a system, earlier than that of consonantal addition, yet this is certainly not true of each case in detail. In the Greek declensions, an entirely foreign system of endings is observed in Homer contending for a place in the language; viz., φι, φιν, θι, θε, σε, θεν: and we are not now the first to note, that these have remarkable Turkish analogies. In such an imbroglio of dialects far more allowance, we believe, must be made for accident, than L. Junius seems to admit.

In many of his quotations he appears to us laboriously to have missed his way, from a desire to establish his views; as in his doctrine of the second aorist imperative and participle: and as for his frequent command to translate σώζοί σε Θεος! '*might* God preserve thee!' (and not, *may!*)—is it not a mere dogma, advanced to uphold his theory of unchangeable and inherent meanings? But we must restrain the pen.

We advise perusing the last page first, (p. 114) by way of learning the objects which the author proposes to himself; and while we do not undervalue the topics discussed, we counsel the reader to skim through the book rapidly for the first time, in order to judge how much of it deserves a more attentive study.

Tracts for the People: a course of Lectures on the General Coincidence of Rome. By the Rev, M. W. Foye, A.M., Curate of the Parish of St. Martin's, Birmingham. 1842. London: L. and G. Seeley.

These are lectures of a superior order. The argument is substantial, the illustrations numerous and well-selected, and the style clear and forcible. The author is considerably indebted to the work of the Rev. Wm. Goode, entitled 'The Divine Rule,' &c.; but he has evidently read the Oxford Tracts for himself, and brought to the controversy a large amount of good sense, sound learning, and earnest zeal in the cause of Protestantism. He will not expect us to agree with him in his estimate of the church of England by law established, to which he is fond of applying the epithets noble, glorious, unparalleled, &c.; and of whose condition and increasing prosperity, previously to the outbreak of the Oxford schism, we believe he entertains too favourable an opinion. Tractarianism seems to us the legitimate offspring of a church, such as the soi-disant one of England, which is sustained by the civil power; and is not altogether without sanction for its principles in some unhappy ambiguities, to say the least of them, which are contained in the Prayer-



book. Beyond an exaggerated idea of the excellencies and prerogatives of the ecclesiastical body to which our author belongs, partaking perhaps something of the nature of the principles stated by the poet, 'our blessings brighten as they take their wing,' our readers will find little in the volume that will not gratify and instruct them. Heartily and honestly do we rejoice to find such protestants as our author within the pale of what, speaking with no slight assurance of his own community, he is pleased to term, 'the first testifiers for God in the world.'

The Congregational Calendar and Family Almanac for 1844, *compiled pursuant to a vote of the Annual Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.* London: Jackson & Walford.

We did not receive this useful publication sufficiently early to notice it in our December Journal, and therefore avail ourselves now of the first opportunity we have had to introduce and recommend it to our readers. It contains a large mass of valuable information on various points of general and denominational statistics, especially suited to these times, and eminently conducive to the diffusion of sound ecclesiastical views. The Editor has spared no labour by which his pages could be appropriately enriched, and we shall be glad to find a copy of his publication in the house of every Nonconformist.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Contributions to the Eclectic Review. By Rev. John Foster, author of Essays on Decision of Character, &c. 2 vols.

Law and Conscience; or, The Duty of Dissenters on Church Taxes. Remarks opposed to recent advice in the 'Eclectic Review.' By Edward Swaine.

A Memoir of the Rev. John Foster, including a selection from his Letters, is about to be published by M. J. E. Ryland, who has been requested by the family to undertake it. A selection from Mr. Foster's Lectures, delivered at Bristol in 1822—1825, is also preparing for publication, which it is proposed to send to the press very speedily.

Western Africa; its Condition, and Christianity the means of its recovery. By the Rev. D. J. East. 12mo.

The Piedmontese Envoy; or, the Men, Manners, and Religion of the Commonwealth. A Tale. By the Author of the Philanthropist, and Spirit of Sectarianism.

Just Published.

Contributions to the Edinburgh Review. By Francis Jeffrey, now one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland. 4 vols.

The Mothers of England; their Influence and Responsibility. By the author of the Women of England.

The Great Change; a Treatise on Conversion. By George Redford, D.D., LL.D.

The Cold Water Cure, reprinted from the last edition of the Baths of Germany. By Edwin Lee.

The Indians of North America.

Impressions, Thoughts, and Sketches, during two years in France and Switzerland. By Martha Macdonald Lamont.

Life in the Sick Room—Essays by an Invalid.

Hints towards the Formation of Character, with reference chiefly to Social Duties. By a plain-spoken Englishwoman.

Mr. Wheelwrights Report on the Steam Navigation of the Pacific; with an Account of the Coal Mines of Chile and Panama.

The Christian Theocracy; a Discourse. By Rev. W. Leask.

The Precious Blood of Christ; a Discourse. By David Pughe.

Some Remarks on the Sermons of the Rev. Dr. Pusey, lately preached and published at Oxford, in a Letter addressed to that gentleman by Samuel Lee, D.D., Reg. Prof. Heb. University, Cambridge.

Poems on Man in his various aspects under the American Republic. By Cornelius Mathews.

The Faith once delivered to the Saints, considered in its Distinctive Principles and Sure Results, in Six Discourses. By Rev. Joseph Ridgeway, M.A.

Youthful Consecration; A Memorial of Rosalinda Phipson, with an Introduction. By Rev. John Angell James.

The Mabinogion, Part V., containing the Dream of Rhonabury, and the Tale of Pwyll, Prince of Dyved. By Lady Charlotte Guest.

The Protestant Reformation in all Countries, including Sketches of the State and Prospects of the Reformed Churches; a book for Critical Times. By Rev. John Morison, D.D.

A Catechism of Christian Evidences, Truths, and Duties. By Rev. W. Walford.

A Treatise on English Composition, including a General View of the Grammar of the English Language. By Henry W. Williams. Second Edition.

Psyche of the Legend of Love. By Mrs. Tighe.

Christian Union; or, Practical Suggestions for Promoting the Exercise and Manifestation of Brotherly Love among the various Denominations of Evangelical Protestants. By J. Leifchild, D.D.

The Church Catechism considered in its Character and Tendency. By John Kelly.

The Robbers' Cave, or Four-horned Moon; a Drama.

France, her Governmental Administrative and Social Organisation Exposed, and Considered in its Principles, in its Working, and in its Results.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Parts XXVIII., XXIX.

The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland Illustrated. Parts XXIX, XXX.

S. Patrick's Purgatory; an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise,current during the Middle Ages. By Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A.

A Sketch of the Philosophy of Puseyism, in Seven Essays. By John Gwyther Hughes, Esq., of the Middle Temple.

The Norwich Tune Book; A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes, from the works of the most eminent composers, with many that have never been published. Selected by a Committee, and arranged by J. F. Hill, Professor of Music, and John Hill, Conductor of the Norwich Choral Society.

Man Thinking; An Oration. By Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Christian Consolation; or, The Unity of the Divine Procedure a Source of Comfort to Afflicted Christians. By Rev. E. Mannering.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR FEBRUARY, 1844.

Art. I. *The English Universities. From the German of V. A. Huber, Professor of Western Literature, at Marburg. An abridged translation, edited by F. W. Newman, Professor of the Greek and Latin Classics at Manchester New College, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.* Pickering, London: Simms and Dinham, Manchester. 1843.

IT appears distinctly from the appendices to this work, in connection with the editor's preface, that the translation was undertaken at the desire of Mr. James Heywood, a zealous university reformer, with the distinct aim of forwarding the cause of reform in that apparently hopeless quarter. That Mr. Heywood spared no effort and no expense upon the book, is clear in many ways; and we heartily hope that his zeal will have the reward which he desires. It might appear, on a casual glance, rather a blunder, to have selected for translation a History of the Universities, written by one whose views are so opposed to a reform carried by power from without, that those who have undertaken the task of ushering-in the work to the English public, think it requisite to devote their joint energies to impugn the sentiments of the author. At first sight we are disposed to murmur at the hard lot of university reformers, that, in spite of the intellectual superiority of the universities of Germany, the only German who has devoted erudition and pains to those of England, should throw himself into the gap to forbid their reform: and we might naturally wonder why Huber's work was not translated by a panegyrist of 'things as they are;' in which case the Oxonians would have been spared

Mr. Newman's polemical notes and preface, and Mr. Heywood's unpleasantly accurate statistics!

For the peace and quiet of the universities, it is perhaps to be lamented, that conservatism is not quite identical in Germany and in England. We must not open so large a page, as the discussion *why* it differs, and *how*. Let it suffice to say, that Professor Huber, as a Conservative in his own country, naturally sympathizes with those who are trying to check a popular movement in England; nevertheless, he is very far from blind to the evils and vices of the established church, in all its branches and off-shoots. He desires the churches of Germany to be more independent than they are of the State; and therefore he shrinks from every exertion of State authority, over the English church and universities, even for purposes which he would regard as beneficial. We perceive that on this head, the editor is not without a half-agreement with his author; not that Mr. Newman desires to leave the universities to self-reformation; on the contrary, he insists on the folly of hoping any satisfactory result from it—but he has a strong apprehension of the ignorance of an English parliament; and, that in *this* quarter, incompetency and party spirit might chance to be intractably combined. It appears to us far from certain, that the author would disapprove of the reforms which his editor desires, though he cannot bear to have them brought about by anything so profane as an Act of Parliament. Under such a view of the author's mind, it is the less wonderful,—or at any rate, however it be accounted for, it is a fact,—that Professor Huber's history is exactly such a work as no English conservative in his senses would dream of bringing before the English public; for it is the voluntary testimony of a friendly historian to their long continued worthlessness and baseness. We cannot pretend ever to have had a very high idea of the past excellence of either university, especially that of Oxford; but we must say we never had pressed upon us such a painful and humbling sense of their badness, as Huber's history furnishes.

Great pains have been taken from time to time in recent years, to explain to the English public the difference between our universities and their colleges; and yet, so frequent are misunderstandings, it is not superfluous here to add, that the colleges were originally mere *convictoria*, (Anglicè, boarding-houses,) superadded to the universities. All of these institutions have been founded since the 13th century; indeed, the 15th arrived, before their predominant influence over the universities could be looked-on as an achieved fact. In consequence, Huber has to contemplate the academic history during two different periods: first, that during which the universities held the first place, and

were independent of the college system: and secondly, that in which the colleges have come forward as the leading, and indeed, the uncontrolled power. We also shall throw our remarks under two heads, to correspond :—

I. Under the older system, the universities were in every respect, both as to good and evil, the antipodes of what they have become under the new, except that they were then, as now, crippled by the church. *Then,* they attracted to themselves, not hundreds but thousands of youths, from the poorer and poorest classes, (when the population of England was of course trifling compared to its present amount); since the church was at that time the great door through which poor men of talents and energy ascended to the highest stations. Few, indeed, could attain these prizes; but many were the competitors. A huge population of needy scholars flocked round the chairs of equally needy masters. Democracy was the order of the day. Whoever chose to beg his way to Oxford, and live by beggary until he had taken his degree, might set up for a university teacher, and, if he had superior talents, was certain of commanding the attention of a class: and although 'to milk he-goats' was as easy as to extract fees out of many of the pupils, yet the hard-living master was cheered not only by fame, and by the zealous attachment of his class, but by the sense that no sinecures existed, and much less could salaried idleness affect to despise him. Popular talents were needed for a teacher, nor could discipline be exerted with a high hand by seniors over juniors. As a remedy for disorder, an internal self-government was organized by the pupils, who elected their own officers, (called proctors,) with delegated but ample powers. Professor Huber labours much to show, that, as at the foreign universities, so in England, the students were divided into *nations,* according to their origin; and that each nation elected its own proctor. The nations in Oxford were two, Northernmen and Southernmen; but, to say the truth, there is little proof adduced of the existence of these at Cambridge: we have to rest entirely, it seems, on the argument from analogy. These proctors were intended far less for what we should now call 'discipline,' (which is a luxury such as those days could not dream of,) than for the most necessary police-restraint,—to hinder frays, wounds, and bloodshed. Several of Huber's passages are amusing, others are fearful and revolting, as to the out-bursts of riot to which Oxford was subject.

'The coarse and ferocious manners prevalent in the Universities of the middle ages, are everywhere in singular contrast to their intellectual pretensions. But the Universities of the continent were peaceful, decorous, dignified, compared with those of England. The storms which were elsewhere occasional, were at Oxford the permanent atmosphere. For

nearly two centuries, 'our foster-mother' of Oxford lived in a din of uninterrupted furious warfare; *nation* against *nation*, school against school, faculty against faculty. Halls, and finally colleges, came forward as combatants; and the university itself, as a whole, against the town or against the Bishop of Lincoln, or against the Archbishop of Canterbury. Nor was Cambridge much less pugnacious. Scarcely pope or king could interfere in matters, however needful, without unpleasant results. Every weapon was used. The tongue and pen were first employed; discussions before all kinds of judges, ordinary and extraordinary, far and near; negociation and intrigue with all the powerful of the day; and when these failed, men did not shrink from the decision of violence,'—Vol. i., p. 71.

An edifying picture of a university! That, however, belongs to the old democratic system, and cannot be fairly set down as a presumption against their modern oligarchical state; nevertheless, there are a few touches towards the end, which seem to show, that the *Genius Loci*, so much talked of, has never deserted his favourite abode.

It may not be superfluous to explain one word in the last passage, which is eminently scholastic, namely, *faculty*. Studies differing in kind, such as theology, law, medicine, &c., received this name; and in the universities of the continent, the faculties were organized separately for internal regulation. Scarcely the shadow of this now remains at Oxford and Cambridge; for no one any longer goes to either seat of learning to study medicine, law, or theology; but what is vaguely called 'Arts,' *i.e.* Greek, Latin, and mathematics, has swallowed up every thing; and in consequence, mere Masters of Arts, (or heads of colleges who have no other literary pretension than Arts,) direct all the studies, and have the whole university-authority in their hand. To borrow political phraseology, 'class-legislation' may be complained of by the other faculties. This, however, was not so distinctly preponderating in the older system; which, enormous as were its defects and absurdities—judged of from a later standard—sincerely aimed at grasping all the knowledge of the day. But in truth it is hard to sympathize in any part of the older University-studies, except those—which shone for a moment, to be extinguished in the next—of Roger Bacon, and Wykliff. We will grant, that *any* activity of mind is better than total inactivity: not merely in itself, but more particularly because it cannot continue, without, sooner or later, finding out and pursuing a profitable channel; unless externally hindered: and this was really the course of the Middle-Age speculation. We will further grant, that in every free system, the most powerful minds will rise to the surface; and we have therefore no doubt, that the most prominent of the schoolmen were really men of great ability. But there was absolutely nothing in the scholastic course, as far

as we can learn of it from modern accounts, which deserves to be admired; and it only remains for us to lament, that the new and really fruitful philosophy which was beginning to bud, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was blighted and cast out by the universities or by the church which ruled them. Concerning the sciences pursued by Roger Bacon, Huber says:—

'While in the general there was a substantial identity between the scholastic learning of Oxford and of Paris, yet Oxford was more eager in following positive science; and this, although such studies were disparaged by the church, and therefore by the public. *Indeed, originally, the church had been on the opposite side;* but the speculative tendency of the times had carried her over, so that speculation and theology went hand in hand. In the middle of the thirteenth century, we may name Robert Grosseteste and John Basingstock, as cultivating physical science; and, more remarkable still, the Franciscan Roger Bacon, a man whom the vulgar held to be equal to Merlin and Michael Scott as a magician, and whom posterity ranks by the noblest spirits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in all branches of positive science, except theology.'—Vol. i., p. 69.

It is well known how Bacon was imprisoned in his cell for ten years, by ecclesiastical bigotry; and his high popularity in Oxford, as well as the fame he enjoyed in all the Universities of the day, justifies us in believing, that, but for the power of the 'church' over the university, Oxford would have taken the lead of all Europe, in a brilliant career of discovery, and would have erected a fabric of sound permanent knowledge,—in the study of which the mind can learn its strength and its weakness,—instead of buildings of sand to be swept away as fast as they are raised. But we think that Huber has managed to give 'the church' an undeserved compliment, in the words which we have had printed in Italics; for a reader might imagine, that the clergy of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, had cultivated, or at least approved of, experimental and historical science. But, if we do not mistake, the only positive sciences to which Huber can appeal, are those technically designated, the *Quadrivium, i.e.* arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music; the whole scope of which was, to settle the time of Easter by traditional rules, and to regulate the church anthems. That there was any sympathy between the spirit of such studies, and those of Roger Bacon, we are justified in being sceptical, until some proof of it is laid before us. In fact, we make some objection to the closing words of the passage, which imply, that theology, as pursued by the Reformers, was 'positive science.' Whatever it may be (or strive to be) in Germany, it is not so in England to this day; nor, we confess, do we see how it can be. It borrows help from various branches of positive human knowledge, such as history,

ethics, and philology in general; but it cannot resolve itself into these, without losing its character as Christian theology.

Deeper interest still is attracted to the movement which originated with Wykliff, and the force of which is not yet spent, nor all its work by any means done. Upon a name so well known, we need not dwell. Our readers are aware how clear and strong were that great man's views, concerning the reform needed in the church, and how little he was deterred by phantoms of political expediency from demanding a clean sweeping out of the Augean stable. It may, however, interest them to see Professor Huber's remarks on the internal struggle occasioned at Oxford, by Wykliff's lectures and tracts.

'One might have expected, that this great battle would be fought out at the Universities, and that the emergency would call out the most brilliant talents on both sides. It might have been so, *had not the higher powers from without, both temporal and spiritual, on each successive crisis crushed the adverse party in the universities;* thus entailing intellectual imbecility on the other side likewise, when a battle essentially intellectual and spiritual was never allowed to be fairly fought out. This has ever been the effect everywhere, but especially at the English universities; and it explains the extreme languor and torpor which prevailed in them at that time. . . . . The long wars with France had broken her [the Oxonian] connection with Paris, and had tended to isolate the English schools, so that they entered little into European life; and this, doubtless, helped to degrade them as seats of learning. Yet the isolation was not complete; and probably this cause was less powerfully injurious, than the crushing of the rising intellect of the age, in the party of Wykliff. The real inferiority of the university of Oxford after that event, is so plain, that no impartial person will allow himself to be deceived by panegyrics, in bad taste and exaggeration, passed upon her by her fondly admiring sons.'—Vol. i., pp. 156, 157.

The reader will see, in the words which we have printed in Italics, the fallacy which misleads the historian into a blind dread of all *further* interference of the supreme power of the state with the universities. He sees that in past days, such interferences were injurious; and he infers, that they will be so in future; being, (we know not how,) blind to the fact, that the interferences which Reformers most desire, consist in striking off the state-and-church shackles which cripple the universities, and in assisting them to get rid of that 'intellectual imbecility,' which the author laments. The historical facts, as far as they go, show the evil of allowing what is called 'the church,' to regulate the universities; and we fearlessly say, that if the lessons of history have any weight, Oxford and Cambridge must be (to use a popular expressive word) 'unfrocked,' before they can be the highest schools of English science.

Professor Huber has some speculations, which are at least interesting, concerning the northern and southern elements, both *in* and *out* of the universities; and even if he has a little overdone his theory, it may still seem to have a nucleus of truth.

'In a philosophical survey, one may be allowed to remark on the analogy borne by these two [academic] Nations, to the grand European contrast of Germanic to Romanic races. . . . . The tribes north of the Mersey and Humber were mainly Germanic, while in the southern portion of Britain the Normans and the Romanizing Anglo-Saxons predominated. The contrast of the two elements continues almost to this day; indeed, thirty years ago the Scotch and English were as strange to each other's feelings, as Germans to Dutch. Yet a fusion of the two began at a very early period, in consequence of the wars with Scotland, and afterwards with France; so that a new or *English* nationality developed itself. But southern Scotland still stood aloof, and maintained a far purer Germanic character; (for it is now well known *not* to be Celtic;) moreover, the mass of the English people, in contrast to the nobles, must be regarded as Saxon, and not French. The complication was increased by the growth of the great commercial towns of the south, London especially, which tended to exalt the Saxon element, and to amalgamate north and south. The advance also of intellectual cultivation, in language, poetry, and literature, had its chief spring in the middle orders, though I would not say that the nobles took no part in it. Difficult as it may be to bring demonstrative proof, it still seems reasonable to believe, that the two nations at the university of Oxford, represented in matter of fact this double element, and that with the progressive fusion in the country at large, they naturally lost their significance.'—Vol. i. p. 81.

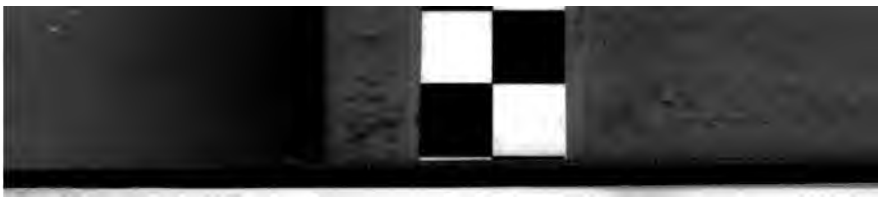
'The distinction of *races* has vanished in the nation at large, and *political parties* have taken their place. We may however, remark, that Whiggery* is of Scotch (or Germanic origin); while Toryism had its strength in the south. The southern element still prevails in the aristocratic and high church spirit, and in the *old fashioned* classical studies of the college system; and that this system is truly Romanic, may easily be proved by comparing it with the universities of Spain, which have suffered least disturbanee in recent centuries. The Northern system, driven out of Oxford, took refuge in Edinburgh, the Athens of the north, where everything reminds us of the German universities, and of the German development of the Reformation. The main strength of the *liberal* intellectual development in the last half century has come from Scotland and the north. That is ever the seat of the animating spirit, though the material power which ultimately works out the results will be found in the populous and wealthy south; whether in the seventeenth or in the nineteenth century.'—p. 87.

* The name is derived from *Whig*, the Scotch name for *sour whey*. *Tory* is well known to be a word of Irish origin, originally applied to Irish catholic outlaws.

In other words, the feudal yoke which the Norman conquest imposed on this country, has never been entirely shaken off our necks; yet the lower and middle orders, who represent the old Saxons, have been constantly tossing themselves to get free, and generally with some effect. Moreover, wherever the 'Church' was weakest, either from the poorness of her domains, or from the intelligence of a town population, there also feudalism was weakest. This appears to account for three-fourths of the phenomena alluded to.

Huber's fifth chapter, on the relations of the universities with the town corporations, contains a graphic picture of the internal disorders to which all universities have been more or less subject; and if our limits allowed, we should be glad to make some extracts. At the same time, we are not able to assent to his conclusion, that there was no remedy for the evils, except to confer supreme municipal power on the university. He appears to exaggerate the intrinsic difficulties of the problem, which are in fact mainly caused by a morbid and exclusive compassion for scholastic youths. If a peasant boy kills a rabbit with a blow of a stick, (or even runs after it!) he is punished without mercy: but, it seems, if a university youth knocks down a townsman, or breaks his windows, or insults his wife and daughter, it is a most cruel thing to enforce the common municipal law against him! We cannot sympathize with this tenderness. As for the intense bitterness of the town against the gown, which made the former unfit to execute the law, it was produced entirely (as Huber confesses) by the insolence and outrages of the gownsmen in a series of many generations; and would never have existed, if the municipal rights of the town had been steadily upheld by the King. But the King was less active to uphold the town, than the bishop and archdeacon to depress it; the ecclesiastical power gained for the university the exclusive jurisdiction over its own members, which it claimed. One thing, however, may be here allowed; that the universities were right to contend 'for *free trade* and an open market, by which they might get the *cheapest* supply of wholesome food.'—p. 129.

Our picture of the early universities is not complete, until we realize the position of *monkish fraternities* in them. In his tenth chapter Huber gives a vivid sketch of the battles of the mendicants against the common academicians in Paris and in Oxford, but to quote a part of it would be useless. It is enough to say, that before the rise of the colleges, the fixed internal discipline and hereditary policy of the resident monkish bodies, gave them, in the long run, great advantages in contending for their favourite objects; and that in the eyes of their contemporaries, they were dangerous innovators, 'who excited and puzzled the minds



and feelings of the youth with all kinds of new learning, and endangered the orthodox course of science and of the universities themselves.'—vol. ii. p. 117. This censure is quoted by Huber as 'reflecting praise' on the monks, and as sufficient to silence their modern detractors. But before we can admit this, we must hear what their 'new learning' was. The author is speaking of the 13th century, and we do not hear that the mendicants then introduced any new learning, for which they can claim our gratitude.

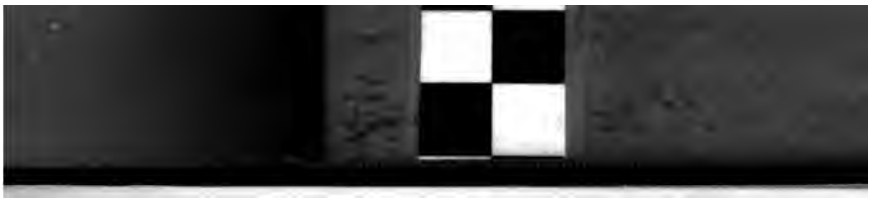
What now is the general outline of this earlier academic condition, during which the colleges were either not yet existing, or few, weak and wholly subordinate? We find an immense crowd of hungry rabble flocking to Oxford, not from love of science, but as a way to preferment; as long as the church is the main road by which men of low birth rise to distinction. We see the stream of students rapidly drained off, when, through the wars with Scotland and France and the increased importance of lawyers, two new ways of rising in the world open themselves to the Saxon commonalty. The secular clergy successfully vindicate their claim to regulate opinion in the universities, both against the lay teachers and against the monks or regulars; and between both orders, all rising genius is quenched. 'The spirit of study fled, and dead forms alone were left.' So much for the results of the earlier constitution under its stepdame, the falsely named 'church.'

II. The new constitution grew out of the old, by a gradual process, since the colleges were founded one by one, at more or less distant intervals: consequently, the academicians were themselves hardly aware how great a change was going on.

'During the period of transition,' says our Author, 'the life of the university was torpid. The speculative philosophy had lost its interest; the number of scholars was diminished, and the teachers had no stimulus, until classical studies reanimated them.'—vol. i. p. 153.

This new movement (he farther informs us, p. 216,) came neither from the church, nor from the universities, but from individual energy. 'The inward impulse was sustained by the co-operation, not of institutions, but of individuals. . . . It originated chiefly in private circles, and among the higher classes. With these the new literature was pursued as a free and polite art, conducing to the highest mental cultivation of an *extra*-religious kind.' Rich and intelligent men were hereby incited to found colleges, with the express desire (according to our Author) of promoting the study of the Greek and Latin classics; on which point he lays much stress, holding this to be the great glory of the colleges. Although there is here a sub-

stantial truth, we are disposed to think he overstates the fact. When we consider how anxiously many of the college-founders exacted 'prayers for their souls' from the poor clerks to whom they left their money; how many of them have restricted their benefits to persons of their own county, neighbourhood, family, and in one instance, even name; how generally they insist on their fellows taking holy orders; and how predominant are ecclesiastical considerations; it appears clear that other objects were often made of more importance than either new or old literature. No one indeed will question that, in spite of the convulsion of the Reformation and of the alternate violences practised by both parties, more Greek and Latin was learned in the universities than anywhere out of them; which was true, even in the eighteenth century. But the only period during which our Author can speak with even tolerable satisfaction concerning their performances is, during the second half of the fifteenth century, when the 'church' was too much at ease in her worldliness to intermeddle with the universities, and did not as yet suspect that the new studies would unsettle her supremacy. Professor Huber also bestows some thrifty praise on the universities during the commonwealth, when the somewhat 'greater [theological] freedom was not without its corresponding fruits.' vol. ii. p. 78. But *on every other period* we find his history to be nothing but a roll full of lamentation, mourning, and woe. As to the behaviour of the universities in the affair of Henry the Eighth's divorce from Katherine, it is so universally reprobated by candid historians, that we might have foretold that Huber would gravely condemn it. We did not, however, foresee (considering the danger, both personal and corporate, which they would have incurred by disobeying the royal tyrant) that it would be in the historian's mind so prominent and unpardonable a sin: and to say the truth, we think his indignation here is a little overwrought. It is interesting, however, to learn, that the younger men were all on the side of Katherine; 'an opposition,' says Huber, 'which sprang from the sound *freshness* of their feelings,' while 'the elder members were carried away by that weakness or self-interest which assumes the form of maturer wisdom.'—vol. i. p. 247. This is a striking proof that Oxford was already too exclusively oligarchical. More particular praise is deserved by Huber's graphic sketch, and his condemnation—not more spirited than just—of the hypocritical, hollow, unprincipled, and mischievous policy pursued by Elizabeth during her whole reign, in all matters pertaining to religion. We have always regarded, as deplorably misplaced, the current system of panegyric towards Elizabeth, against which he protests: but we were not adequately aware, before reading his history, of the ex-



tent to which the depravation of Oxford is ascribable to the power of Leicester, Elizabeth's unprincipled favourite. This he appears clearly to establish. However, at each successive retrospect, and under each particular head of law, medicine, theology, classics, and, we may add, on the moral and spiritual state of the academicians, Huber has nothing but an almost unvaried tale of evil. We should need to produce a large part of the work to verify this statement. In treating of the reigns of Henry VIII., Mary and Elizabeth, he boldly and fully avows the true cause of the perpetual barrenness of the universities, intellectual, moral, and spiritual. In quoting the following, we have to say, *O si sic omnia!*

'The cause of the failure is easy to discover. The universities had every thing, except the most necessary element of all, FREEDOM; which, by the immutable laws of nature, is always an indispensable condition of real and permanent prosperity in the higher intellectual cultivation and its organs. In vain has brute force at every time sought, for the sake of some political aim, to thwart this law of nature. Those shadowy beings, scientific officers and corporations, can never become a substitute for the genuine and wholesome energy of life. If we can do without this energy, it were better not to lose time and trouble in expensive experiments for infusing a galvanic existence. But if the true and natural life be needed, then let its pre-requisite be granted—mental freedom.'—vol. i. p. 291.

We regard it as quite a *lusus naturæ*, that this author declares it a presumptuous, unjust claim, and a 'transcendental folly' to advocate the abolition of the university test oaths! By a strange fatality, not his facts only, but all his reasonings, are such as would lead every one else to the opposite conclusion from that which he eagerly advocates.

We wish we could quote the whole of his discussion concerning the church and universities in the seventeenth centuries. Our readers may be interested in the following extract:

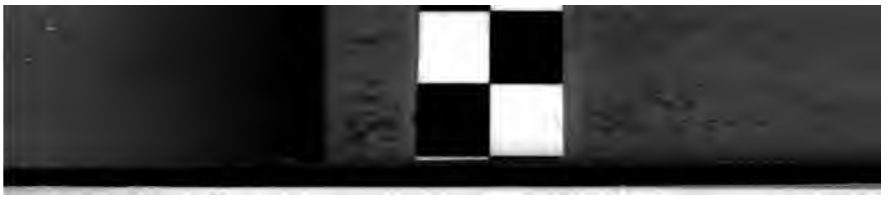
'In entering upon this subject, we are first struck by *the little attention paid to intellectual interests, in comparison to those of religious party*. . . . . In the character of the church, we find some peculiar contradictions, and a strangely fluctuating aspect. On the one hand, she was struggling to shake off *the coarseness, confusion, indifference, and wildness of the Elizabethan period;* and to rise to a more dignified elevation, reposing on religious, moral, and intellectual foundations. On the other hand, we see in these praiseworthy efforts, only too often! a mere outward formalism, devoid of all deep-seated and hallowed spirit, and not worked out according to any living principle of inward and thoughtful consciousness; indeed, too much mingled with many extraneous, worldly, and even immoral and unchristian matters. The chief source of these defilements of the Anglican Church, appears to be *its connexion with the state;* or else with royalty, that is to say, with the King and Court.

This connexion arose out of the course taken by the Reformation in England,' &c.—vol. ii. p. 29.

'Theology might have been expected, in the midst of the ecclesiastical storms of the day, to have grown up a vigorous, though a one-sided plant. Within the limits of formal orthodoxy, as theoretically recognized by the Anglican Church, there was both room and material for constructing a stately building of learning; *but we can find none such at the universities,' &c.*—ib. p. 65.

The ever-repeated tale of 'unsatisfactory results' at both universities is accounted for by our Author in different phrascology at different times, but his meaning is at bottom always the same. He observes on it, as 'a fact necessary to save us from strange misconceptions,' that our universities 'were far less important in a scientific than in a political point of view;' a soft mode of stating, that they, like the national church, have been made a mere engine of state policy. But although this is the main evil, it is not the only one: a secondary and hardly less fatal obstacle to the intellectual efficiency of the universities, is found in their practical subjection to the colleges, and to the college statutes. The Author gives a detailed account of the successive steps by which this was effected; but it is evident that he most imperfectly discerns the mischief and injustice of the result. Private founders have enacted their own laws for the selection of the fellows and heads in each separate college; and Archbishops Whitgift and Laud have decreed or sanctioned that all university authority shall, directly or indirectly, be in the hands of men thus appointed by a private will! Moreover, as the clerical order is enormously predominant in the college fellowships, the result is, that in the universities, while theology is nominally one faculty out of four, the clergy are, in fact, the ruling body in every thing. Delicious to add!—as generally happens with dominant churches in proportion to their security—though the power (and as far as possible the wealth) of the clergy is so zealously cared for, theology, as a study, has no cognizable academic existence. Theological degrees are taken as a matter of routine, without any examination at all. It is a grotesque support which Huber lends to these unfortunately distorted corporations, when he justifies them for having only "one great principle," that of trying on each occasion to struggle for (what they are pleased to call) their privileges, by all and every means which offer.

'The inconsistency of such conduct disappears, if we judge of it from the ideas and wants of the parties concerned, and not from our own point of view. The GRAND PRINCIPLE actuating the universities (trivial as it may seem to highflying theorists) was, *to help themselves on each occasion as well as they could.* If the universities had any reason to suppose that they were more likely to obtain what they wanted in Rome than from the

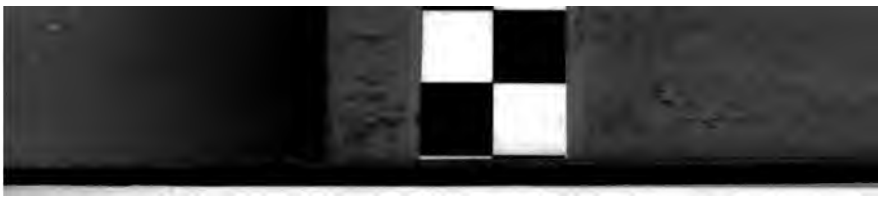


archbishop and King, they had recourse to Rome. If they believed Rome to be pre-engaged by their opponents, or otherwise disinclined towards them, or too expensive, they were very glad to get help nearer at hand. What they most desired certainly was, to hold the decision in their own hands, and be independent of every higher court; reserving to themselves the right of invoking higher protection, *if circumstances should require it*. This, to be sure, was demanding things difficult to be combined: but after all, it was just what all corporations strive for—what in truth all the world strives for—to push their disadvantages to a minimum, their advantages to a maximum. . . . . The policy of the universities may be traced to that which characterizes *all* corporations; the effort to extend, as far as possible, their independent and exclusive privileges. They endeavoured to obtain as much as the moment permitted, in the manner which the moment prescribed.'—vol. ii. p. 212.

We have never read a more pointed and vigorous enunciation of the cardinal sin of all corporations—*utter want of principle:* but it is really too bad that one who sees this so clearly should draw from it precisely the result opposed to common sense and equity. He distinctly tells us that *the only principle* of a corporation, even if it be a university or a (so-called) church, is *to be unprincipled in ambition*—to grasp after 'independent and exclusive privileges.' This is most true: not untrue of transitory corporations, such as chambers elected for four or seven years: more true of those which are for life: most true in regard to those, of which the members succeed by hereditary right, or by internal self-election, as in the old municipal bodies of England and the present universities. Professor Huber here puts his finger, as it were, on the reason which justifies in the public an intense jealousy of all corporate independence. The more thoroughly the man and the citizen is swallowed up in the member of the corporation, the more justly may we dread the unprincipled working of the corporate spirit. In no department of English life is this absorption so complete as in the little academical world. A peer may think much of his order; yet there are many things to make him study the welfare of the other orders, and draw him out of his own narrow circle of sympathies. He is not only a peer, but a landed proprietor and a fundholder: and in parliament he has to deal not only with the church of England, but with those of Scotland and Canada: he has to apply his principles of action to our relations with foreign states; and, though it must be confessed that our peers are slow learners, yet there are many things to teach them, and the honourable minority among them is large enough to be seen and appreciated by the public. But a resident at Oxford or Cambridge (always excepting the very few men of science, whose fame and audience are *extra*-academical,) is absolutely nothing

in society except as a member of his college and of the university. Few of them are married: they have no children, for whose sake they would sympathize with the well-being of the nation: from their brothers they have been generally too long dissociated for that tie to be very influential: they see every thing as great or small, good or evil, according as it affects the wealth, power, and dignity of their immediate circle: and to increase its 'exclusive privileges' they would adopt whatever doctrines the convenience 'of the moment' might seem to demand. It is peculiarly inconsistent, in one who sees so clearly as Huber, that corporate interests (or, as he is pleased to call it, 'a true *living* party-spirit,') dictated all the proceedings of the universities, to ascribe to them so high credit for espousing the side of Charles I. Hereby, he says, 'they assumed an elevated attitude of the highest moral worth,' vol. ii. p. 9; forgetting (it might seem) that he had told us (p. 6) that they had calculated on the King being powerful enough to protect them. In this *mis*calculation there is no great disgrace, except as it is an index to the universally erroneous judgment, which (Lord Clarendon tells us) the clergy take of men and things. Fortified by such a contemporaneous authority, and by the tenor of their conduct on all other occasions, we believe that they espoused Charles's part, not from true heroism, but from ignorant ambition; borne along, as they were, in the channel which their habitual adulation of royalty had scooped out. To retrace their proceedings historically:—under the Edwards, when the popes were aiming to tax the clergy and the universities, both those corporations became strongly anti-papal and royalist in their doctrine: under the Tudors, when the Crown was more feared than the pope, they turned out vehemently papal. Under James II., who tried to act really the despotic part over the universities, which those bodies have generally vindicated in theory—to the extreme surprise of that bigoted and ill-used monarch—they became practical assertors of the right of rebellion. Once more: as soon as all danger from the Crown had blown over, under his successor, *hei presto!* by we-know-not-what conjuror's trick, they became supporters of the divine right of kings, and discontented jacobites. Professor Huber seems unable to repress sarcasm in alluding to their conduct towards James and William; while professing to explain the case charitably:

'When we consider the feeling which must have been engendered in Oxford by so many signs of the times, and lastly by the proceedings against Magdalen College, it cannot surprise us that deputies from this university were among the first to congratulate the Prince of Orange upon his landing, and to offer vigorous support. Those, however, who are acquainted with the history of the crisis are aware that the university



did not *intend* hereby to renounce her old principles, nor to sanction treachery to the legitimate dynasty and all the further consequences of this step. The Oxonians, like so many others of the party afterwards known under the name of 'Tories,' looked upon the Prince, not as a future usurper, but as *a god let down in a basket*. He was to protect the country from civil war—he was to restore the shattered state—he was to save and strengthen the rights of the crown and of the dynasty, as well as those of individuals and corporations. *How* this miracle was to be worked, and whether the possible, the necessary could be done without sacrificing the dynasty to the nation, may have been to the Oxonians, as to so many other worthy people, not so clear as perhaps was desirable. Hence, for a long time, they had various scruples and doubts,' &c.—vol. ii. p. 24.

Unhappy Oxonians! A foreign prince lands in England, supported by troops and ships, for the express purpose of compelling the native monarch to do justice to his subjects: the university, with child-like innocence, sends its deputies to him 'to offer vigorous support,' in perfect unconsciousness that she is violating her own principles—those for which she warred on the side of Charles I., at a time when the popular party certainly did not go so far as to call in a foreign army against their king. But have we not seen the same thing in our own day? A divinity professor was installed in Oxford by the legitimate authority of the Crown, but he was not acceptable to the university: and what was the effect? She who has dinned into men's ears the cry of 'church and state,' rebelled at once, and by an unprecedented vote of convocation crippled, as far as was possible, the functions of Dr. Hampden: a mixed body of laymen judging a case of heresy against a dignified clergyman, a university interfering with the distribution of patronage, which by law, by right, and by immemorial undisputed usage belongs to the Crown. When Professor Huber shows the English public how reasonable it is for a university ('because it is a corporation') to play fast and loose, we have no doubt that our countrymen will know what conclusion to draw.

The chief fault which we find in this historian is, a certain wilfulness of mind, which forbids his dealing with practical and present questions with the same candour which he exercises towards the past and unpractical ones. The principles which he advances in treating of the Tudors, and we may almost add, of the Stuarts, are such as, if admitted, decide everything against our existing system: but (as does Sir Robert Peel in regard to the corn laws) he likes the luxury of professing truth in the abstract, and rejecting its application in the particular instance. And as our premier preached free trade while opposing it, so does Huber, even at the close of his work, boldly preach the necessity of free-

dom for the professors of divinity, (and the urgent call on the *universities* to consider that subject,) vol. ii. p. 410, while he not only disapproves of that freedom being granted by the only power which can grant it—the state—but predicts the most fatal results from abolishing subscription to the articles! It would seem that he wishes none but divinity professors to be exempted from the subscription: a singular state of things, which would exhibit to us the edifying spectacle of professors enforcing on their pupils as truth many things which the pupils have been made to swear they will not believe.

But after we have said all that is to be said of the Author's faults, his sterling worth is to our mind great, and the mass of information collected, both in the text and in the voluminous notes, elaborate. The utterly unreadable work of Anthony Wood is now at last made available to the English public; and whatever of tedium attached itself to Huber's fuller discussion of the very early history, has been lessened by the process of condensation which the 'Editor' (as he is called) of this 'abridged translation' has employed. Several ample appendices added, in part by him, in part by Mr. Heywood, make the English work more valuable than the original: and in the discussions to be expected on university reform we trust that Mr. Heywood will not be disappointed in his hope, of having here put before the English public important materials for forming a sound judgment. On that ample topic we cannot enter in this article; and therefore we make no remark on Mr. Newman's preface, and the views which he therein maintains: but we hope ere long to give to so important a question the consideration which it deserves.

Art. II. *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal: with Extracts from his Writings, and from Despatches in the State Paper Office, never before published.* By John Smith, Esq., Private Secretary to the Marshal Marquis de Saldanha. 2 vols. London: Longman & Co. 1843. 8vo.

THE palmy days of Portugal must be sought for amidst the shadows of history. Her present state is one of convulsion and disaster. But the time was, when she approved herself the Phenicia of the Atlantic: a strip of narrow but fertile territory, rearing the boldest mariners of an active age, during which European civilization seemed rapidly passing from its medieval to its modern condition. Romance and feudalism, with no small portion of superstition, were struggling along the fair banks of

the Tagus against the crescent of Islam, when one of the counts of Burgundy acquired a footing where Oporto now stands. His son, Alphonso, conquered the Alemtejo, and defied the whole force of an Arabian host, which had settled upon the plains of Ourique, as thick as locusts, to destroy him. It was in the year 1139. The christian prince fancied himself another Gideon, destined to achieve a miraculous victory; and having fallen asleep, his dreams were such as might have been expected. A venerable hermit invited him to his cell, where a shining figure appeared to him in the east, eclipsing the splendour of the starry heavens. 'I am the Lord Jesus,' said the apparition, 'and thine arms, Alphonso, shall be blessed. I set thee as a king over my people: for sixteen generations my favour shall not depart from thy house; and even further than this it shall descend.' The vision, of course, was too good not to be true, and raised to its highest pitch the enthusiasm of his warriors. They overthrew their enemies with decisive slaughter, and forthwith saluted their leader as sovereign on the field. The following century added the Algarves; and the Moors were extirpated, from the Minho to Faro. We have mentioned the legend, because it has stamped its character upon the nation. Priestcraft wove the web of Lusitanian greatness, from the military election of her first heroes down to its last transient revival, under the auspices of Dom Joseph, whose minister is intended to be portrayed in these volumes. They are most handsomely got up as to paper and letter-press, with coronets upon the covers; and for a frontispiece the picture of their subject. His features look out upon the reader with more amplitude of lineament, and artificial powdered curls, than we should have thought quite in keeping with the man of papers and worn-out premier, who rebuilt a metropolis, where in summer no one but a native or a salamander can subsist; but their general expression is thoughtful, and by no means disagreeable. He may be said to have governed his native country for seven and twenty years; whilst so rare is anything approaching intellectual superiority in the Peninsula, that we may forgive his biographer for quoting the celebrated passage from Thucidides upon the graves of great men, and dedicating his somewhat sterile lucubrations to the patronage of Sir Robert Peel.

Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello were the names of this statesman, who is known in modern annals by the titles of Count d'Oeyras and Marquis of Pombal. The latter will answer for his cognomen through the few pages which we can afford for recording his achievements. He was born on the 13th of May, 1699, at Soure, a small village not far from the town of Pombal. His father was a country gentleman, of mo-

derate but independent fortune, a provincial fidalgo, answering to that rank which an esquire may hold amongst ourselves. His youthful studies were limited to what the university of Coimbra then deemed orthodox—no very ample circle as may be supposed. Yet, whatever were his opportunities, he certainly made the most of them. The army, strange to say, was his first step on the stage of life, in which he entered as a private, and from which he withdrew as a corporal! The peace of Utrecht had hushed the wars of Europe; so that having nothing to do, he surrendered himself to the study of history, politics, and legislation. An uncle luckily introduced him to Cardinal Motta, the minister of John the Fifth; through whom, in 1733, he was appointed a member of the Royal Academy of History, recently founded. In the same year he married a widow of high birth and considerable notoriety; notwithstanding all which, it was not until 1739 that he obtained employment, being then nominated as ambassador from the court of Lisbon to Great Britain. His residence in London opened before him a new world. Good plain practical sense seems to have been the principal characteristic of his mind. Brilliancy was never dreamed of amidst the monks and friars, the mummeries and profligacies, which had stifled all genius and first-rate ability, in a land whence Camoens had been exiled to China, that he might return home and perish in an almshouse. Pombal exerted himself in settling some points of international law; and by his means the privileges of foreign envoys were carefully ascertained. The arrest of his physician for debt presented the opportunity. Meanwhile, instead of learning our language, he analysed the English constitution through French authors; who led him, moreover, to a careful contemplation of Sully, and Richelieu, and Colbert. The first became his favourite and model. Sir Robert Walpole had been long waning in the political firmament. Pulteney and his associated patriots had belied their professions, and were overwhelmed with the execrations of a disappointed public. The tempest of rebellion was already gathering in the horizon; and, in 1745, Pombal was recalled at his own request. His thoughts still ran upon the pleasure of being honestly useful in his day and generation; and disputes having arisen between Rome and Vienna about the extinction of a patriarchate at Aquileia, both the pope and empress agreed to accept Portuguese mediation. King John had married an Austrian princess, who was now regent of the country during her husband's indisposition. The insane monarch, moreover, had just purchased the title of Most Faithful from his holiness, who had also sold, at an enormous price, the elevation of the Lusitanian church into a distinct patriarchate. Benedict XIV. and Maria Theresa therefore looked to Lisbon

for an able envoy, and Pombal was chosen. He perfectly succeeded at Vienna with regard to the object of his mission; but losing his wife at the imperial court, he married again, selecting for his new consort a daughter of the celebrated Count Daun. Maria Theresa owed her throne to the still more illustrious marshal of that name; so that when Pombal returned home at the beginning of 1750, his fortune was considered as already secured. In that year John the Fifth died, bequeathing to Joseph the First the splendours of Mafra, an exhausted treasury, an opulent and haughty religious establishment, and a thoroughly discontented people. The new sovereign, about as profligate as his predecessors, and with an equally neglected education, possessed just sufficient discernment to perceive that Portugal was on the verge of ruin,—that a minister was necessary who would both reform and govern,—and that Pombal was the very man. He called him forthwith to almost absolute power, and never forsook him throughout his reign.

Matters were in a frightful state. Three millions sterling of debt, then thought enough to encumber any crown, had been the result of erecting splendid monasteries, and pampering a sleek priesthood. Licentiousness and hypocrisy saluted each other in open day; whilst the convents of nominal popery were neither more nor less than royal harems! 'The highest classes of the nobility disgraced themselves by the most savage and sanguinary excesses. The streets of Lisbon echoed at nightfall with their riotous shouts and hateful brawls. The lives of quiet citizens, lost in self defence, or expended in wanton frolic, were unavenged and unatoned for. Aristocratic malefactors, screening themselves through their riches, or sheltering themselves under their rank and affinity to the crown, escaped unpunished and unmolested.' Even the Jews had forsaken the capital, after offering a bribe of £200,000 sterling for personal protection. The Cortes had not been assembled since 1698. Clergy and nobles usurped the deliberative and executive functions of government; the former drugged every conscience, and picked every pocket within the sphere of their influence. If the ghost of Ignatius Loyola could have been upon earth, it would have here reigned and revelled. The jesuits were more than triumphant: they were dominant and ubiquitous. There seemed no limits to their superstition and ostentation—their profusion and opulence. Their miniature chapel in the parish of St. Roque, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and not more than seventeen feet by twelve in dimensions, cost the administration [illegible],—for quarter of a million sterling, for marbles and decorati[illegible]ers, silver lapis lazuli, porphyry, amethysts, chrysolites, alabas[illegible]st magnifi- and gold! The hierarchy bowed before them, amid

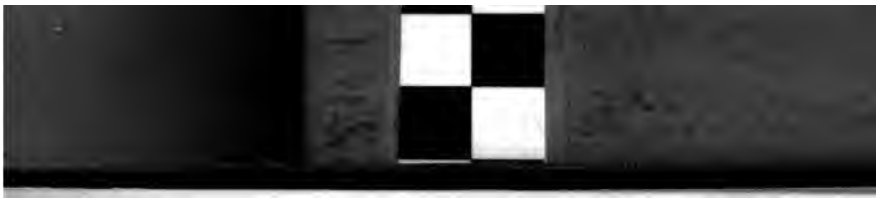
cence rivalling or even surpassing that of Rome itself. Besides the regular bishops, there was a college of twenty-four prelates attached to the patriarchate, with one hundred subsidiary dignitaries, all graduated in rank, endowed with revenues, and invested with such titles, privileges, immunities, and vestments, as that Lisbon might be another spiritual Babylon. What are all religious establishments but so many reflections of the scarlet lady in the Revelations? This recent instance of madness and fanatical national vanity drew annually £80,000 sterling from the royal revenues of Portugal. At that time, there were no less than eight hundred monastic institutions within her provinces. One tenth of the entire population was thus withdrawn from the pursuits of industry into these dens of laziness and immorality. 'There existed a nominal navy and a nominal army; dismantled fortresses and abandoned castles; nominal lines of defence, and nominal regiments of observation: in short, the government was but the skeleton of an executive power: it wanted all that gives life to it,—men, money, munitions of war, —the blood, sinews, and sustenance of a country.' Whilst King John lay in the last agonies of death, some Algerine corsairs actually anchored off Cape Spichell, within a few miles of Lisbon, the fort being unable to offer the slightest effectual resistance.

Pombal began his labours, like a man walking over red hot ploughshares, with cautious steps. To have put his foot down, but for one moment, in a wrong place, would have sealed his destiny; for, besides burning his soles, the Holy Inquisition would have pounced upon him *ipso facto*, as a guilty criminal, —devoted fuel for the fire of an auto-da-fé! He was obliged to lull suspicion by seeming to be blindfolded, though always resolved to peep through his bandages as often as possible. The first blow he struck was at that very Inquisition itself, the conservative star chamber and high commission court of his native land. Any minister, who in the middle of the last century dared to touch the mantle of Mother Church, must have been a bold man. He saw, 'that such an institution as the Inquisition was perfectly incompatible with the progress of the arts, the existence of science, or the presence of liberty, and determined at whatever hazard to reduce the authority of that miscalled holy office.' By one decree in 1751, he quietly subjugated the whole affair to the good-will and pleasure of the crown; so that it thenceforward dwindled to the rank of an ordinary tribunal. The priesthood, long accustomed to consider the sceptre of the monarch as a mere staff in their own hands, failed to see at first elevation talisman of their power must be thereby neutralised. Benedict Xranwhile, threw handfuls of dust in their eyes, by

obtruding upon public notice sundry popular and secular reforms. He repaired the fortifications, manufactured gunpowder, modified the lucrative diamond contract, regulated the fisheries, improved the laws relating to successions, and established the first sugar-refinery. Within two years he had turned his attention to the production of silk, and a general reformation of the police. Special commissions brought the stoutest offenders to justice, permitting industrial operations to proceed in security. The lower classes already began to breathe freely. Taxes had hitherto proved curses both to those who paid, and those who received them. Multitudinous collectors had appropriated enormous revenues upon a system of peculation, bribery, oppression, and monopoly. The new minister frayed away whole clouds of these devourers from the face of reviving agriculture. He then carried his pruning-knife into all the details of royal expenditure. Fourscore kitchen officials were reduced to twenty. The household expenses of the palaces were cut down to less than one half. Debt rapidly disappeared, as all extravagance expired. One treasurer, with a clerk, superintended the entire excise. Municipalities were awakened into efficiency, and brought to bear upon judicious fiscal arrangements. It cost him ten years, however, to carry out his plans, which involved the abolition of twenty-two thousand tax-gatherers! He substituted the *decima* in the place of the oppressive military subsidy; and reduced the cost of collecting the revenue to one and a half per cent. on the gross amount. Great Britain may take some lessons from the simplicity and economy which were introduced into every department. Each cruzado received or expended 'was entered in a book, in the same manner as the items in the ledger of a merchant or a banker. These books were carefully examined by the king and his minister, who took care that the assessments were scrupulously paid, and no arrears allowed. A balance-sheet was weekly presented by Pombal to his sovereign, from which a general view of the public finances was obtained; and Dom Joseph retired to rest, with the satisfaction of being at all times acquainted with the precise condition of his treasury.' During this period, and for three quarters of a century later, England and her aristocracy clung to their wooden tallies in the exchequer, as though such relics of barbarism had formed the palladium of empire! Whilst the national burthens of the mistress of the seas were accumulating, Portugal was diminishing every impost, and adjusting its pressure to the means of her various classes of population. Her native subjects numbered from two and a half to three millions. The duties payable amounted to something between £3,000,000 and £3,500,000 per annum. When Pombal retired from office, he had cleared

off incumbrances, restored his country to her national rank amongst European powers, revived her army and navy, planted various manufactures, reformed the entire administration of her colonies, encouraged internal prosperity and foreign commerce; besides accumulating within the royal coffers an available capital to the extent of seventy-eight millions of cruzados!

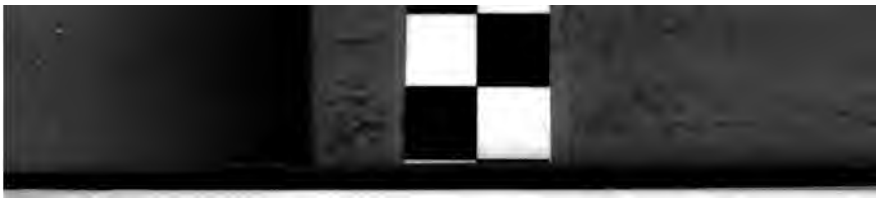
An awful visitation of Providence materially promoted his views, by prostrating, as it were, the very pride of Portugal in the dust. Lisbon had been as guilty as Sodom, and as vile as Gomorrah! On the 1st of November, 1755, one of the balmiest mornings broke upon the Tagus which the eye or mind of man could desire. 'All nature seemed to rest in perfect confidence in the calm beauty of the serene and deep blue sky, and the stillness of the silent air.' It was All Saints'-day, ushered in with festive pomp and religious ceremonial. Who shall tell what an hour may bring forth? Within ten minutes the queen-capital of the Atlantic became a heap of undistinguishable ruins. Convulsive shocks toppled down the illuminated steeples of the churches upon the palaces of the nobles. Whole streets rocked like cradles, and disappeared: yawning gulfs opened on all sides, vomiting forth ashes and flames. Some fled towards the river, but in vain: it suddenly rose to an extraordinary height, bursting its banks, and sweeping away every barrier before it. Vast ships were at once absorbed in a whirlpool of waves; whilst others, wrenched from their anchors, dashed furiously together, and went to pieces. Thirty thousand persons perished by fire and water. The prisons gave up their flagitious inmates amidst the general horror and confusion. Such as escaped being crushed beneath falling edifices, laid the reins upon the neck of appetite, so that cruelty, pillage, and crime, mingled like demons in the catastrophe, and filled up the vials of the wrath of God. The damage done was estimated at £7,000,000 sterling, even as money went a century ago. Twenty tons of molten silver were afterwards extricated in masses from the overthrown mansions and public buildings. From the ruins of the patriarchal residence a single cross was recovered, worth £30,000! Portugal trembled throughout the length and breadth of her borders. Setubal suffered most severely, as did also the Algarves. During the overthrow, the royal family were at Belem, in consternation and tears. The ground vibrated, as the king exclaimed to Pombal, who had just arrived, 'What must be done to meet this infliction of divine justice?' His minister calmly replied, 'Bury the dead, and feed the living'—an answer which sounded more as coming from an oracle than an ordinary mortal, in the estimation of an imbecile and terrified court. Throwing himself into his carriage, he hurried back to the scene of calamity, and the sphere of his



duties. For many nights he never slept under a roof. Two hundred decrees, relative to the earthquake, are said to have been issued from the vehicle, in which he rode and resided. A pencil served for a pen, and his knee for a desk. He proclaimed a sort of martial law; and, by drawing troops round the city, so as to prevent the escape of felons with their booty, he preserved an enormous amount of property for its lawful owners, which otherwise would have been carried off. Notorious thieves were hanged upon the spot. The wounded were removed, and their wounds dressed. The houseless poor were collected, and lodged in temporary huts. Provisions were gathered from all possible quarters; nor was England backward in transmitting her overflowing benevolence to the assistance of an old and now unfortunate ally. A British man-of-war immediately carried out £97,000 worth of beef, butter, flour, biscuit, wheat, rice, utensils, ready money, and shoes. There were twenty-eight men, and about fifty women, destroyed in the catastrophe, who were British subjects. Pombal, in fact, restored order and revived confidence. He had the corpses, which strewed the public ways, all interred, either in the earth or in the sea, with as little delay as possible. The clergy were ordered to recommence their sacred functions; but the Jesuits openly declared that the earthquake had been sent to punish Portugal for attempting ecclesiastical reformations. The case of Uzziah was no doubt cited then, as it would be by the Puseyites now. Nevertheless, the common people could not help seeing that Pombal meant well, and was the solitary pillar upon which the nation could at all lean for real support. So that when the disciples of Loyola consummated their folly and fanaticism, by prophesying that on the anniversary of the fatal All Saints-day there would be a repetition of the calamity, the failure of their predictions still further diminished their influence, whilst it augmented that of the energetic minister. He laboured with heart and soul to rebuild the city. That portion on which the Rocio square now stands, emerged into far greater splendour than it had ever known before. Strength and regularity were aimed at, and attained. A public garden was for the first time laid out. Sewers were constructed in the new streets, which were rendered handsome, solid, clean, and well paved. All the existing edifices, of any consequence, were planned and executed under his administration; 'but the magnificent promenade which he designed to form on the shores of the lovely Tagus, from Santa Apollonia to Belem, a distance of two leagues, was never even commenced. Had this grand design been carried into effect, and planted with trees in the manner he intended, it would have attracted the curiosity and excited the admiration of the most

remote posterity, as it would have surpassed every thing of the kind, either for grandeur or magnificence, in Europe or the world.'

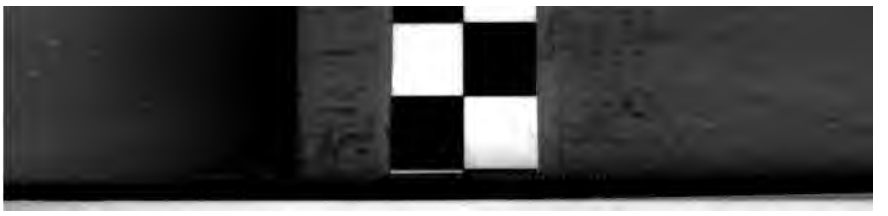
The intellectual and political weight of Pombal thus grew continually greater. His enemies, from their cloisters and confessionals, gnashed their teeth with rage; whilst the lower classes magnified him. Governors may depend upon it that it is a mighty point to have the bulk of the people with them. The Jesuits, meanwhile, waxed desperate, as the lustre of their character waned. Their management of the university was absolute. Successive popes had either checked or fostered their ambitious policy and practices according to circumstances. In South America they were laying deeper and deeper the foundations of an ecclesiastical sovereign power; so that with regard to some proposed interchanges of territory between Spain and Portugal, they dared to interfere and resist. Pombal lost no time in adopting the most decisive measures. Moreira, confessor to his Majesty, received a peremptory dismissal. This was accompanied by an order on the 19th of September, 1757, that no member of the Society of Jesus should approach the Court, without express permission from the King. Reiterated complaints were also forwarded to the Court of Rome, so that Cardinal Saldanha was appointed to reform the entire fraternity. He acted with considerable frankness and vigour on the occasion—suspending these obnoxious fathers from almost all sacred functions, and more especially from preaching and absolution. Dom Joseph stood manfully by his minister, who had happily established the sorcery of a strong mind over a weak one. There was no chance, therefore, for the janizaries of Mother Church, but conspiracy and assassination. The Duke of Aveiro became their willing instrument, together with the Marquis of Tavora and his lady, their two sons, the Count of Atougcia, and five others of less note. The King was on his way home, probably enough from some vile intrigue, when no less than four blunderbusses, heavily loaded with slugs, were discharged at his carriage. More were yet in reserve, had not Dom Joseph, being severely wounded, directed his servant to turn back immediately and drive to the house of the royal surgeon. Here, as in all despotisms, a curtain of mystery seemed to fall over the whole affair. Three months of ominous silence ensued, during which no overt act betrayed the meshes of that legal net, in which the wily premier, through secret spies, contrived to enclose almost every individual concerned. At length all were suddenly denounced, successively arrested, and barbarously punished. Pombal has incurred severe, and, in our judgment, just censure, for resorting to the rack and the stake, when, even in that day, simple



decapitation might have answered his purpose. Of the guilt of these wretches there could be no shadow of doubt. But the Marchioness of Tavora was merely beheaded 'in consideration of her rank and sex:' and why, we would ask, were all human sympathies to be violated in the other instances? Her family and name were directed to be abolished for ever; and even the stream watering their estate, from which they derived their title, was thenceforward to be denominated the River of Death! Their ground of complaint against the Crown had been the refusal of a ducal coronet: but Aveira and the Jesuits bore deeper grudges. Some of the accessories remained in prison for an indefinite term, either for life, or for many years, until the commencement of the next reign. It is said that about two hundred and fifty persons were consigned to longer or shorter incarceration. The notorious Malagrida, a worthy successor to Ignatius Loyola, with seven accomplices, were amongst the numbers. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal, and all their property sequestrated. Rome thundered in vain. Her representative, holding a high tone, received orders to quit Lisbon in four days: and that society, which had shaded like a upas tree, the ecclesiastical morals of all Europe, received a blow, from which to the present hour it has never recovered. In one word, it was the fearlessness with which he braved spiritual magic, which stamped Pombal as no ordinary man. In this age and country we can scarcely conceive an idea of the courage requisite for such enterprises: although when Earl Grey presumed to handle the Anglican hierarchy, it looked something like the over-acted prowess of Van Amburg in his den of lions—more appalling than quite natural! The Portuguese premier followed up his victories by a suppression of one-half of the convents in the kingdom, and a very decided reformation of the rest. His lay countrymen grew delighted, and inscribed his portrait with the Horatian eulogy—*Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.* They felt that the power and fatness of the priesthood were getting more properly dispersed and circulated through the general frame of the body politic.

Meanwhile, the minister turned all his transient popularity to the best account. His acquaintance with political economy, at the commencement of his long administration, might call up not a few blushes into the cheeks of our own conservative statesmen. He perceived and checked the dangerous disposition of the nation he governed to consider gold and siver mines as the only real sources of wealth. He drew attention to the difference between fictitious and permanent opulence. 'The riches of the so-termed precious metals are often chimerical to the states possessing the mere territories whence they are extracted. Such states become but the distributors of their own treasure.

The negroes that work in the mines of Brazil must be clothed by England, by which the value of their produce becomes relative to the price of cloth. To work the mines, it becomes necessary to have a large capital expended on slaves. If this sum be £20,000,000, the interest, which is one million, independent of the cost of extraction, must be the first money paid from that produce. Add to this the food and clothing for more than a hundred thousand persons, blacks and whites, which the mines carry to Brazil; which food is not to be had in the colony, but must be purchased from foreigners. Lastly, to supply the physical wants of the country, which, since the discovery of the mines, has lost its arts and manufactures, all the gold becomes the property of other nations.' Now, in much of this, it is perfectly true, that there are no slight crudeness and absurdity mingled with some truth: but the excellence lay in its inducing the minister to foster industry at home rather than speculation abroad—for his conviction was that there never was a 'rich king and an impoverished people.' Hence, after the abolition of the board of commerce, which had long been a monster monopoly, like our own East India Company in England, or the venerable Hong at Canton in China, he founded a new Junta do Commercio, with fresh statutes, and powers almost inquisitorial, against smuggling. He then endeavoured to break down those stupid barriers of caste, which made his native aristocracy deem it a derogation from their dignity to engage either directly or indirectly in trade. He at once authorized the nobility to hold shares in the Maranhao and Para Company, declaring that, as the object of that establishment was 'to render the kingdom of Portugal flourishing, it was both just and proper that all persons, however high their rank, should be allowed and encouraged to contribute to the well-being of the state.' The royal silk manufactories were also fast culminating into vigour. He contrived to form, moreover, a mercantile association known by the name of the Pernambuco and Paraiba Company; whilst corresponding reaction at home enabled him to restore woollen manufactories to Beira, and promote its agricultural prosperity at the same time. All central South America felt the advantage of these improvements. The mother country called for more raw materials and tropical productions: the colonies consumed greater quantities of wrought fabrics. Both flourished accordingly. But it reflects still higher honour on Pombal, that amidst his various schemes for either Lusitanian or transatlantic aggrandizement, he never forgot the civilization of the Indians. Their moral advancement lay very near his heart. When the suppression of the Jesuits had strengthened his powers over the Brazils and Paraguay, he issued numerous instructions, which



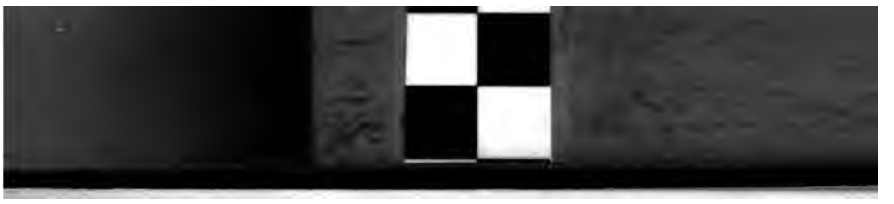
were promptly observed, for gaining the affections and securing the allegiance of those oppressed races, stigmatized hitherto as savages. They were gathered into villages under the jurisdiction of a director. Two schools were attached to each, one for boys, and another for girls. Christianity, reading, writing, arithmetic, with all the useful arts suited respectively to the different sexes, experienced more than cold state patronage: for they were duly and effectively cultivated. Proper clothing was enjoined; horticulture and the growth of rice, cotton, and tobacco were warmly encouraged; annual schedules had to be transmitted home, demonstrating that a certain proportion of land was under the spade or plough; and lastly, all young persons were taught Portuguese. Several decrees from the minister may be favourably contrasted with the bombastic tone of our own oriental or colonial proclamations. 'When agriculture flourishes,' says Pombal, 'the most efficacious means of conducting a kingdom to prosperity is the introduction of manufactures and commerce; since they enrich the people, civilize and enlarge their minds, and consequently the state becomes powerful. Commerce essentially consists in the sale or exchange of produce, and in the reciprocal communication of nations: from the first result profit and riches: from the last we acquire humanity and civilization. *The soul of commerce is in the liberty of the people:*' a truly remarkable sentiment, when the age, circumstances, and position of the individual enunciating it are all taken into consideration.

The fact, however, is little known, that Pombal was a zealous friend to national education. 'The cultivation of literary pursuits,' he observes, 'forms the basis of all the sciences, and in their perfection consists the reputation and prosperity of kingdoms.' We venture upon an extract from our biographer, which may furnish our readers also with a fair specimen of his style and manner:

'I have already more than once alluded to the anxiety Pombal expressed upon all occasions, and the pains he took to extend the blessings of education, as well as civil and religious liberty among the people. He hoped, by these means, to lay the foundation on which, at a future period, the superstructure of a free government might be erected. He was well aware that if popular governments are to be any thing but shadows, they must be based on popular knowledge. He felt that his country, without the aid of education, would be unfit for any of those forms of free government, which, when the people are ignorant, too frequently confer absolute powers upon factions, who enjoy the good for which others have toiled. The talents of that statesman are not to be estimated very highly, who has so little knowledge of history, and is so ignorant of human nature, as to imagine that constitutions are to be modelled and remodelled, and worked with the same ease and

regularity as an inanimate machine. Pombal perceived that the spirit of revolution was abroad, that in his time it was slow in progress, yet irresistible; and he therefore wished his countrymen to be prepared for its advent. With a presentiment of the evils that menaced his successors, he frequently exclaimed, *Os meos filhos ainda poderas viver descançados, mas ai de meos netos.* Our children may live to end their days in peace, but God help our grandchildren! This remarkable prophecy has been but too truly fulfilled in the various disasters which have distracted, and still continue to distract, the once rich and happy Portugal. To prepare his countrymen, then, for the changes which he saw to be inevitable in Europe, he endeavoured to raise them to the same state of education which some European countries already enjoyed. But various obstacles impeded his progress, and foiled his best directed efforts.' vol. ii. pp. 163, 4.

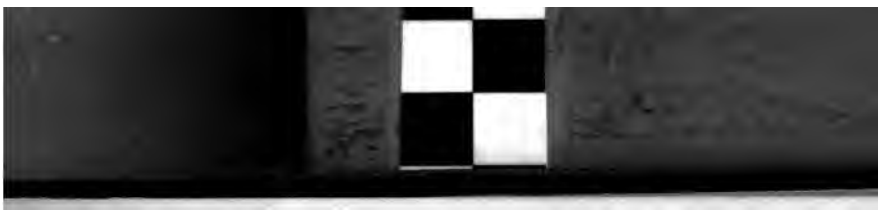
In truth, the task was from first to last the having to make bricks without straw. Nevertheless, he commenced at the top of the social pyramid, intending to work downwards. A decree informed the capital and provinces, that the Jesuits had poisoned the sources of classical literature, through their patronage of bad grammars. Better ones were therefore to be substituted; nor can we forbear a smile at the idea of a premier becoming the schoolmaster of schoolmasters, and arch-pædagogue to a whole kingdom. In every town, Greek and Latin professors were stationed, to teach their respective languages, together with rhetoric, logic, and other literary mysteries. The privileges of nobility were in part conferred upon these state-teachers, with the solid pudding of some moderate salary to support their rank. An institute was set up at Lisbon in 1759, for affording instruction in the higher branches of a commercial education, which answered remarkably well; precluding as it did the necessity which previously existed of sending to Genoa and Venice for efficient clerks and linguists. Coimbra, however, was first to be reformed—that university, which was to Portugal what Salamanca has been to Spain, and what Oxford now is to ourselves. Who shall be the Pombal amongst us, to blow the last horn along the banks of the Isis and Cherwell, dissolving into air those enchanted halls, where bigotry and prejudice have buried the treasures of superstition amidst the cobwebs of antiquity? Our hero armed himself with the office of Licutenant-General of the University of Coimbra! He took the monks by the beard, in their darkest cavern, and came back alive, notwithstanding. He ascertained that in the Greek class there were only seven students, out of about six thousand, whose names appeared on the books. Remedies had to be applied with a ruthless hand. Externally all matters underwent a most complete transformation. Two new faculties, one of natural history, and the other of mathematics, astonished the wearers of gowns and surplices, who



howled and coughed themselves hoarse at such tremendous heresies. Vacations were shortened, attendance was exacted at lectures, punishments were enforced impartially, nor was the degree of Doctor in Theology to be conferred in future, without an acquaintance with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Museums, with a laboratory and observatory, crowned this good work, besides the establishment of eighty professorships. The Marquis himself drew up a neat memorial on the subject of botanic gardens, replete with good sense and sound notions of economy. His predecessors in this department had been Italians, whom he bitterly reproaches, 'for having uselessly laid out the exorbitant sum of more than one hundred thousand cruzados in forming a little garden near the Ajuda palace, as a mere object of curiosity.' He ridicules the folly of the followers of Linnæus, who wasted fortunes to shew 'a marigold from Persia, a lily from Turkey, and a tribe of aloes with an infinity of pompous names.' His own views were strictly scientific, practical, and utilitarian. 'You will accordingly,' he observes, 'reduce the number of plants to those necessary for botanic studies, in order that the students may not be ignorant of this branch of medicine, as it is practised with little expense in other universities. And to leave no doubt on the subject, you may say that his majesty will not allow a larger or more sumptuous garden than that of Chelsea near London, the most opulent capital in Europe; and add, that on this same principle, the plan is to be formed, and a calculation made of the expense of raising a garden for the study of youths, not the ostentation of princes, or of those extravagant individuals, who ruin thsmselves to be able to show blites, purslanes, and pudding-grass from India, China, and Arabia.' From the instruction of the higher classes he now proceeded to the middle and lower ones. By November, 1772, he had settled no less than eight hundred and eighty-seven respectable schoolmasters, and professors, as already mentioned, in the Portuguese dominions, ninety-four of which were appointed to the colonies, but all and each for the gratuitous education of the subjects of his most faithful majesty. Annual returns were arranged for every one of these tutors, as to the numbers, progress, and condition of their pupils. The educational cycle of more than half only comprehended reading, writing, and arithmetic; two hundred and thirty-six were for Latin, and eighty-eight for Greek classes, answering to our better sorts of free grammar schools; forty-nine others taught rhetoric, in addition to the general plan; and thirty comprised general philosophy in their course. What Prussia is enjoying at the present time, Portugal had cast into her lap, seventy years ago; and alas! in vain. Yet it was not the fault of Pombal. His scheme very properly made a differ-

ence between the degree and kind of knowledge suited to municipal and rural populations; and hence his distinction between schoolmasters for villages, and professors for towns. To meet the expenses, small taxes were imposed upon various articles of consumption, under the name of the literary subsidy. In his famous *Collegio dos Nobres*, which he founded for the separate education of the nobility, all the ordinances proceeded from his own pen. He banished the antiquated custom of conversing in Latin, the familiar use of a dead lauguage tending, as he judiciously pointed out, *para os ensinar a barbarisar*, rather to barbarize than facilitate its genuine advancement. As to modern tongues, he directed that all lessons, so far as practicable, should be given viva voce, without overwhelming pupils with too great a multiplicity of rules. He had a great idea throughout his reformations, that mother church might now and then make a warm nurse to her children; but that she was sadly apt to overlay them!

With such a statesman, therefore, as may well be imagined, her quarrels proved endless. The Jesuits, by themselves, were always able to fan the coals of discord, scattered as they now were, and denounced in so many parts of Europe. Falsehoods, libels, satires, pasquinades, misrepresentations, formed a 'sharp sleet of arrowy showers,' which could do little else than demonstrate the spite and imbecility of the papacy. The attorney-general of Portugal, although of course a catholic, memorialized the crown in a long public document on the subject of Romish encroachments, deducing from historical records, that the infallibility of his holiness, 'was itself a fallacy, only tolerated when unexamined.' Father Fereira also printed his remarkable thesis, that such infallibility had never been considered an article of faith! A bull which Clement XIII. had fulminated, was met by Dom Joseph with a counter decree, declaring it null and void. Clergy as well as laity began to talk of separation; nor did the archbishop of Evora hesitate about granting dispensations for marriages, without any concurrence from Rome. Ganganelli only succeeded to the tiara, just in time to prevent an open rupture. The Marquis, in an apology written several years later, whilst asserting his orthodoxy in the most decisive terms, nevertheless proceeds to add, 'the judgments and decisions of men can only be formed by the observation of our external actions and behaviour; and it is not the province of men, *nor even of the church itself*, to decide on the secret sentiments of the human breast, which are reserved for the immediate cognizance of the all-knowing God.' The bishop of Coimbra had accused him of being English in his policy,—and English in his religion; both which charges he rebutted: acknowledging, however, that he gloried in having



rendered auto-da-fés bloodless, in having successfully resisted sacerdotal superstition and domination, and in having placed the means of education within the reach of every man. But above all, he gloried in having drawn the teeth and blunted the fangs of the fanaticism of Loyola. Malagrida had been strangled by the executioner, and his body burnt to ashes, in pursuance of one of the few righteous sentences which the Inquisition had ever passed. Already, the courts of Vienna and Paris began to sympathize with that of Lisbon, and the Emperor Joseph, more particularly, is said to have bestowed special commendations upon Pombal with regard to his ecclesiastical measures.

Neither was the Portuguese minister in the least degree neglectful, during his long and distracted administration, of a sound foreign policy founded upon national and patriotic principles. He highly valued British alliance, without basely succumbing to it. As early as 1745, he had evinced a noble spirit on quitting England, when he refused to receive a donation of £300. sterling, which down to that time used as a matter of routine to be presented to all ambassadors. In 1759, Admiral Boscawen had captured some French vessels off the port of Lagos, within sight of shore; for which insult towards a neutral power, Pombal demanded and obtained ample reparation, in the shape of a distinct apology delivered in person, to Dom Joseph, by Lord Kinnoul, as envoy extraordinary for the purpose from George the Second. In establishing the Oporto Wine Company, he withstood a number of unjust encroachments, which our spirit of commercial monopoly attempted to make under the provisions of the Methuen and other treaties. France and Austria naturally enough applauded such a spirit; and that it might have a foundation to rest upon, the army was raised from eight or ten thousand poorly disciplined troops, to 36,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 5,000 artillery, besides the militia. Elvas and the other frontier cities were properly fortified and garrisoned. The navy had actually dwindled to two ships; when Pombal set to work more than three hundred English shipwrights in the dockyard and arsenal at Lisbon; so that within a few years, he launched ten ships of the line with a proportionate number of frigates. Algerine corsairs were scoured from along the entire coast. Portuguese merchantmen could put out to sea without a convoy. 'And that the colonies might be as well protected as the mother country, he dispatched a squadron with engineers, workmen and materials, to Mozambique and the Brazils to build ports in those regions.' It was fortunate that these forces by sea and land had been prepared; for Spain, under the celebrated Family Compact, was about to act out the fable of the wolf and the lamb, by imitating Philip of bloody memory, and extending her western

boundaries to the Atlantic. Pombal employed Count La Lippe as his generalissimo; nor could he have made a better selection. England recommended him, backing her advice with ten thousand auxiliaries. The invaders were discomfited in every quarter. The world looked on in astonishment at the unexpected revival of vigour put forth by a government considered as effete and ruined. Pombal was also in very bad health, and not a young man. Nothing, however, could surpass his attention to public business; the management of which, both as to the internal and external relations of the country, remained altogether under his supreme control. His master trusted him; and he deserved it.

Indeed, one of the secret papers seized in the Aveira conspiracy contained the curious admission, that to get rid of king Joseph, it was necessary to annihilate king Sebastian,—meaning Pombal. A most flagitious attempt was made to accomplish this, through the first infernal machine, we believe, upon record, at least in modern times. An Italian, named Pelle, contrived three tubes, like pistol barrels, charged collectively with several pounds of gunpowder; the whole of which, strongly set in a wooden frame, had a match attached to it, arranged to burn for fifteen hours. The grand equestrian statue of the king Dom Joseph, one of the conspicuous ornaments at Lisbon, was to be publicly exposed on the royal birthday, the 6th of June, 1775. The horrible engine was to be lighted overnight, and then fixed underneath the carriage of the minister; when during the protracted procession of many hours, it was calculated to a certainty, that he would be blown to atoms about the middle of the next day. A timely discovery prevented the intended assassination; which also must have involved many bystanders in destruction. In the various efforts aimed subsequently against the life of his master, for the affair of Aveira was by no means a single one, Pombal had to feel practically that a despotism has always death standing at its right hand. Nevertheless, there never seemed a shadow of cowardice about him. Missiles and daggers he considered the natural weapons of monks and monopolists. So that agriculture revived, which it did, in the Alemtejo; so that the native factories of gold, silver, wool, silks, steel, and mercery flourished; so that the fine arts throve under his fostering care; so that belles lettres found patrons, pupils, and admirers; and, so that domestic trade and foreign commerce were increasingly developed,—he defied all his enemies, from the nobles to the Jesuits. The first he had irretrievably offended by many potent assaults upon their exclusiveness; and, more particularly by discountenancing a scheme formed by a few of the highest families, calling themselves puritans, to intermarry with none but those who were within their own gilded

circle. They had the folly, moreover, to scoff at the national prosperity, all evanescent as it proved, partly from their own inherent stolidity and profligacy. Yet while Pombal held the reins, that prosperity lasted. He had caused Brazilian diamonds to grow into an article of most lucrative traffic. Sugars, tobacco, raw and prepared hides, produced many millions of cruzados. The salt trade alone, between Setubal and Oporto, employed three hundred vessels; the Douro wines annually yielded 4,000,000 cruzados, equivalent to £400,000 sterling; cocoa, coffee, and spices, rice, dyeing woods, and the orchel weed, were augmenting year by year in commercial importance; and with regard to the export of fruits, an orchard in Cintra or Colares came 'to be reckoned a mine of gold!' He had so improved the police, that upon one grand occasion, when 150,000 persons during a festive season, of both sexes, were crowded together in the great square for several days and nights successively, the same quiet and order were preserved, as if they had been at 'their religious devotions.' He had in truth softened the manners of his countrymen in multifarious ways. A better style of dress, equipage, and general taste, had grown up under his auspices. 'It is not perhaps generally known even in Portugal, that Pombal was the first person who introduced the use of forks into that country. This simple instrument of daily convenience the minister brought with him from England, on his return from the court of St. James's in 1745.' He warmly patronized almost the only good school of painting his native land has ever originated, that of Vieira; whose magnificent full-length portrait of himself very appropriately represents the embarkation of the Jesuits at Belem, in the back ground, towards which the marquis is pointing with an evident smile of satisfaction. 'Children and fools,' he used to say, were the only objects of his apprehension. The latter were to be taken care of; the former educated. He abhorred all affectation and absurdity, and therefore one of his decrees modified the term and mode of domestic mourning, which widows were expected to endure, before his time. His law also of the 19th of September, 1761, should never be forgotten; since by it, 'all slaves arriving in Portugal and touching her soil, were declared to be, *ipso facto*, free men!' He restricted, moreover, the enormous growth of ecclesiastical opulence, through rash bequests and devises upon dying beds. He formed out of nine suppressed convents a new hospital; besides conferring on Mafra a splendid library. Even the Jews found a friend in him, so far as that he resolutely and successfully withstood a preposterous whim on the part of his sovereign, to impose upon them a peculiar hat as a badge of disgraceful distinction. His last projects, which he lived to see

at all realized, were the Royal Fishing Company of the Algarves, and the plantation of myriads of mulberry trees. Meanwhile, the linen, glass, velvet, bombazine, woollen, metal-button, and tapestry manufactories, all which he had commenced and assisted by large loans, were now able to stand alone: and would have done so, had not the demise of Dom Joseph, on the 24th of February, 1777, put an extinguisher on the ministry of the Marquis of Pombal.

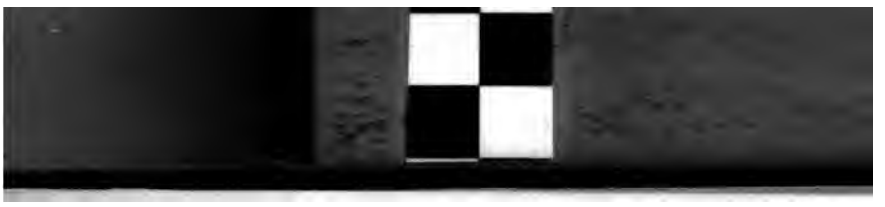
His adversaries now opened in full cry, almost before the royal remains had been decently interred. All persons implicated in the Aveira conspiracy were let loose from their confinement. Superstition and fatuity ascended the throne in the persons of the young queen and her husband the Prince of Beira. Pombal withdrew to his private estates. He had refused to nominate to the vacancies in the expensive patriarchal establishment; but these with the new reign were all filled up, together with the transmission of £40,000 to Rome as a douceur for having received the disciples of Ignatius Loyola at Civita Vecchia! The discarded minister, however, maintained his integrity, and defied calumny. Though nearly an octogenarian, neither misfortune nor persecution, nor his increasing ill-health, diminished his firmness. His appearance, rather before this period, is described as dignified and noble. 'He was very tall and slender,' says Wraxall, 'with a face long, pale, meagre, but full of intelligence.' The sweetness of his intonation, with the charms and brilliancy of his conversation, are dwelt upon by all. Dom Joseph had ordered that a bronze medallion of his minister should be placed in the pedestal upon which the equestrian statue of himself was erected. This was meanly removed after his dismissal; whereupon its subject expressed his satisfaction, that a portrait so unlike the original should be secluded from public view. Dom Pedro had the gratitude to replace it, on the 12th of October, 1833. The only real mental sufferings which befel Pombal were those connected with the decline of Portugal, which he just survived long enough to witness. At the malice of his successors he could look on with the most unshaken serenity. An infamous decree, dated the 16th of August, 1781, pronounced him 'a criminal worthy of exemplary punishment.' The simplest statement of facts formed the only defence which he would ever vouchsafe in the way of reply. He ordered his son to furnish the queen with an account of his property, and the manner in which it had been acquired. During the twenty-seven years of his administration he had never received any salary, except an exceedingly moderate one as secretary of state, and about £100 per annum besides, as secretary to the house of Braganza. Gratuities of every sort he had invariably declined. The profits of

two commanderies had been conferred on him by his sovereign and his successor. His brothers had amassed fortunes, and, dying without having been married, their estates had augmented his own. In the palace at Oeyras is still to be seen a beautiful family piece, in which the marquis and these brothers are represented in one group, with the motto underneath,—*concordia fratrum*. All had been united throughout life, as though there had been but one soul amongst them. Hence came the ample revenues attached to the title of Pombal, which, moreover, is one of the very few hereditary ones in Portugal. His own careful management had, beyond all question, vastly increased their value; for common prudence had ever been an inestimable characteristic of his common sense. These features of mind were also combined with remarkable mildness of temper. One day a priest presented himself, brimful of insolence, which overflowed, until the minister had heard him out; when the latter merely replied, that such an affair was more properly in the department of his brother, to whom he would forthwith introduce him. But before opening the door of the next apartment, he added, 'If he allows you to tell him one half of what you have just told me, I will grant your petition.' The door remained ajar; whilst not many minutes elapsed before an angry altercation was heard, and the sacerdotal suitor was kicked out of the room! On another occasion, he sarcastically comforted a poor spy, who had incurred a sound thrashing from some premature discovery, with, 'Alas! my friend, all these blows are but part of the wages of your profession!' There often appeared no little humour and drollery in his communications. He met the infirmities of sickness and old age as he had before encountered all other trials and difficulties,—with calmness. He had invariably adopted an excellent custom for many years previous to his death, which was, to dedicate each returning anniversary of his birth-day to severe self-examination and humble prayer before his Maker. He breathed his last in the arms of his family and relations on the 5th of May, 1782, in his eighty-third year. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with the respect due to his rank; but a bishop, for having assisted at them, received an unmerited reprimand; and the clergyman who pronounced an oration on the event, was banished for his inconvenient eloquence to a convent in the Cape de Verde islands. His history is his best monument: nor have his countrymen slight grounds for being very proud of him. We can cheerfully recommend these volumes, which are quite in keeping with the well-known good taste and liberality of their publishers, as a handsome addition to the biographical libraries of our readers.

Art. III. *Handbuch der Historisch-critischen Einleitung in das Alte Testament.* (*Compendium of an Historico-critical Introduction to the Old Testament.*) Von H. A. Ch. Hävernick, der Theologie Licentiaten und Privatdocenten an der Universität Rostock; Licentiate of Theology and Private Tutor in the University of Rostock.

For a long series of years Biblical criticism had pursued in Germany a sceptical course, even with regard to the canon of the Old Testament, in favour of whose traditional antiquity and authenticity the right of *prescription* might have been claimed when the canon of the New Testament began to be historically developed. Abandoned thus by all external evidence, criticism was compelled to confine its researches in the Old Testament to circumstantial and internal evidences, which, for want of sound critical science, led to negative results alone, while the more orthodox believers either refused to enter the field of investigation on subjects which they thought beyond the possibility of legitimate proof, or made such concessions to their opponents as to endanger the cause they undertook to defend, by a show of resistance which was, in fact, but a tacit acknowledgment of the hopelessness of the enterprize.

Of late, however, the orthodox theologians of Germany have taken a bolder stand, on more scientific ground. They have met their opponents with equal weapons, and in the various battles which have been fought, have succeeded in clearing away many prejudices. Though neither party can as yet claim a decisive victory, the attacking champions being too proud of their former laurels easily to acknowledge defeat, we have no doubt that the true cause will ultimately silence the specious arguments by which scepticism has sought to impair its force, or to obscure the clearness of its evidence. The present work is one of the modern productions of Biblical criticism in defence of the antiquity and authenticity of the Old Testament. It begins (chap. i. p. 17—90) with the investigation of the *history of the Canon*, and the following are the results arrived at. Before the exile, some few parts of holy writ had been collected and preserved in the sanctuary of the temple, but when, after that great catastrophe, the gradual cessation of prophetic teaching rendered a complete collection of paramount importance, preparations to that end were made partly by collecting and preserving the books of some select old prophets, and partly by new historical compositions on theocratic principles, by which the older literature of profane history (such as Records of the Empire, Books of the Pious, &c.) might be dispensed with. The time of Ezra, the author considers as the most suitable period for such a *definitive* collection, and the *men of the great synagogue*, as the most suitable persons



for such a task. During a period of thirteen years of comparative seclusion, Ezra busied himself in transcribing and compiling the books deemed fit for the canon, which he definitively promulgated at the end of that term. The objections to this view, founded on the adopted division of the Old Testament into *Law, Prophets*, and *Kethubim*, the author meets by the following explanation. That division, he contends, rests less on the different degrees of inspiration, or the different times when these books were composed, than on the different theocratic positions of the respective authors. Dr. Hävernick makes thus a distinction between *prophets* and *seers* as two different classes of men; the so-called *prophetæ priores* (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings,) were composed by proper prophets, but not so the Hagiographa; David, Solomon, &c. were only *seers*, and so was Daniel, from his being in the service of a heathen prince. The *Lamentations*, though evidently written by a *prophet*, were nevertheless excluded in the division from the *prophets*, because they were best fitted to be adopted among the songs of the liturgy, and shared therefore the fate of the 90th Psalm, which, though composed by Moses, is not incorporated in the Pentateuch. Our author next enters on the *history of the fundamental languages of the Old Testament* (chap. ii. p. 91—258) on so large a scale, as to embrace detailed accounts of the Syriac and Arabic literature, and numerous observations on the origin and etymology of Hebrew words. The prosaic and poetical diction, as well as traces of dialectal diversities in the Hebrew language; in short, every thing connected with the history of the Hebrew tongue, is treated in a way most minute, elaborate, and erudite. Dr. Hävernick rejects the expression *Semitic languages*, and substitutes for it *oriental*, since Canaanites (Chamites) also spoke the former, while, on the other hand, no relationship of races can be inferred from an affinity of languages.

The first period of Biblical literature, the Mosaic, comprises the Pentateuch (in which, however, are found documents of a far prior time,) followed by Joshua and the song of Deborah. To the second belong Job, Psalms, the two genuine writings of Solomon, Proverbs, and Canticles, Judges, Samuel, and Ruth. The elder prophets Dr. Hävernick thus enumerates: Hosea, Jonah, Amos, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Obadiah. The period of the exile begins with Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Shortly after the exile were written, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Ecclesiastes. The conclusion forms: Haggai, Malachi, and Zachariah. With the exile the Hebrew ceases to be a vernacular, or living tongue.

The third chapter discusses at length the *history of the Text;* and many novel, erudite, and ingenious arguments are advanced

in favour of the existence of letters among the Hebrews in the ante-Mosaic period. The remainder is filled up with critical principles, arguments, and researches in the Text of the Old Testament, its antiquity and authenticity, where numerous points questioned by opponents are debated with great skill and learning. Among these stands foremost an essay, on *the Samaritan Text and the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel.* The critical reader is no doubt aware that the older apologists of the Pentateuch considered its existence among the Samaritans as one of the most incontrovertible proofs of its antiquity and genuineness, since the hostility between the Jews and the Samaritans it was supposed had lasted from the time of Rehoboam downwards, so that the Pentateuch must have been known to the Jews of North Palestine (afterwards the kingdom of Israel and Samaria) long before that period. Dr. Hävernick, however, does not agree to the inferences drawn from this fact. He argues with a great show of learning and genius, that the Samaritans, who had come in collision with the Jews of Jerusalem after the exile, were altogether of heathen origin, and that no relationship whatever existed between them and the citizens of the former kingdom of Israel. But this view of our author is closely connected with another assertion, namely, that the kingdom of Israel had been so completely swept of its inhabitants by Salmanassar, that not a single soul had remained behind to propagate the race, an assertion, contrary not only to common sense, but to the ancient spirit of deportation. (Comp. ex. gr. 2 King 24, 14, 19; 25, 11, 22, 29; Jer. 52, &c.) Dr. Hävernick maintains, that the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel must not be proved by inductive reasons and inferences, but by real facts, and to that end, turns his attention to the two prophets of Israel, *Hosea* and *Amos,* whose writings he scrutinises almost line by line, showing from their thoughts, expressions, and idioms, that they must have been familiar with the Mosaic laws, and the text of the Pentateuch in general. In like manner he proceeds with the Books of Kings, as far as the kingdom of Israel is concerned.

The next point at issue turns (pp. 181—414) on the *names of God in the Pentateuch,* by which the question about the *unity of the book* is naturally touched upon. After treating historically the various essays on the subject, of which the first and best is that of Tertullian, our author turns to the subject itself, and treats the two names, *Jehovah* and *Elohim,* in a triple way—etymological, historical, and theological. Both names have ever stood side by side of each other—they are coeval—neither is later than the other, but their respective etymologies lend them

a different theological character, and to that alone is owing the different use made of them by one and the same author. Elohim is the abstract term of *Deity* in its absoluteness; the idea of unity, personality, and holiness, falls here into the back ground, in the same way as our term *Deity* conveys, in a philosophical sense, rather the notion of ruler of the universe than that of an object of devotion and worship. On the other hand, Jehovah is the revealed Elohim, the personal, holy, and merciful. The former is the *Creator*, the latter the *Redeemer*; in other words, (though not expressed by our author,) Elohim is God the father, and Jehovah, God the son.

The third point at issue (p. 415—502) treats of the genuineness of the Pentateuch in relation to the history of letters, or art of writing. After shewing by ample proofs and reasons the high antiquity of letters, probable inferences are drawn, that they were familiar to the Hebrews, as to a nation sufficiently civilized in the times of the Patriarchs, and in the land of Egypt, while the existence and use of letters among the Jews in the Mosaic period Dr. Hävernick demonstrates beyond doubt from many passages in the Pentateuch.

There are, however, various reasonings and arguments in the work to which we cannot, in the spirit of impartial criticism, grant our unrestricted approbation; and, more especially, as the work challenges free discussion on the subject, disclaiming all help from dogmatic arguments and orthodox principles, and is obviously intended to convince by fact and reason every mind which is open to argumentative truth.

In the three passages (Exod. and Numb.) says our author, where mention is made, that Moses had written down something or other, in a *book*, we have only to read the text with the Massoric punctuation הַסֵּפֶר, with the definitive article (in *the* book), to be convinced of the existence of a commenced written work by Moses, viz., the Pentateuch. Now, the Pentateuch being thus considered as a sort of journal or diary in which Moses noted down the occurrences of the day, our author ought to have explained how it happened. 1. That many things had been *commanded* by Jehovah to be written down, while other comparatively more important events, had been omitted. 2. That there is a blank of thirty-eight years, out of forty, in that journal. 3. That an author should find it necessary at the conclusion of a historical narration to add, 'and he (the author) wrote it down;' a fact which ought to be visible to the reader without that remark. Neither has Dr. Hävernick refuted the hypothesis of the most recent opponents:—that the Pentateuch in its present shape, is the historical work of a later author, whose sources and authorities were fragmentary original documents by

the hand of Moses, to which the later author gave the name of, 'Book of Law,' 'Covenant Book of God.' This hypothesis is so specious, that it apparently smoothes away the above difficulties, and is, moreover, in some degree supported by Jos. 24, 26, a passage which even the opponents seem to have overlooked, and which as it refers to an event not found in the present Pentateuch, might easily give edge and point to the supposition, that it refers to documents altogether different from the Pentateuch.

Nor can we critically agree with the rather loose mode of *legal* proceeding by Dr. Havernick with regard to the credibility of traditions. *Quotations* in sentences and words, are altogether different—in a legal point of view—from mere allusions to ancient facts and events. Thus, if we read in a later prophet or historical sacred writer, allusions to ante-mosaic events, such as the deluge, some features in the private and public life of the patriarchs, or the catastrophe of Sodom, etc., it is not yet legally proved, that the recital of such events had been derived by those later writers from the Pentateuch alone, since either the same documents or oral traditions, or even divine inspiration, from which Moses had derived his information respecting those events, might equally have served as the source and authority for the later writers. Even the events of the Mosaical period, might also have lived in the memory of the people by way of traditions, without the help of the Pentateuch, in like manner as the events of the life of Christ and his apostles, have long lived in the memory of christian people by mere oral tradition, since the catholics do not even now read the scriptures; nor is it likely, that the ancient Jews had copies of the sacred writings in their houses.

Another argument of our author, from 2 Kings 22, &c. where, Hilkiah said, 'I have found *the* book of the law,' meaning the well-known one, the Pentateuch, is not supported by v. 10 where merely *a* book is mentioned. Neither do we find great force in the argument, why,—if the book was not known—the young king does not inquire after the authenticity of that strange book? Simply, perhaps, because he was, to his happiness, no professor of biblical literature, had not yet read any work on criticism, and gave implicit reliance to the words of his teacher, the high priest. That the king and the people, v. 13, are astonished more at the contents, than at the book itself, *ergo*, its existence must have been previously known, is rather strange logic, since it is incomprehensible how a whole nation with the priesthood at their head, should know that it was *the* book, but at the same time be so little acquainted with it, that its contents caused perplexity and astonishment!!

We would also direct Dr. Hävernick's attention to the following facts, that from that last period alone, true traces of the

existence of a written book of law are met with in the other books of the canon. Jeremiah is full of quotations from *Deuteronomy*, as also the other prophets of the exile, to go no farther. All the quotations in Joshua are from Deuteronomy, or from that part of Numbers where the scenes are laid in the fields of Moab. Also the genuine part of Nehemiah goes in its quotations not farther than Deuteronomy, and only from the eighth chapter onwards, they pass that limit. In Ezra and Chronicles are citations from all the parts of the Pentateuch. By pursuing this analytical method, some modern critics have built up a system explaining the gradual rise, composition and compilation of the canon of the Old Testament. We confess, that we were rather disappointed to miss in the work before us a discussion on a point so important to the impartial critic.

With regard to the *unity* of the Pentateuch, Dr. Härvernick we think, has succeeded beyond doubt in establishing the fact. Respecting the explanation given to the two biblical names of God, it cannot, we fear, be borne out thoroughly. Gen. i, ex. gr. Elohim creates man, while Gen. ii., it is Jehovah. Gen. iv. 1, Jehovah gives Cain, and iv. 25, Elohim gives Seth. Gen. vi. 12, Elohim commands to build the ark, and vii. 1, Jehovah commands to enter therein. Exod. iii. 4, when Jehovah saw that Moses approached, Elohim called to him from the bush, &c.

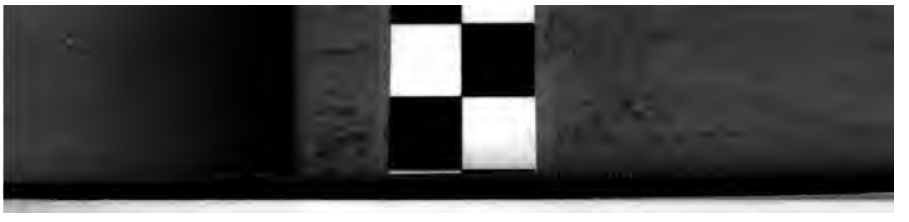
Art. IV. *Astronomy and Scripture, or Some Illustrations of that science and of the Solar, Lunar, Stellar, and Terrestrial Phenomena of Holy Writ.* By the Rev. T. Milner, M A. 12mo. Pp. 398. London: Snow. 1843.

We have always been disposed to consider astronomy as the sublimest of the sciences, and as worthy of the study and investigation of every rational and christian inquirer. The objects and movements about which it is conversant are so grand and marvellous—surpassing every thing that could have been imagined in the infancy of the science—that they tend to enlarge, to an indefinite extent, the conceptions of the human intellect, and to arouse the attention and excite the admiration even of the most incurious and uncultivated minds. When we consider the vast magnitude of the bodies which this science illustrates—their immense number—the velocity of their motions—the astonishing forces requisite to impel them in their rapid career through the regions of the sky—the vast spaces which surround them, and in which they perform their revolutions—the magnificent circles or ellipses they describe—the attractive influence they exert

upon each other at the distance of hundreds of millions of miles —and the important ends they are destined to accomplish in the grand system of the universe—we are presented with a scene on which the most enlarged faculties of the human mind might expatiate during an indefinite series of ages. In particular, such objects are calculated, in an eminent degree, to enlarge our conceptions of the attributes and operations of the Divinity, and to extend our views of the magnificence of that empire over which he eternally presides, and of the unlimited range of his universal providence. In this point of view we have often felt regret that, in the writings of our most eminent modern astronomers, with a very few exceptions, the reference of these works to their Almighty Author, and the display they exhibit of his character and perfections, are almost, if not entirely, overlooked; as if the universe, with all its august movements, were merely a self-moving and independent machine, without an original contriver and a supreme superintendent. It is perhaps owing, in part, to this circumstance, that many religious persons have neglected to study the facts and principles of astronomical science, and to consider the relation they bear to the great object of their adoration, and the light they reflect on his character and his universal government. In reference to that department of creation which astronomy explores, it may be said, with peculiar emphasis, in the language of inspiration, '*The works of Jehovah are* GREAT, and are sought out of all those who have pleasure therein.' In numerous places throughout the volume of inspiration our attention is directed to the contemplation of the heavens. 'Lift up thine eyes on high and behold! Who hath created these things? Who bringeth forth their hosts by number, and calleth them all by their names? The everlasting God, the Lord, by the greatness of his power, who hath stretched out the heavens by his understanding.' 'The heavens declare the glory of the Lord, and the firmament showeth his handy-work.' It is therefore the duty of every Christian, and of every rational inquirer, to study some of the demonstrated facts which have been ascertained respecting the bodies composing the planetary system and the sidereal heavens, and the views they unfold of the Creator ought to be incorporated in the system of Christian theology.

With the view of directing the attention of our readers to this subject, we take the present opportunity of exhibiting a very brief sketch of the more popular principles and facts of astronomical science.

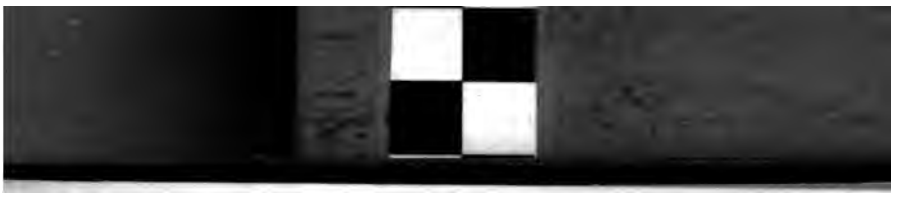
The objects which this science describes must have excited the attention of mankind in every age. The starry heavens present, even to the most careless and untutored observer, a



sublime and elevating spectacle. He beholds an immense concave hemisphere of unknown dimensions, surrounding the earth in every region, and resting as it were upon the circle of the horizon. From every quarter of this mighty arch numerous lights are displayed moving onward in solemn silence, varying their aspects at different seasons, and calculated to inspire admiration and awe. Even the rudest savages have been struck with admiration at the view of the nocturnal heavens, and have regarded the celestial luminaries either as the residences of their gods, or the arbiters of their future destinies. But it does not appear that the real nature of these bodies, or the true system of the universe was known in ancient times, even by the most celebrated philosophers. The system explained by Ptolemy, an Egyptian astronomer, was that generally recognised by the learned from the commencement of the Christian era to the 15th century. According to it the earth was conceived to be a quiescent body in the centre of the universe, and the planets to revolve around it in so many different heavens, which were supposed to be nearly concentric, and raised one above another in a certain order. In the first, or lowest sphere, was the *Moon*, then *Mercury*, and next in order *Venus*, the *Sun*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, *Saturn*, and then the sphere of the fixed stars. These heavens were conceived to be *solid*, otherwise the upper ones could have had no influence on the lower to make them perform their daily motion, and they behoved to be of the *finest crystal*, because the light of the stars could not otherwise have penetrated the thickness of those arches applied one over another, nor have reached our eyes. Above the sphere of the fixed stars were placed the first and second crystalline heavens, and above these the *primum mobile*, or first mover, which carried round all the subordinate spheres. Some astronomers were contented with seven or eight different spheres, while others imagined no less than seventy of them wrapped one within another, and all in separate motions. When some new motion or effect, formerly unknown, was discovered, they introduced a new sphere, giving it such motions and directions as were deemed requisite: cycles, epicycles, deferents, centric and eccentric circles, solid spheres, and other celestial machinery, were all employed to solve the apparently intricate motions of the heavens, which seemed to baffle the efforts of the human intellect. Much ingenuity was displayed in order to get the celestial spheres to move onward in harmony; but after all their complicated contrivances, they could never account for the motions and other phenomena of Mercury and Venus, and the different apparent magnitudes which the planets presented in different parts of their orbits. Without admitting the motion of the earth—which they univer-

sally discarded—it would surpass the wisdom of an archangel, on any rational principle, to solve the phenomena of the heavens, in consistency with the wisdom and intelligence of the Creator. And hence we may infer, that erroneous conceptions of the plan and operations of the universe have a tendency to convey false and distorted views of the perfections of HIM who 'established the world by his wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by his understanding.' The system to which we have alluded is that to which almost all our theological writers of the 16th and 17th centuries refer, when alluding to the heavenly bodies and the general frame of the world; and in consequence of admitting so untenable a hypothesis, their reflections in reference to the objects of the visible creation, and many of their comments on Scripture are frequently puerile and injudicious, and even worse than useless.

This system remained in vogue even among those who called themselves philosophers, till the time of Copernicus, who flourished about the end of the 15th and the early part of the 16th century. With a bold independent spirit, and a daring hand, this illustrious astronomer dashed the crystalline spheres of the ancient system to pieces, swept away its cycles, epicycles, and deferents, stopped the rapid whirl of the primum mobile, fixed the sun in the centre of the planetary orbs, removed the earth from its quiescent state, and set it in motion through the ethereal void, along with the other planets, and thus introduced simplicity and harmony into the theory of the universe. This system, notwithstanding the powerful opposition it encountered from the vulgar, the clergy, and the philosophers of that age —soon made its way among the learned throughout Europe. In the progress of the 17th century, it was powerfully supported by the observations and reasonings of Galileo, Kepler, Cassini, Hooke, Halley, and the illustrious Newton; and since that period, by all the most celebrated mathematicians and astronomers in Europe and America. In consequence of the invention of the telescope about the year 1609, various discoveries were made by Galileo, Huygens, Cassini, and others, particularly in reference to the bodies which compose the planetary system—all which tended to confirm and illustrate that system of the world which had been promulgated by Copernicus. During the 18th century telescopes, both reflecting and refracting, received numerous improvements, particularly by the late celebrated Sir W. Herschel, who, for nearly half a century, and with unwearied assiduity, continued to observe the heavens with more powerful instruments than had previously been constructed, and who extended our knowledge of the planetary and sidereal systems far beyond their former limits. His discoveries along with



those of Piazzi, Olbers, and Harding, have added five primary and eight secondary planets to the solar system, and enlarged its boundaries to double the extent which was formerly supposed. The science of astronomy is still in progress, and is now cultivated by numerous sons of genius in different regions of the globe. What attainments it has yet to make it is impossible to anticipate. But, since its objects are boundless, its cultivators continually increasing, and its instruments of observation gradually improving, we have reason to expect that future generations will bring to light scenes and objects in the distant regions of space, far surpassing in sublimity and grandeur those which have hitherto been discovered.

In attempting to exhibit the prominent objects of this science to young minds, it has been the usual practice, in most of our elementary books, to commence with a few definitions of technical terms, followed by a general description of the order of the solar system. We are decidedly of opinion that this is neither the natural nor the most eligible mode of conveying clear and impressive conceptions of the facts and principles of the science. No one can enter with intelligence on the study of astronomy, or duly appreciate its elementary principles, unless he has been first directed to contemplate with his own eyes the *apparent* and more obvious phenomena of the heavenly bodies, as they present themselves to the view of any common and attentive observer—such as the different points of the horizon at which the sun and moon seem to rise and set at the different periods of their course round the heavens—the general appearance of the starry heavens in their apparent diurnal revolutions round our globe—the small segments of circles they describe above the horizon, in our latitude, in the southern part of the heavens—and the complete circles through which they appear to move in the vicinity of the pole, together with the direct and retrograde motions of the planets, and the appearances they exhibit when viewed through telescopes. These and various other phenomena require to be carefully observed, *at different seasons of the year*, before the young astronomer can acquire a clear idea of the annual and diurnal motions of the earth, the change of the seasons, and the general arrangements of the solar system; and by making such observations with his own eyes, a deeper and more lively impression of the subject will be made upon his mind. For example: In a clear evening, in the month of January, at 6 p. m., let him observe some of the brighter stars which appear about the eastern horizon—at 9 o'clock they will appear to have risen to a considerable elevation above the horizon—at 12, midnight, they will appear at a much higher elevation, and nearly due south, and about 5 or 6 o'clock next morning, they will be seen

about to disappear in the west. The stars which are seen to rise in the south-east portion of the sky will ascend to a less elevated point of the meridian, will continue a shorter time above the horizon, and set in the south-west. If he turn his eyes towards the north, he will perceive that the stars within a certain distance of the pole appear to describe complete circles, of different dimensions, around that point, and to move with an apparently slower motion than those stars which rose in the east. He will see the Great Bear, or *Ursa Major*, sometimes in a low position, not far from the northern horizon, sometimes considerably more elevated, and to the east or west of the pole star, and sometimes, as about the end of April, at 10 p. m., he will see this constellation near the zenith, or almost directly above his head. From these and similar observations, when compared together, he will be necessarily led to the conclusion that the globe on which we dwell is suspended in empty space—is surrounded on all sides by the celestial vault—and that the *whole sphere of the heavens*, with all the stars it contains, has an *apparent motion round the earth* every twenty-four hours. Whether this motion be *real* or only apparent cannot be determined by the senses, but must be decided by certain rational and astronomical considerations.

Again: by similar observations, the apparent *annual* motion of the sun may be traced by any common observer. For this purpose the *Pleiades*, or seven stars, along with the ruddy star, *Aldebaran*, which follows them, may be selected as fixed points in the heavens, to indicate the progressive motion of the solar orb towards the east. About the middle of January, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the Pleiades will be seen on the meridian—which should be noted down for the purpose of being compared with future observations. On the 1st of March, *at the same hour*, those stars will be seen nearly half way between the meridian and the western horizon, while all the other stars of nearly the same declination will be found to have made a similar progress. About the 15th of April they will be seen, at the same hour, very near the north-western horizon, and every day after this, they will appear to make a nearer approach to that part of the heavens in which the sun is situated, till, being overpowered by the splendour of his rays, they cease to be visible. From these and similar observations, which may be made by means of other stars, it will be obvious to the attentive observer that the sun has an *apparent* motion, through the circle of the heavens, from *west* to *east*—contrary to his apparent diurnal motion—and that this revolution is completed in the course of a year. Whether this motion be real or only apparent, must be determined by a comparison of various other celestial phenomena,

and by its consistency with the motions of the other bodies which compose the solar system. But the fact itself, that the sun *appears* to have such a motion should be traced by every student of this science.

Again: the apparent motions of the *planets* should be carefully observed by every one who wishes to acquire a clear and accurate conception of the arrangements of the solar system. These bodies appear sometimes in the evening after sunset, and at other times in the morning before sunrise; some of them are always seen in the neighbourhood of the sun, either to the west of him in the morning, or to the east of him in the evening, and never appear in the quarter of the heavens which is opposite to that luminary, while the other planets may be seen in *opposition*, and in every other aspect with respect to the sun. When their motions are particularly attended to, they are found to direct their course sometimes towards the east, sometimes towards the west, and at other times no sensible motion can be perceived. When the planet Venus, for example, has passed its superior conjunction with the sun, and becomes an evening star, its motion for about seven months, is towards the east, till it arrive at the point of its greatest elongation from the sun, when it appears for some time *stationary*; after which, it appears to commence a retrograde motion from east to west, but with a much greater degree of apparent velocity than before, till it approach the point of its *inferior* conjunction with the sun. After passing this point, it becomes a morning star, still pursuing a westerly course, till it arrive at the point of its greatest elongation west of the sun, when it is again stationary; after which, it commences an easterly course, till it arrive at its superior conjunction. Similar motions, direct and retrograde, though accomplished in different periods and in different circumstances, are observed in relation to all the other planets, particularly in the case of the planet Mars, whose direct and retrograde movements, in certain parts of its orbit, are particularly striking. Were all these apparent motions of the planets, during a few years, accurately delineated on paper, they would exhibit a series of loops or spirals running into each other, so complicated and irregular, as to present, at first view, a scene of inextricable confusion. But if the Copernican hypothesis be the true system of the world, all such apparent irregularities of motion in the planets, must be completely accounted for, and shown to be consistent with regular motions in circular or elliptical orbits, when the earth is considered in motion round the sun between the orbits of Venus and Mars.

Such observations may be made, without much effort, by any one who is desirous of entering on the study of this subject,

even although he may be unacquainted with the general principles of astronomy. It is partly owing to such observations never having been attended to, that many persons of cultivated minds, who have occasionally dipped into this subject, and perused elementary treatises, have never acquired a clear and comprehensive conception of the phenomena and arrangements of the planetary system, and are led to rely more on the assertions and deductions of eminent astronomers than on their own convictions respecting the leading truths of this science.

We shall now present to our readers a very brief sketch of the leading facts which have been ascertained respecting the bodies which are comprehended within the range of the solar system. According to the views universally entertained, the SUN occupies the central part of this system. Around this luminary, at different distances, the following planets revolve in the order here stated—*Mercury, Venus,* the *Earth, Mars—Vesta, Juno, Ceres, Pallas—Jupiter, Saturn,* and *Uranus.* Of all the objects in the visible creation with which we are acquainted, there is none whose magnitude is so overpowering to the imagination as that of the *Sun.* Its diameter is 880,000, and its circumference 2,764,600 miles: its surface contains 2,432,800,000,000 of square miles, and its solid contents comprehend 356,818,739,200,000,000, or more than three hundred and fifty-six thousand *billions* of cubical miles. It would contain within its vast circumference more than thirteen hundred thousand globes as large as the earth, and a thousand globes of the size of Jupiter, which is 1,400 times the size of the globe on which we dwell. It is more than 500 times larger than all the planets, satellites, rings, and comets connected with our system; and we can acquire only a rude and imperfect idea of its grandeur by comparing it with other objects. It is stated that the splendid view from the top of Etna comprehends a circle 240 miles in diameter, and containing 45,240 square miles. Now, this is only the $\frac{1}{53,776,008}$th part of the surface of the sun; so that more than fifty-three millions seven hundred and seventy-six thousand landscapes, such as beheld from the summit of Etna, must pass before us, ere we could contemplate a surface as expansive as that of the sun. And if every such landscape were to occupy two hours in the contemplation, and were twelve hours every day allotted for the survey, it would require *twenty-four thousand five hundred and fifty years* before the whole surface of this immense globe could be in this rapid manner surveyed. Of a globe so vast in its dimensions, the human mind, with all its efforts, can form no adequate conception. We may express its dimensions in figures or in words, with mathematical exactness, but in the present state of our limited powers we can form no mental image or representation

of an object so stupendous and sublime. The imagination is overpowered and bewildered in its boldest efforts, and drops its wing before it has realized the ten thousandth part of the idea it attempted to grasp. The powers of the human intellect must not only be invigorated and expanded, but also the limits of our mental and corporeal vision must be indefinitely extended before we can grasp the objects of overwhelming grandeur which exist within the range of creation—and the globe under consideration is only *one* out of countless millions of similar globes dispersed throughout infinite space, some of which may far excel it in magnitude and glory. Of the *physical construction* of this luminary we have as yet acquired but a very imperfect conception. It has been concluded, on pretty plausible grounds, that the nucleus, or internal body of the sun is a dark and solid substance, surrounded by a luminous atmosphere of several hundreds of miles in thickness. This has been deduced from the phenomena of the dark spots which are frequently seen to traverse its disk. These spots are of all sizes, from 500 to 40,000 miles in diameter, and, on some occasions, more than a hundred of them have been seen on its hemisphere at one time. They are evidently excavations, or *depressions* on the sun's disk, and each of them has its dark nucleus, or central part, surrounded with a penumbra, or faint shade, nearly of the shape of the dark central spot. They are subject to a great variety of changes—the same spot, or cluster of spots, seldom remaining longer than five or six weeks, and in some cases they have disappeared in a few days. Whatever be the nature of these spots, it appears pretty evident that extensive and amazing operations and processes are going forward in connexion with the surface or luminous atmosphere of this immense body; for spots larger than the earth have been seen to burst asunder in the course of a single hour, and others to have been formed in the course of a single day. It is only a few months ago since we beheld two spots, each of them as large as the earth, containing an area of 380 millions of square miles, which were formed near the centre of the solar disk, where no trace of them was found forty hours before. Physical powers and agents, beyond our comprehension, must have been in operation to produce such stupendous effects. By the motion of these spots, from the eastern to the western margin of the sun, it is ascertained that this luminary revolves round its axis in the space of twenty-five days and ten hours. It has lately been found that the solar light consists of *three* different orders of rays, one producing *colour*, a second producing *heat*, and a third *chemical* effects; and that the *violet rays* of the solar spectrum, when condensed with a convex glass, have the power of communicating to a piece of steel the *magnetic* virtue.

We shall now offer a few sketches in relation to the primary planets of our system. The one nearest the sun, that has yet been discovered, is MERCURY, although a space of no less than 37,000,000 of miles intervenes between his orbit and the sun. Within this immense space several planets may revolve, although they have never been detected by us on account of their proximity to the sun. This planet ranks among the smallest of the system. Its diameter has been estimated at 3,200 miles, and its surface contains above 32,000,000 of square miles, which is not much less than the quantity of surface on all the *habitable* portions of our globe. On account of its vicinity to the sun—being seldom beyond the twenty-sixth degree of that luminary—it is seldom seen by the naked eye, and few discoveries have been made by the telescope on its surface. Schroeter, a German astronomer, however, seems to have detected certain phenomena on the surface of this planet, from which he concludes that mountains of considerable elevation exist on its surface, one of which he calculated to be 1¼th English mile, and another above 10 miles in perpendicular height. This planet finishes its revolution round the sun in about 88 days, moving at the rate of 109,000 miles every hour, which is the greatest rate of velocity of any bodies connected with the system, some of the comets excepted. It enjoys an intensity of solar light, about seven times greater than what falls upon the earth, and 2,400 times greater than that enjoyed on the surface of Uranus, the most distant planet of the system. It is sometimes seen to pass, like a round black spot, across the disk of the sun, which is called the *transit* of Mercury. Its next transit will happen on the 8th of May, 1845.

The next planet in order is VENUS—generally known by the name of the morning and evening star, and, next to the sun and moon, is the most brilliant orb in the heavens. It is 7,800 miles in diameter, or nearly the size of the earth, and it moves round the sun at the distance of 68,000,000 of miles in an orbit 433,800,000 miles in circumference, at the rate of 80,000 miles every hour, or 22 miles every second. When nearest the earth, it is distant from us about 27,000,000 of miles, which is the nearest approach that any of the heavenly bodies, excepting the moon, make to our globe. When farthest distant from us, it is 163,000,000 of miles from the earth. Were the whole of its enlightened surface turned towards the earth, when it is nearest, it would exhibit a light and brilliancy twenty-five times greater than it generally does, and appear like a small brilliant moon; but at that time its dark hemisphere is turned towards our globe, and it is nearly in the direction of the sun. The quantity of light which falls on this planet is nearly twice as great as that

on the earth, which will, doubtless, have the effect of causing all the colours reflected from the scenery on its surface, to present a more vivid, rich, and magnificent appearance than with us. On account of the extreme brilliancy of this orb, much variety has not been perceived on its surface; but from certain spots and other phenomena it has been determined that it performs a revolution round its axis in twenty-three hours and twenty minutes. From the observations of M. Schroeter, it appears that mountains of very considerable elevation exist on its surface, and that it is encompassed with an atmosphere, the densest part of which is reckoned above three miles high. About twice in the course of 120 years Venus appears to pass, like a dark spot, across the disk of the sun—a phenomenon which is of great importance in practical astronomy: since, upon the observations that were made on the last transit, in 1769, the distance of the sun from the earth was determined with more accuracy than it had been before. The next transit will happen in December, 1874. Both this planet and Mercury, in the course of their revolution round the sun, pass successively through all the phases of the moon, as viewed by telescopes, sometimes assuming a gibbous phase, and at other times the form of a half moon, or that of a crescent. Both these bodies are distinguished by the name of *inferior planets*, because they move in orbits which lie *within* the earth's orbit, and are less distant than the earth from the sun.

The *superior planets*, or those whose orbits lie beyond that of the earth, are Mars, the New Planets, Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus. The planet MARS is a globe considerably smaller than the earth; its diameter being estimated at 4200 miles, and its superficial contents at about 55 millions of square miles. It is distinguished from all the other planets by its ruddy appearance, which is owing to an atmosphere so deep and dense, that when it approaches any fixed star, the star changes colour, grows dim, and sometimes disappears, although it be at a small distance from the body of the planet. It moves round the sun, at the distance of one hundred and forty-five millions of miles, in one year and ten months, in an orbit nine hundred millions of miles in circumference, at the rate of fifty-five thousand miles an hour. Its surface is diversified by a variety of spots, by the motion of which it has been found, that it turns round its axis in about twenty-four hours and a half. A spot of peculiar brilliancy near its southern pole has long been observed by astronomers, about which there have been different opinions, some of them supposing that it is an accumulation of snow or ice. When this planet is nearest the earth, its distance is about fifty millions of miles, and when at its greatest distance, it is no less than two hundred and forty millions of miles; and hence, in the former case it

appears nearly twenty-five times larger than in the latter. From the observations that have been made on this planet, the following conclusions have been deduced. 1. That it is environed with a very dense atmosphere, in which clouds probably exist. 2. That land and water, analogous to those on our globe, are found on its surface. The dark spots are obviously the water or seas, which reflect a much less proportion of the solar light than the land. The dark spots, if water, must form about one-third or one-fourth of the surface of Mars. 3. That a variety of seasons somewhat similar to ours, must be experienced in this planet, as its axis is inclined to its ecliptic, in an angle of nearly thirty degrees:—and 4. That it bears a more striking resemblance to the earth than any other planet.

Next to the orbit of Mars, are the orbits of the lately discovered planets, VESTA, JUNO, CERES, and PALLAS. They are all invisible to the unassisted eye, and are the smallest planets in the system. Of these four bodies, the first discovered was that which is now named *Ceres*, which was detected by Piazzi, at Palermo, on the first day of the present century. *Pallas* was discovered by Dr. Olbers, of Bremen, on the 28th March, 1802; *Juno*, by Dr. Harding at the observatory of Lilienthal, on the 1st September, 1804; and *Vesta*, by Dr. Olbers on the 29th March, 1807. The dimensions of these bodies are not yet very accurately ascertained. Their magnitudes as given by some of the German astronomers, are as follows:—Vesta, 270—Juno, 1400—Ceres, 1600—Pallas, 2000 miles in diameter. They present to our view various singularities and anomalies, which at first sight appear incompatible with the proportion and harmony which we might suppose to have originally characterized the arrangements of the solar system. 1. *Their orbits have a much greater degree of inclination to the ecliptic*, than those of the old planets, that of Pallas being no less than thirty-four and a-half degrees, which is twenty-seven times greater than that of Jupiter. 2. Their orbits are in general *more eccentric* than those of the other planets, that is, they move in longer and narrower ellipses. The eccentricities of the orbits of Juno and Pallas, amount nearly to *one-eighth* part of the transverse axes of their orbits; whereas the eccentricities of the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn are only the one-forty-third part, and that of the earth, one hundred and nineteenth; hence Pallas and Juno will sometimes be one hundred and twenty-nine millions of miles farther from the sun at one period than at another. 3. *The orbits of some of these planets cross each other.* This is a very singular and unaccountable circumstance in regard to planetary orbits, and cannot possibly happen in the case of the other planets, or of any of their satellites. The orbit of Vesta crosses the orbits of the other three, and, therefore, it is a *possible* circumstance

that a collision might take place between Vesta and these three planets. 4. *They revolve nearly at the same mean distance from the sun.* The mean distance of Juno is 254,000,000, of Ceres 262,903,000, of Pallas 262,901,000 of miles. 5. *They perform their revolutions in nearly the same periods.* The period of Juno is 4 years, 4⅓ months; of Ceres 4 years, 7⅓ months; and of Pallas 4 years, 7⅓ months. Such anomalies and peculiarities—so very different from the arrangements of the older planets—have opened a wide field for reflection and speculation. It has been supposed, on somewhat plausible grounds, that these planets are only the fragments of a larger planet, which had been burst asunder by some immense eruptive force, proceeding from its interior parts. This hypothesis accounts in a great measure for the anomalies and apparent irregularities to which we have alluded, particularly for the intersection of their orbits; and for the fact, that these planets are not *round*, as is indicated by the instantaneous diminution of their light when they present their angular faces. It has also been supposed, that the smaller fragments that may have escaped at the time of the disruption, may account for some of the meteoric stones which at different times have fallen from the higher regions on our globe. But our limits will not permit us at present to enter into such discussions. Whether we consider the present peculiarities, positions, and motions of these planets, as accordant with the state in which they were originally created, or whether we view them as the effects of some tremendous shock or disruption, there appears to be something sublimely mysterious and worthy of attention in the physical—not to say *moral*—arrangements of the Almighty, in the state in which these bodies are now found. If they were originally arranged in the position and order in which they now appear, they present an anomaly, a want of proportion and harmony, to whatever appears elsewhere throughout the whole range of the system. And, if their present phenomena are the effects of some dreadful concussion, the fate of the beings who inhabited the original planet must have been involved in the awful catastrophe. An event somewhat analogous happened to our own globe, at that period, when 'the cataracts of heaven were opened, and the fountains of the great deep were broken up,' when a flood of waters ensued which covered the tops of the loftiest mountains, transformed the earth into a boundless ocean, and buried the myriads of its population in a watery grave.

Next to the orbits of the new planets is the orbit of JUPITER, which is 495 millions of miles from the central luminary, and measures 3,110,000,000 miles in circumference. Around this expansive circuit it moves in 11 years 315 days, at the rate of thirty thousand miles an hour. When nearest to the earth, this

planet appears the most splendid of all the nocturnal orbs, except Venus and the moon. It is the largest of all the planets, being 89,000 miles in diameter, and comprising a surface of twenty-four thousand eight hundred millions of square miles; and is, consequently, about fourteen hundred times larger than our globe. It has been found to revolve round its axis in nine hours, fifty-six minutes, which was discovered by means of the gradual motion of a small spot in one of its belts, in consequence of which its equatorial parts move with a velocity of 28,000 miles an hour. When viewed with a powerful telescope, this planet makes a splendid and interesting appearance, and its disk appears much larger than the full moon to the naked eye. Its surface appears diversified with darkish stripes, which are known by the name of the *belts* of Jupiter. These belts run across the disk of the planet, and are generally parallel to one another, and to the planet's equator. They are somewhat variable, both as to their number and their distance from each other. On certain occasions, *eight* have been perceived; and at other times, only one or two. Their most common appearance is that of two belts, distinctly marked, one on each side of the planet's equator—and one at each pole, generally broader, but much fainter than the others. Some of these belts are more than 6000 miles broad, and as they go quite round the planet, they must be 278,000 miles in circumference. What these belts really are, it is difficult to determine. By some they have been regarded as immense strata of clouds in the atmosphere of Jupiter; and by others, that they are the marks of great physical changes, which are continually agitating the surface of the planet. The probability is, that the dark belts are the real surface of the planet, and the brighter parts something analogous to clouds, or some white substances, or belts floating at a considerable elevation above its surface; or, that the globe of Jupiter is partly enclosed within parallel rings of semi-transparent substances, which occasionally vary their position. This planet is attended by four satellites or moons, which were first discovered by Galileo, in 1610. They appear sometimes in one position, sometimes in another, but generally arranged in nearly a straight line with each other. The first, or that nearest Jupiter, accomplishes its revolution round the planet, in one day and eighteen and a-half hours. The second, in three days, thirteen hours. The third, in seven days, three hours, forty-three minutes. The fourth, in sixteen days, sixteen and a-half hours. By the frequent eclipses of these satellites, an opportunity is afforded of determining the longitude of places on the earth's surface, and they first furnished the means of ascertaining the velocity of light. Such a magnificent planet as Jupiter, flying through the ethereal regions at

the rate of 30,000 miles an hour; revolving round its axis at the rate of 28,000 miles in the same space of time, and carrying along with it in its swift career, four ponderous bodies each larger than our moon, presents an idea of inconceivable grandeur, and exhibits in a striking light, both the wisdom and power of the Omnipotent Creator.

The planet SATURN is the next in order in the system. Its distance from the sun is 906 millions of miles, and the circumference of its orbit 5,695,000,000 miles; around which it revolves in about twenty-nine and a-half years, carrying along with it seven moons, and two magnificent rings, at the rate of 22,000 miles every hour. Exclusive of its rings, it is above 900 times larger than the earth, and it performs a diurnal rotation in about ten hours and a-half, its equatorial parts moving at the rate of 24,000 miles an hour. Although this planet, considered in all its relations is the most splendid and magnificent body in the system, yet to the naked eye, it presents the appearance of a nebulous star of a dull leaden lustre. The light it receives from the sun is only the one-ninetieth part of that which we enjoy. It exhibits, parallel to its equator, a series of *belts* like those of Jupiter, but much fainter and not so easily distinguished. But the most striking phenomenon connected with this planet is that of the DOUBLE RING, with which it is environed. This appendage to the globe of Saturn, consists of two concentric rings detached from each other, the innermost of which is nearly three times as broad as the outermost. The outside diameter of the exterior ring is 204,000 miles, and its circumference 640,000 miles. Its breadth is 7200 miles, and the dark interval between the two rings 2800 miles. The breadth of the inner ring is about 20,000 miles, and the surfaces of both the rings contain an area of more than twenty-eight thousand, eight hundred millions of square miles. These rings are separated from the globe of Saturn, by a space of about 30,000 miles, and have a swift rotation around it every ten and a-half hours, at the rate of a thousand miles every minute. They preserve invariably their relative positions in respect to the planet, and are carried along with it in its course round the sun. Near the equatorial regions of this globe, these rings during night will present the appearance of luminous arches, one hundred times broader than the apparent size of our moon, extending over the sky and passing near the zenith from east to west. It is natural to enquire what are the *uses* of such a singular and wonderful appendage to this globe. We apprehend they are intended to serve the following, among other purposes:— 1. They are evidently intended to throw light upon this planet, in the absence of the sun; and to produce a diversity of celestial scenery in its firmament. 2. To give a display of the *grandeur*

of the Divine Being, and of the effects of his Omnipotence. 3. To illustrate his inscrutable *wisdom* and intelligence, in the nice adjustment of their positions and motions, so as to secure their stability and permanency in their revolutions, along with the planet, round the sun. That these rings should be separated 30,000 miles from the body of the planet—that they should, notwithstanding, accompany the planet in its revolution, preserving invariably the same distance from it—that they should revolve around the planet every ten hours, at the immense velocity above stated—and that they should never fly off to the distant regions of space, nor fall down upon the planet—are circumstances which required adjustments far more intricate and exquisite than we can conceive; and demonstrate, that the Almighty Contriver of that stupendous appendage to the globe of Saturn is, indeed, 'Great in counsel, and mighty in operation.' 4. We presume, that one of the chief ends for which these rings were created, was, that they might serve as a spacious abode for myriads of intelligent existences; since, the space they contain, is nearly six hundred times the area of all the habitable parts of our globe, and it is not likely that the Creator would leave such a vast space as a desolate waste, without any tribes of sensitive or intelligent being. Saturn is attended by no less than seven moons, which revolve around it, at different distances, and in periods, varying from twenty-two and a-half hours, to seventy-nine days, eight hours; but they are more difficult to be distinguished than those of Jupiter.

The most remote planet of the solar system yet known is URANUS, sometimes distinguished by the names *Herschel*, and the *Georgium Sidus*. This planet was unknown to astronomers, till the year 1781, when it was discovered at Bath, by the late Sir W. Herschel, while pursuing a design he had formed of making minute observations on every region of the heavens. The distance of this planet from the sun, is eighteen hundred millions of miles, which is double the distance of Saturn. When nearest the earth, its distance is 1,705,000,000 miles. In order to acquire a rude conception of this distance, let us suppose a steam carriage to set out from the earth and to move without intermission thirty miles every hour, it would require more than six thousand four hundred and eighty years before it could reach the orbit of Uranus. The circumference of its orbit is 11,314,000,000 miles, through which it moves in about eighty-four years; and although it is the slowest moving body in the system, it pursues its course at the rate of fifteen thousand miles every hour. This planet, though generally invisible to the naked eye, is of very considerable dimensions, being thirty-five thousand miles in diameter, and eighty times larger than our globe. As it is nineteen times

farther from the sun than the earth is, and as the square of 19 is 361, the intensity of light on its surface will be three hundred and sixty times less than what we enjoy. Yet this quantity of light is equal to what we should have from the combined effulgence of three hundred and forty-eight full moons; and, with a slight modification of our visual organs—such as the expansion of the pupil, and an increased degree of sensibility in the retina —such a proportion of light would be quite sufficient for all the purposes of vision. As to the *temperature* of Uranus—we have no reason to conclude that the degree of heat on the surfaces of the different planets, is inversely proportional to the squares of their respective distances from the sun. This might be proved from various circumstances connected with our globe. It is more probable, that heat depends chiefly on the distribution of the *substance of caloric*, on the surfaces and throughout the atmospheres of the planets, in different quantities, according to the different positions they occupy in the system; and that these different quantities are put into action by the influence of the solar rays, so that there may probably be as much sensible heat on the surface of Uranus, as on the planet Mercury. At all events, we may rest assured that the Creator, 'whose tender mercies are over all his works,' has adapted the structure and constitution of the inhabitants of every planet, to the nature and circumstances of the habitation provided for them. Six satellites are supposed to be connected with Uranus, but, on account of the great distance of these bodies, and the difficulty of perceiving them, except with telescopes of great light and power, their periods and other phenomena have not yet been very accurately determined. It has been found, however, that these satellites circulate around the planets nearly at right angles with the ecliptic, so that their course is in some measure an exception from the general law of the system of motion from east to west, which obtains in respect to all the other bodies of our system.

Such is a very brief and imperfect sketch of some of the leading facts relating to the bodies which compose the solar system—with the exception of comets, of the nature and destination of which we have hitherto acquired but a very imperfect conception.

All the bodies to which we have now adverted, move in ellipses of different degrees of eccentricity, of which the sun occupies one of the foci. Those ellipses, however, differ very little from circles; and therefore we cannot but find fault with the manner in which they are usually delineated in elementary treatises on astronomy. The orbit of the earth, and those of the other planets, are not unfrequently represented by narrow ellipses, the transverse diameters of which are more than double the length of

the conjugate, or lesser diameters. Now, this has a tendency to convey inaccurate conceptions of the real forms of these orbits to the mind of the astronomical tyro. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit, is 1,618,000 miles, which is only the one hundred and nineteenth part of its transverse axis; that of Venus, the two hundred and seventy-fourth part; and that of Jupiter, the forty-third part. Were any of these orbits to be accurately represented on a scale of one foot diameter, they could scarcely be distinguished at the distance of a few feet from perfect circles. Even the orbits of Juno and Pallas, the eccentricities of which amount to nearly one-eight part of their transverse axes, if exhibited on the same scale would present only a slight deviation from the circular form. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit, is determined from the variation of the apparent diameter of the sun. About the 1st January, when that luminary is nearest the earth, its apparent diameter is 32 minutes, 35 seconds of a degree; when it is farthest distant, about the 1st July, it is only 31 minutes, 31 seconds; which demonstrates, that the earth is nearer the sun at one point of its orbit than at another; and, consequently, that it moves in an orbit which deviates somewhat from the circular form. Again, the orbits of the different planets do not all lie in the same plane, as they appear to do in orreries, and other representations generally given of the solar system. If we suppose a plane to pass through the earth's orbit, and to be extended in every direction, it will trace a line or circle in the starry heavens, which is called the ecliptic. The orbits of the other planets do not lie in this plane, one half of each orbit rising above it, while the other half falls below it; and the points of intersection where the orbits cut the ecliptic, are called nodes. It may be further remarked in respect of the planetary motions: —1. That the motion of a planet is the more rapid, the nearer it is to the sun, so that the radius vector always describes equal surfaces in a given time. 2. That the squares of the times of revolution are to each other as the cubes of the major axes of the orbits. These laws lie at the foundation of all astronomy: they have been tested for every planet, and they have been found so perfectly exact, that astronomers infer the distances of the planets from the sun, from the duration of their sidereal revolutions.

As the planetary orbits are not perfect circles, so the planets themselves are not perfect spheres, but oblate spheroids, having the polar axis somewhat shorter than the equatorial. In the case of the earth, the polar diameter is reckoned about twenty-six miles shorter than the diameter passing through the equator. An orange, and a common turnip are oblate spheroids, and are frequently exhibited to the young to illustrate the figure of the

earth. But such exhibitions tend to convey an erroneous idea; for, although a spheroid of ten feet polar diameter were constructed to exhibit the true figure of the earth, no eye could distinguish the difference between such a spheroid and a perfect sphere; since the difference of its two diameters would scarcely exceed one-third of an inch. The idea of the earth's spheroidal figure appears to have been first suggested by Newton and Huygens, from considerations founded on the fact, that pendulums vibrated more slowly under the equator, than in northern latitudes; and Newton's deductions were completely confirmed by the actual measurement of a degree of latitude, both under the equator, and within the polar regions, it being found to measure more in the latter case, than in the former. A degree of the meridian in Lapland was found to contain 344,627 French feet, while at the equator it was only 340,606; that is, they differ about six and a-half English furlongs. The spheroidal figures of Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, have a greater degree of oblateness than that of the earth. In Mars, the equatorial diameter is to the polar, as 16 to 15; consequently, the polar diameter is about two hundred and sixty-three miles shorter than the equatorial. In Jupiter, the proportion is nearly as 14 to 13, and therefore the equatorial is more than six thousand miles longer than the polar diameter. As to Saturn, the proportion of its diameters, is nearly as 11 to 12, the equatorial being six thousand seven hundred miles longer than the polar diameter. The figures of Mercury and Venus, have not yet been accurately determined, as it is seldom that these planets are in such positions, that both diameters can be measured at the same time; and Uranus is at such a distance that the difference of its diameters cannot be easily ascertained, even with the best instruments.

Had our limits permitted, we might have offered a few arguments to prove, that the planetary system to which we have adverted above, is indeed the *true system* of the world. This would appear, if we could prove that the earth revolves round its axis every twenty-four hours, and round the sun in the course of a year, between the orbits of Venus and Mars; and that the sun is the centre of the planetary motions. We can only very briefly advert to this topic. As to the earth's *diurnal* motion, it must either be admitted, or we must necessarily admit the only other alternative, that the sun, moon, planets, comets, and the innumerable host of stars; in other words, all the bodies of the visible universe, revolve around our globe every twenty-four hours. Now, were this the case, the sun would move at the rate of four hundred and fourteen thousand miles in a *minute*; the planet Saturn, at the rate of three millions nine hundred thousand

miles in the same space of time; and the nearest fixed star, at the rate of fourteen hundred millions of miles during the time that the pendulum of a clock moves from one side to another; and the more distant stars, at a rate of velocity still greater. Now, there is *no necessity* that such motions should exist in the heavenly bodies in order to produce the alternate succession of day and night, since the same effect can be accomplished by a simple rotation of the earth round its axis, which is the case with Jupiter, Saturn, and other planets much larger than the earth. Besides, could we suppose such rapid motions to exist among the celestial orbs, the whole material fabric of the universe would soon be shattered to atoms. There is no instance known, of a larger body revolving around a smaller, which must be the case on the supposition, that the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are *real;* and it would be contrary to all the physical laws which have been observed throughout the system of nature. But, what demonstrably proves the falsity of such a supposition, and its utter impossibility, is the consideration, that *it would confound all our ideas of the wisdom and intelligence of the Deity.* It is the part of wisdom to proportionate one thing to another, and to devise the most proper *means,* in order to accomplish important *ends.* Were the inhabitants of London to attempt to construct machinery in order to make the whole city move round in a circle, carrying a lamp in the centre, to throw light and heat over a ball of one inch in diameter, when the same purpose could have been effected by making the ball turn on its axis, all mankind would unite in condemning it as a display of consummate folly. But such a machinery, were it possible to be constructed, would not be half so preposterous, as to suppose that all the bodies in the vast universe are daily revolving around our little globe. And, can we, with any show of consistency, ascribe to *Him,* who 'is the only wise God,' contrivances which we should pronounce to be the perfection of folly in mankind? It would tend to lessen our ideas of the intelligence of that adorable being, who is 'wonderful in counsel and excellent in working;' and who is declared to have 'established the world by his wisdom, and stretched out the heavens by his understanding.'

The *annual* motion of the earth round the sun might be proved by such considerations as the following, did our limits permit to explain and illustrate them:—1. It is the most simple and harmonious plan we can conceive of our system, and the most agreeable to the general arrangements of the Creator, that the earth should be considered as a planetary body, revolving round the sun in concert with the other planets. For, by the motion of the earth between the orbits of Venus and Mars, all the phe-

nomena of the heavens are completely accounted for, which they cannot be on any other system. 2. Because it is more rational, and consistent with the general laws of nature, to suppose that the earth moves round the sun, than that the huge masses of the planets—some of which are a thousand times larger than our globe—should perform a revolution round so comparatively small a globe as the earth. 3. It appears most reasonable to conclude that the sun is placed near the centre of the system, as it is the fountain of light and heat for irradiating the worlds within the sphere of its influence; and it is from the centre alone, that those emanations can be distributed *in uniform and equable proportions*, to all the planets. The above considerations are highly probable evidences that the sun is the centre of the system, and that the earth revolves around it. The following are demonstrative:—1. The planets Mercury and Venus are observed to have two *conjunctions* with the sun, but are never in *opposition*, which could not possibly happen, unless the orbits of those planets lay *within* the orbit of the earth. 2. The greatest elongation of Mercury from the sun is twenty-nine degrees, and that of Venus about forty-seven, which answers exactly to the positions and distances assigned them in the system; but if they moved round the earth as a centre, as the ancient astronomers supposed, they would sometimes be seen 180 degrees from the sun, or in *opposition*. 3. The planets, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and all the other superior planets have each their conjunctions with, and oppositions to the sun, which could not be unless their orbits were *exterior* to the orbit of the earth. 4. In the arrangement of the planets in the system, they will all be sometimes much nearer the earth than at other times, and consequently their brightness and apparent diameters will be proportionably greater at one period than at another, which corresponds with every day's observation. But according to the system which places the earth in the centre, their apparent magnitudes should always be equal. 5. When the planets Mercury and Venus are viewed through telescopes, they appear with different *phases*, sometimes round, sometimes *gibbous*, and at other times in the form of a half moon or that of a crescent, which could only happen on the Copernican system, but could not be accounted for on the ancient hypothesis. 6. All the planets in their motions, are seen sometimes to move *direct*, sometimes *retrograde*, and at other times to remain *stationary*—all which diversities of apparent motion are necessary results of the Copernican system, but inexplicable on any other. 7. The law discovered by Kepler, which we have already noticed, namely: 'That the squares of the periodic times of the revolutions of the planets, are as the cubes of their distances,' is a law which is

established on the most accurate observations, and by which all the planets, both primary and secondary are regulated; but this law is completely set aside and destroyed, were the sun and the planets to be considered as moving around the earth as the centre of their motions.

Our limits will not permit us to enter on the consideration of the *physical causes* of the celestial motion. We shall only observe, that it is now universally admitted by astronomers, that all the planets are attracted and preserved in their orbits, by a power existing in the sun, as the grand centre of their motions—that this force acting on the planets, is in the inverse ratio of the square of their distance from the sun—and that all the bodies in the system attract one another with forces proportional to the quantities of matter they contain. Hence the earth attracts the moon, and retains her in her orbit, and the moon attracts the earth, in proportion to the quantity of matter which that body contains; and in like manner, Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, and their respective satellites exert a reciprocal influence upon each other. And, from all the facts which have been observed in relation to this subject, the following general result has been deduced, namely, that all the atoms of matter mutually attract each other, with a force directly proportioned to their masses, and inversely as the square of their distances. But, as the force of attraction, if it existed alone, without any counteraction, would tend to draw all the planets towards the sun, and to unite all the globes in the universe into a single mass; it is necessary to admit, that all the heavenly bodies received a primitive impulse in a direct line, and, that from the combination of these two forces, arises the curvilinear orbit. All simple motion is naturally rectilineal; in other words, all bodies, if there were nothing to prevent them, would move in straight lines. But the motions of the planetary bodies are circular, which must arise from a combination of two forces; the one of which has been called the attractive or centripetal force, and the other the projectile or centrifugal force. The projectile force must be considered as an impulse given to the planets by the hand of the Omnipotent Creator, when they were first arranged and set in motion in the system—which powerful energy is still continued; and the attractive power, and the laws by which it operates, must be viewed as properties originally impressed upon matter by the allwise Contriver of the universe, and for which we cannot assign any physical cause but the will of the Deity.

We intended adverting to several other topics, but we find we must abstain from doing so. We have presented the above very brief and imperfect sketches, chiefly intended for our youthful readers, as a kind of introduction to the study of astronomy;

more especially, as we have not had an opportunity, for a considerable time past, of adverting to this subject. We take no notice at present of the sidereal heavens, and of the sublime discoveries of modern times, respecting new and variable stars—double, triple, and quadruple stars—the different orders of the *nebulæ*, and other objects in the more distant regions of space, as we expect to have an early opportunity of referring to such subjects in a separate article.

We shall now advert to the volume whose title stands at the head of this article. It is not often we meet with works, in which 'Astronomy' and 'Scripture' are combined. Many of our modern professional astronomers would scout the idea of considering scripture as having the least relation to astronomy; or of condescending to quote any passages from that sacred record, to illustrate the discoveries of this science; or to impress the mind with a sense of the perfections of that Almighty Being 'by whom the heavens were made.' We are glad, both for the sake of science and of religion, that works of a description somewhat similar to that of our author, are occasionally issuing from the press, and that they are perused with a certain degree of avidity both by the Christian public, and by general readers. Such publications have a tendency to counteract the prejudices which many pious persons entertain against the study of science, and at the same time to illustrate the harmony which subsists between the character of the Deity as delineated in the scriptures, and as exhibited in the fabric and arrangements of the material universe. The object our author has in view in the work before us, will be best explained by transcribing his short preface:—

'The object of this volume is to illustrate the relation between the chief facts of astronomy, and the general testimony of Scripture, with a view to promote the interests of religion and science. It is written popularly, being intended for the use of those classes of young persons who revere the word of God, and seek an acquaintance with his works.'

In prosecuting this object, Mr. Milner has arranged his matter into nineteen chapters, of which the following are the leading titles:—'Paul and the Athenians.—Idolatry of the heavens.—Superstitious observation of the heavens.—The progress of discovery.—Arrival at truth.—Representations of Scripture.—The sun.—Solar phenomena of the Scriptures.—The inferior planets.—The earth.—Terrestrial phenomena of the Scriptures.—The moon.—Lunar phenomena of the Scriptures.—The superior planets.—Comets.—The stellar phenomena of the Scriptures.—Nebulæ and nebular hypothesis.—*Conclusion*, revelation and nature, divine unity, uniform plan of creation, universal

agency, wisdom in the Creator, varieties of operation, prevalence of good, vastness of the universe, consummation.'

In the illustration of these topics the author displays a considerable degree of research and of erudition. He appears to have consulted a great variety of works connected with his subject, and to have condensed the information they contained into a comparatively small compass. He has a style of his own, which is perspicuous and elegant, and he seldom uses the language of the writers from whom he has derived many of the facts and sentiments which pervade his volume. In some instances, perhaps, it would have been not altogether improper to have referred to them. As the elucidation of the topics above stated, is comprehended in a volume of 400 pages, a detailed account of all the facts, principles, and phenomena connected with the heavens is not to be expected; especially, as a considerable portion of the volume is occupied in the consideration of subjects more immediately connected with the Scriptures. In justice to the author, however, it is proper to state, that all the more prominent and interesting facts respecting the history of astronomy—the sun, the moon, the earth, the comets, and the other bodies of the planetary system, the stars, the nebulæ, &c., are clearly stated; and the most recent discoveries of astronomical science placed before the view of the reader. Mr. Milner is well acquainted with his subject; he is evidently a man of taste, and one who has a relish for contemplating the beauties and sublimities of nature. Many of the facts and expressions of Scripture, related to his subject, are beautifully illustrated. His powers of description, when delineating the phenomena of nature, are none of the least of his accomplishments; and graceful, and picturesque sketches of natural scenery are interspersed throughout the volume. As a specimen of these, and of the author's general style, we quote the following paragraphs, taken almost at random. They are part of his description of the rising and setting sun.

'Beautiful and imposing is the aspect in which all natural objects are arrayed, as the earth rolls its hills and valleys, floods and forests into the presence of the great luminary, or causes them to recede from his beams. Travellers have spoken with enthusiasm of the prospect from the summit of Etna at sunrise, when the atmosphere is propitious. Elevated at the height of ten thousand feet above the level of the sea, the range of view is prodigious. The lovely island, associated with the thought of its ancient poets, philosophers and historians; its architectural renown; the unrivalled beauty of its landscapes; its never-failing fertility; the sea that girds it, glowing beneath the rays of the ascending sun as far as the visible horizon extends, all unite to form a scene which captivates the cultivated mind, and startles the dull gaze of rustic ignorance.

'Even in our northern latitude, with its proverbially gloomy atmosphere, we are occasionally favoured with 'a morning without clouds,' when the sun pours his effulgence forth with prodigality over the landscape, and clothes its most tame and monotonous features with peculiar grace and attractiveness. But all accounts agree in representing our sunrise, under the most auspicious circumstances, as far inferior to that of the Orientals. Hence the frequency of its introduction as an image in their poetry. Feminine beauty is often thus illustrated. The royal bride in the Canticles is addressed as follows: 'Who is this that looketh forth, fair as the morning.' Theocritus thus delineated the beautiful Helen:—

'As beams the rising morn in vernal pride,
The golden tressed Helen all outvied.'—pp. 106, 107.

'Not less inviting are those [the scenes of beauty] connected with his setting. The most gorgeous sunsets are said to take place in the West Indies, during the rainy season, when the sky is sublimely mantled with gigantic masses of clouds which are tinged with the glare of the descending luminary, and which seem to be impatiently waiting for his departure, in order to discharge their pent up wrath on the bosom of the night. Sunset in the South Atlantic has a milder and more sober aspect; in the eastern tropics, it has generally an overpowering fierceness, as though the last expression of the solar heat should be the greatest; but in temperate latitudes, there is often such serenely beautiful horizons, such rich and varied dyes, such mellowness of light, and such objects to be irradiated by it, as it is impossible to view without mingled emotions of awe, gratitude, and delight. Mrs. Hemans, writing to a friend observes: 'I rode round Grassmere and Rydal Lake in the evening. The imaged heaven in the waters more completely filled my mind, even to overflowing, than any object in nature did before. I thought of the scriptural expression, 'a sea of glass mingled with fire.' No other words are fervid enough to convey the least impression of what lay burning before me. But independent of these visible glories, there are memories—trains of thought in relation to the past and the future—which a beautiful sunset is apt to excite, which are calculated to affect the mind and improve the heart. Are we keeping like him our appointed path? Is our course tending to a proper termination? Have we preserved the feelings unimpaired, and the aims unneglected, with which in early life, we marked his retirement.'—pp. 127, 128.

In explaining scriptural facts, such circumstances as the following are particularly noticed:—the three days darkness in Egypt; the sun and moon standing still; retrocession of the shadow on the sun dial of Ahaz; darkness at the crucifixion; the seasonal changes in Judea; the astronomical allusions in the book of Job, &c. &c. On the whole, we have perused this volume, with a high opinion of its merits, and of the accomplishments of its author. Such publications have a tendency to undermine scepticism and infidelity, to enlarge the capacity of the human mind, and to enable christians to take lofty and

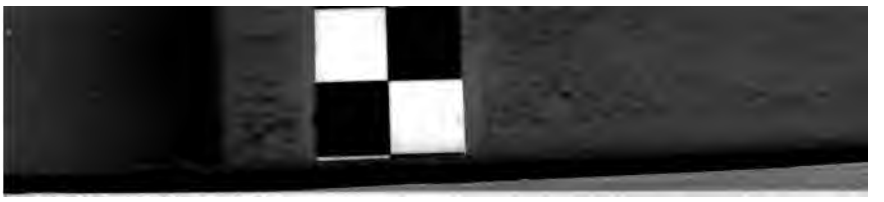
comprehensive views both of the revelations contained in scripture, and of the wonderful works of the Most High, throughout the universe. We, therefore, most cordially recommend the volume before us, both to the Christian and the general reader, and particularly to 'those classes of the young who revere the word of God, and seek an acquaintance with his works.'

We noticed a few inaccuracies in different places, such as, p. 75, 1618 instead of 1610. p. 86, E C D instead of E D C. p. 119, line 17, the word *not* should be erased. p. 268, line 17, *has* for *have*. In p. 289, the force of gravity at the surface of Jupiter, is represented as being *eight times* as great as on the surface of the earth, which will be found to be inaccurate. But these and several other oversights, we are disposed to consider as *errata* of the printer. We will just add, that the volume has an elegant frontispiece in oil colours, illustrative of the phenomena of *Parhelia*, and twenty-nine small wood cuts.

Art. V. '*The League Newspaper*,' London.

THE disciple of truth has no greater joy than to mark her triumphant progress, and seeks no higher honour than to be a contributor to her success: her sceptre is wielded with undoubted authority, and obtains a welcome ascendancy over his mind; and, therefore, when others yield submission, and render a willing and grateful homage, it is an occasion of congratulation. However abstract the dogmas, or abstruse the principles of disquisition, if they be true they are counted sacred, and their stability and defence are desired more than gold,—they are clothed in the forms of beauty, and vested with sovereign power.

The cold and frigid speculations of political economy—the metaphysical distinctions of national morals, have excited the admiration and secured the allegiance of faithful adherents. Adam Smith, Maculloch, Senior, and Colonel Thompson, have done homage and fealty, and, by their contributions and services offered at the shrine of truth, have promoted the well-being of mankind and the decrees of justice. In the morning they sowed their seed, and in the evening did not withhold their hand. In the midst of much obloquy and general scepticism, they struggled to develop sound principles, and to diffuse the knowledge of them. By elaborate and voluminous writings—by critical and periodical literature, they successfully laboured to extend the dominions of philosophy, and to cast down the



strongholds of ignorance and oppression. Utilitarianism and expediency seemed to symbolize; while the pride and sufficiency of human intellect appeared to renounce subjection to an authority which was paramount, because *Divine;* but "truth was in the field, and though all the winds of doctrine were let loose, nothing was lost in the encounter." Ignorance has been subdued, and error has been vanquished;—the sceptre of righteousness prevails.

Dissertations on political economy were followed by associations of learned men, and the coteries of philosophers were ultimately supplanted by the more practical movements of commercial confederacies. Chambers of Commerce enunciated the application as well as justice of abstract principles, in reference to subjects in which their interests were involved; though, in some cases, they acted inconsistently with them. By resolutions, memorials, and addresses, they pleaded for the adoption of sounder and more equitable principles of barter,—they shewed the evils of invidious restrictions, and the injuries inflicted by certain monopolies,—and they urged the abandonment of laws which diminished consumption, or circumscribed the enterprise of labour, ingenuity, and capital. Freedom of trade in one branch, became a prelude to free trade in every branch of commerce.

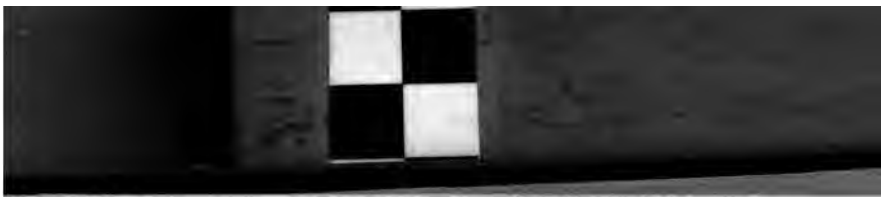
The rise and progress of THE LEAGUE followed—and few incidents of modern history more deserve a record and a memorial. This "great fact" casts into the shade deeds of more classic celebrity, and events of more chivalrous fame. The council of Amphictyons, or the Achean League—the battle of Marathon, or the explulsion of the Thirty Tyrants—agrarian laws, plebeian jealousies, and patrician rapacity,—are schoolboy tales, affording no parallel to the warfare of opinion which is now waged by the League; and which no demonstration of physical strength, or aristocratic combination, will suffice successfully to resist. A brief retrospect may serve to connect the past and present, and illustrate the question which now so widely engrosses public attention.

In 1796, it was stated by parliamentary authorities, that the annual consumption of wheat in England was about six millions of quarters. Between the years 1771 and 1791, there was no rise of prices in the wheat market; while great agricultural changes, if not improvements, were effected. The liberty of importation had been granted for wheat by an act of parliament in 1773; but as, by various acts, from the commencement of George the Third's reign till 1797, 2,804,197 acres of *waste land* had been enclosed, and of course appropriated by the oligarchy; the landholders, wishing to turn them to a profitable possession, appre-

hended that an increasing demand would, by this liberty of importation, be prevented from raising their prices; they therefore clamoured about *habitual dependence on foreigners* for supplies of corn; and an act was obtained in 1791, by which the price was raised to 54*s.* before the quarter of wheat could be imported at 6*d.* duty; when above 50*s.* and below 54*s.*, the duty was fixed at 2*s.* 6*d.*; and when under 50*s.*, a prohibitory duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* was imposed. The practice of bonding foreign wheat was now legalized, with a warehouse duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.

From 1797 till 1801 an artificial currency, and the Bank of England monopoly, gave fresh stimulus to agriculture; and, during a temporary scarcity, produced the mania for cultivating poor soils,—the natural operation of which threatened ruin to the farmer in 1802 and 1803, and countenanced the injustice of another corn-law in 1804. This act made farther encroachments on the liberty of importation: a prohibitory duty of 24*s.* 3*d.* was enacted, when the price of wheat had fallen to 63*s.* per quarter; 2*s.* 6*d.* was fixed as the duty between 63*s.* and 66*s.* Statistical returns of the price of grain at that period, render plausible the representation that these enactments remained a dead letter; but this would be a delusive conclusion: other causes operated. The unnatural warfare which raged, and the deficient crops which were reaped, powerfully affected the results. Our imports were restricted, and the natural demand for our manufactures was diminished; while our paper currency, depreciated in comparison of the bullion by at least 4 per cent.,—sometimes as much as 27 per cent.,—was no equal or legitimate rule of exchange or standard of price. Wheat ranged during 1806, 1807, and 1808, from 66*s.* to 75*s.* per quarter; but from 1809 till 1813, it averaged 95*s.*, 106*s.*, 94*s.*, 125*s.*, 109*s.* per quarter. Changes, however, began to threaten in the political horizon; and, in the following year, prices fell to 74*s.* per quarter.

The *game of war* had been played by European rulers so long, that commerce was brought under the operation of artificial influence, and the value of all property was presented under a fictitious aspect. The production of food, and the manufacture of clothing, had been subjected to the gambling speculations incident to international warfare. The battle-field, diplomacy, and sinecure place-hunting, had served as a drain on the surplus aristocracy of England; while commissariat contracts for the supply of the army and navy, had surreptitiously enhanced the price of food, and raised to an unnatural value the landed rental. The revenue of the proprietors of the soil had been greatly increased, but their habits of indulgence and luxury had equally expanded.



When wars ceased, it was quickly discerned that the collapse which followed peace would naturally diminish the demand for agricultural produce, and render necessary a reduction in the rent of land. The parties threatened possessed political ascendancy, the senate was their creature and the instrument of their domination; and new corn-laws were enacted to maintain war prices,—to perpetuate war rentals,—and to secure to the lords of the soil the wealth of the people, the luxuries and ascendancy of aristocratic dominion. Whatever were the disguises or pretences of argument, the protestations of equity, or the patriotic apprehensions of dependence on foreigners, the philosophy, the motive, and the end of corn-laws, was—*rent*.

Not satisfied with the restrictions which law already imposed on commerce, the landlords, in 1814, wished that duties should be levied on corn imported from 64*s*. and upward, till the price should reach 86*s*., with a duty of 1*s*. Some thought the standard might be fixed between 90*s*. and 100*s*.; but others insisted it ought to be fixed not lower than 120*s*. per quarter. Mr. Robinson, the present Lord Ripon, conducted the case in the house of commons; and his followers presumed that his measure would fix the price of wheat at a sufficiently remunerative point. The corn-law of 1815, which prohibited the introduction of wheat till the price had reached 80*s*. per quarter, was enacted under the protection of soldiery at Westminster, and in spite of the most hostile demonstrations in the metropolis and the provinces. In Lancashire, Lanarkshire, and Yorkshire, the most solemn, energetic, and threatening protests against the measure were urged by the mercantile and manufacturing classes; and if, through the forbearance of the people, torrents of blood were not then shed, the sanguinary and fatal catastrophes of Peterloo and Bonnymuir had their origin in the bitter resentments engendered at that time.

The expectations of monopoly were disappointed, except so far as related to the landlord's *rent*; there was a ruinous fluctuation of prices, and a cry of agricultural distress was raised. The Commons appointed committees, and they reported; discussions were renewed and changes were proposed. In the spirit of a delusive compromise, and with a show of reluctant mitigation altogether nugatory, a new act was passed in 1822—which declared that after prices had risen to the limit of free importation, fixed by the act of 1815, that act was to cease, giving place to the new statute. Seventy shillings was now to be the price at which wheat could be imported; but in order to secure the landlords still further, under specious pretexts, it was enacted that a duty of 17*s*. should be laid on every quarter of wheat from foreign countries during the first three months after the opening

of the ports, if the price was between 70*s*. and 80*s*. a quarter, and 12*s*. of duty afterwards; and if the price was between 80*s*. and 85*s*., the duty was to be 10*s*. during the first three months, and 5*s*. afterwards; and if the price exceeded 85*s*.. then the duty should be 1*s*.

A few years afterwards deficiency in the crop was so strongly apprehended, that the King was authorized to admit 500,000 quarters of foreign wheat on payment of such duties as the order in council for its importation should declare. This investiture in the royal prerogative was designed to prevent disastrous consequences from the operation of a corn-law. Other orders in council setting the obnoxious law aside were found necessary. The absurdity and malignant operation of the statute became daily more apparent, and Mr. Canning, in March, 1827, proposed resolutions, and attempted to substitute a law reducing the graduated point of the scale, and relaxing the restrictions which had operated so banefully. But the minister's intentions were frustrated by the Duke of Wellington, whose policy interdicted all foreign importation till the home price should exceed 66*s*. a quarter. In 1828 a modification of Mr. Canning's plan was enacted by his petty rivals, whose mean jealousies had thwarted his policy in the previous year. The duty was fixed at 18*s*. 8*d*. when the price was 70*s*., making a reduction in the duty of 8*s*. when the *price* of wheat was only 3*s*. higher. A fixed duty of 1*s*. was to be exacted when the price had reached 73*s*. a quarter, and a rising duty of 25*s*. 8*d*. when the price of wheat was 61*s*. a quarter.

The juggling dishonesty of the legislature was now made applicable to the traffic in corn; and rogues in grain were the natural fruit. The national gambling induced by fluctuating averages and the possibility of making them subservient to profitable speculation, with all their disastrous consequences, have only been equalled by the plunder of the people, the misery of the myriads, and the bankruptcy of the national commerce which they have occasioned.

The opinion formed by Mr. Huskisson of the baneful and absurd operation of such laws had been corroborated by all experience. It limited the markets from which our supplies were drawn, it destroyed the vent which otherwise we should have had for our occasional excess of produce, and exposed us to an alternate fluctuation of high and low prices. It affected the price of labour and the comforts of the labourer; and cramped the resources not only of the manufacturer, but of the farmer himself. Within two years the price of corn had varied from 112*s*. to 38*s*. a quarter: ***such fluctuation deprived the farmer of all security, and converted his business into mere gambling.*** When

a bad harvest made it necessary to go to foreign markets, the price of corn immediately advanced, whether by the fiscal charges of their governments or the demands of the private merchants. The result was, that our exchanges were suddenly altered, and the required supply was obtained under the greatest possible disadvantages. Violent and extreme fluctuations so affected the supplies of the people, that this lamented statesman could only compare the nation to a man kept for *a week without food and then supplied with double the usual quantity*—a mode of averaging the general supply which he thought *gentlemen* would not much relish if enforced on themselves, and which therefore should not be administered to the multitude.

The doom of the sliding scale was proclaimed by the whig budget of 1841, and the new corn law of Sir R. Peel was a legislative *unsettlement* of the system, preparative, even if not designed, for the overthrow of the landlords' monopoly. The admissions made by the premier, and the acknowledgments of his home secretary; the avowals of his colleague at the board of trade, and the taciturn acquiescence of their adherents on the ministerial benches, indicated the near approach of the great catastrophe. There is no alternative to the present system of prohibition, by rests, duties, and sliding scales, but the principle of *free barter*—to purchase in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets—and it is the doctrine of *common sense*, according to the sage reflections of a cabinet minister, to pursue unfettered competition with all the nations of the world. The Peel *nostrum* has proved a stimulant rather than a quietus; and while the empiric has sought to dose the patient with narcotics, he has but precipitated the disease to a crisis.

We may pause, however, and trace the steps of that more recent movement which is now covering the land and casting the time-worn mechanism of monopoly out of joint, to the terror and manifest confusion of its patrons. The series of pungent and effective articles which appeared in the Westminster Review had prepared a few in the metropolis for confederacy, and convinced them of the necessity of combined exertion. Colonel Thompson, the veteran leader and enlightened advocate of free trade, therefore succeeded in drawing around him an association of men willing to co-operate for the extinction of monopoly, in the year 1838. For a season they united in object and effort, and sustained the cause of free trade till other agitations and interests absorbed their energies or distracted their attention. Their zeal required greater stimulus, and their combination was inefficient for immediate success without the resources and enthusiasm of the multitude. Perhaps they were at too great a distance from the appliances and practical illustrations of trade, and from

the intercourse of those who could personally sympathize in the justice of the claim, on account of the direct interest which the operation of monopoly gave them in the solution of the question.

It was befitting that the *focus* of the agitation should be localized where capital, industry, and intelligence could be secured; and whence central effort could extend its influence with facility and promptitude. There is a tide in human affairs, and there is a God that ruleth over all. There is a hand that guides, and a superintending as well as a controlling agency which wings an angel and rolls the stars in their orbits. There is a completeness and harmony among the courses of human action, however invisible to human perception, no less than there is a music of the spheres and a seasonable arrangement in 'the sweet influences of Pleiades and the bands of Orion.' On the 18th of September, 1838, Dr. Bowring, on his way to Blackburn, was entertained at Manchester. The gentlemen who rendered this honour to the present member for Bolton did not anticipate the events naturally traceable to their act of hospitality. Between fifty and sixty friends of free trade assembled at the York Hotel. The banquet was simple, but the object was grand. Archibald Prentice, Esq., Editor of the Manchester Times, acted as chairman, and Mr. P. Thomson as vice chairman. Dr. Bowring's eloquent exposition of the principles of free trade and the calamitous effects of monopoly, especially in the food of the people, upon our foreign relations, was followed by the honest and generous appeals of Mr. George Hadfield. The chairman, in proposing 'the health and comfort of the *poor hand loom weavers,* who had set the example of petitioning for the repeal of the corn laws,' regretted that the *merchants and manufacturers* of Manchester should have been so long supine, under a system which threatened ultimate national degradation and bankruptcy. The chamber of commerce, confederated to watch over the trading interests, had been inert and seemingly indifferent, while the *handloom weavers,* who could not buy paper for their petition without assistance, had sent a petition for the repeal of the corn laws, bearing 22,000 signatures. These observations from Mr. Prentice suggested to Mr. J. Howie that, since they had no organised system for opposing monopoly, the company present should at once form themselves into an association. This proposition was so far realized that it was resolved that on the following Monday, the 24th of September, a meeting should be held to form a committee, who should make the preliminary arrangements for this object.

On the day appointed, *seven gentlemen,* moving none of them in spheres of great influence, met to form the association. The organisation which they proposed, and the principles which

they recognized, have been pepetuated. They were the origin and the nucleus of the anti-corn law league; and though the association, by a happy suggestion of Mr. Cobden's afterwards entitled 'THE LEAGUE,' has been extended as a national institution, whose operations will affect the world of commerce, and revolutionize the policy of imperial states, it is still the offspring of that day's counsel; and will continue to bring renown on the projectors. Their names are, therefore, deserving an enduring record, and a place in the annals of national free trade. The names of *the seven* were, Messrs. E. Baxter, W. P. Cunningham, A. Dalziel, J. Howie, J. Leslie, A. Prentice, and P. Thompson. They have continued stedfast to their principles and the cause; and though, others have stood more prominently forward in the struggle, none have more ingenuously rejoiced in the success of the work. For a season they found shyness and hesitation on the part of the wealthy and powerful. The manufacturers and merchants of Manchester seemed to expect, that the *Chamber of Commerce* would take the lead. But being disappointed in this expectation, on Thursday the 4th of October, at a meeting of the friends of free trade, one hundred gentlemen avowed their conviction of the necessity of a new organization, and enrolled their names as members of the anti-corn law association. Next week a provisional committee was formed, and their names announced. In this list were included many who, by property, personal influence, and enlightened advocacy, have strenuously promoted the cause. Here were, J. Bright, and E. Armitage, W. R. Callender and George Hadfield, James Kershaw, and T. Potter, W. Rawson, and George Wilson, C. J. S. Walker, and J. B. Smith and other men of equal zeal; but, as yet, Richard Cobden was absent from home, and therefore not entered in the association. *His time* soon arrived, and his willing services were rendered efficiently and with success.

The chief anxiety of the committee was to confederate men of definite and steady principle who should espouse the cause, not for the sake of party or display. Wealth was less sought for than integrity, and moral influence was more desired than rank or connections. Though money was not the recommendation of the associate, yet it was employed as a subsidiary; a means to the end, and a test of sincerity. Each member subscribed five shillings; and the sum deposited with John Benjamin Smith, Esq., as the treasurer, was less than £30., when the association resolved to employ a lecturer. It was a bold and almost hazardous undertaking, in the judgment of some, who were so cautious as to hesitate to war with the dominant landlords. If the committee made a perilous adventure, much more did their lecturer, Mr. Paulton, make a desperate experiment when he committed

himself to the fearful odds, single handed, to contend against the whole host of political antagonism, which his assault on the corn laws would excite and enlist against him.

Besides the weekly meetings of the committee, and the frequent reports of their proceedings which appeared in the newspapers, and especially in the *Manchester Times*, which had declared it would never cease its warfare waged against the iniquitous taxation of the people's bread; the committee now employed Mr. Paulton to agitate the subject throughout the country.

On Thursday, October 25th, 1838, he delivered a long, able, and eloquent lecture in the Corn Exchange, Manchester, to a crowded audience, J. B. Smith, Esq., in the chair; when great enthusiasm was created and evinced. Few public lecturers could so continuously sustain an intellectual effort in the highest style of argumentation and philosophical disquisition, as could Mr. Paulton; while the intensity of interest excited in his audience was not permitted to subside throughout the lengthened and elaborate discussion, of even the driest statistics and arithmetical details. He delivered a second lecture a few days afterwards, along with the report of which, appeared an advertisement of an enlarged provisional committee, containing the name of Richard Cobden, Esq. To Manchester manufacturers, this name was a guarantee of increased efficiency. The spark kindled so auspiciously, began now to ignite the smouldering mass of discontent which domineering monopoly had produced throughout the country. Invitations poured in on Mr. Paulton, to visit the most populous towns; and while the organs of landlord oppression were assailing him with virulent abuse, and giving the alarm to their confederates, for his denunciations of their system of robbery, he was welcomed in Birmingham on the 26th and 28th of November, when he lectured in the Town Hall, to crowded and enthusiastic assemblies. Wolverhampton sympathised with Birmingham, and demonstrated the extensive interest taken by the industrial classes in this vital question. The ASSOCIATION now began to contemplate a wider range of objects and operations. They proposed the formation of a fund for diffusing information, either by lectures or by pamphlets, and defraying the expense of petitioning—and above all, creating an organisation to bring numbers together in such force, and with such energy of purpose, as to secure the great object—the complete freedom of trade, by the destruction, not only of the corn monopoly, but of all other monopolies which hang upon that monster grievance.

December was rendered deeply interesting in Manchester, by the proceedings of this association. They issued on the 8th, a spirit-stirring address, signed 'J. B. Smith,' which was sent to every part of the kingdom; accompanied by a circular recom-

mending the establishment of similar associations. On the 13th and again on the 20th, the chamber of commerce, by adjourned meetings, attracted public and intense attention to their discussion of the corn laws. The auditory was crowded, and the speakers were deeply pledged to give the subject their best consideration. The facts elicited in the speeches of the most intelligent merchants and manufacturers, made a powerful impression on the public, as well as the chamber, and diffused through the whole manufacturing and commercial community of the kingdom, the liveliest sensation. At an interval of a week, the discussions were protracted for five hours each; and then, solemnly and with unequivocal impression, the chamber decided by a majority of six to one to issue the declaration, '*that unless the corn laws be immediately abolished, the destruction of our manufactures is inevitable.*' All shades of political opinion joined in this assertion; and farther, '*that the great and peaceful principle of free trade on the broadest scale, is the only security for our manufacturing prosperity, and the welfare of every portion of the community.*' Messrs. R. H. Greg, J. B. Smith, R. Cobden, W. Rawson, and Mr. Dyer, were the most distinguished speakers, and produced such impressions during the debate, that, afterwards they were specified as entitled to the thanks of their fellow townsmen for their valuable statements, and the ability with which they brought them forward.

The *Manchester Times*, a willing and able coadjutor, was employed to report these proceedings, and sent to each of the ministers of the crown. It was resolved, that they should not be able to plead ignorance of what was doing, while the question submitted to their consideration was an alternative—*the ruin of our manufactures, or the repeal of the corn laws.* The year 1839, was ushered in with extended co-operation. Glasgow, with several other Scottish towns, was stirred up to demand justice. Leeds, Bradford, and Sheffield, were combined in efforts to obtain 'a repeal of the starvation-creating, and trade-ruining enactment.' It was now found, that resources must be provided; and many believed and adopted Mr. Cobden's recommendation, '*that an investment of a part of their property, might save the rest from confiscation.*' A meeting was held at the York Hotel, Manchester, on the 10th January, nearly £2,000. were subscribed in the room, after R. H. Greg, Esq., and J. B. Smith, Esq., had urged petitions to parliament, and a prayer that they might bring evidence at the bar of the house as to the working of the laws. The chairman, Mr. H. Hoole asserted, that he, as well as the people in his employment, were threatened with ruin by the operation of the corn laws; and others declared that their business was altogether unprofitable, through

the influence of the landlord's monopoly. Liverpool had now begun to move in the same direction; and the mayor of that borough convened a public meeting of the inhabitants, for the adoption of such measures as would promote the repeal of the corn laws.

The Manchester anti-corn law association had resolved to convene their friends at a public dinner in the Corn Exchange, and nearly 800 persons assembled; many of them from distant towns, and also the most distinguished merchants, manufacturers and traders of Manchester. Members of parliament for Leicester, Leeds, Westminster, the Tower Hamlets, Birmingham, Ludlow, Rochester, Clitheroe, Bolton, Wolverhampton, Bury, Stockport, and many of the municipal authorities from these and other towns, mingled in this demonstration against oppressive and unjust laws, which was made on the 22nd January, 1839. The speeches and sentiments then uttered, and the enthusiasm excited, were conducive to the progress of the cause; but the most significant circumstance was, that in a few days—before the 2nd of February—£5,900. were subscribed to the fund. On this occasion, the Earl of Durham avowed his convictions against the corn laws, in unequivocal terms. 'I am convinced,' he wrote in a letter to the chairman, 'that the operation of corn laws is as injurious to the agriculturist, as to the manufacturer; and that their repeal would equally tend to the mutual advantage of both classes. I believe that any diminution in the price of corn would be more than counterbalanced by that increased consumption of all other articles of agricultural produce, which would be created by the extension of commercial enterprise; the fresh impulse that would be given to manufacturing industry; and the great additional employment which would be consequently afforded to the labouring classes.'

In the month of February, nearly three hundred delegates, representing almost all the large towns in the kingdom, met in London, preparatory to a motion of Mr. Villiers, in the House of Commons. The various associations when thus combined were, for the first time, denominated THE LEAGUE; a designation most significant of the union and determination with which they have pursued their object, and of the power which they have acquired in the state. The branches of this league, registered and numbered, have since acted in concert for the one object. The *Anti-Bread Tax Circular* was now published, and more lecturers employed to carry forward the agitation. The means of the League were enlarged; but the demands on its resources were speedily to be extended. They, therefore, more distinctly specified their objects, and contemplated operations.

'We have been nobly supported hitherto,' they say, 'by a munificent

and select body of subscribers; but the time has now arrived, when we must enlarge the circle of our supporters, to enable us to extend the field of our operations. We ask for pecuniary assistance of all who believe in the justice and paramount importance of the abolition of the food monopoly; we ask it for two reasons: in the first place, because the money is essential to the accomplishment of our task. We have entered upon the Herculean labour of educating an entire nation. To inform twenty-seven millions of people upon all the evils of monopoly, and all the advantages of free trade, will require an expenditure of money proportionate to the greatness of the undertaking. Secondly, we ask for aid from every friend and well-wisher, because by our subscription list will the numbers and strength of the free trade party be measured by our opponents. They will appreciate lightly, the zeal which does not take the direction of the pocket. In Ireland, poor oppressed potatoe-fed Ireland, tens of thousands of pounds were contributed in one year for the catholic rent, and then emancipation followed! We ask, nay we claim, the prompt pecuniary aid of the bread-eaters of the kingdom, of whatever class, age, sect, or calling; we call on all to contribute towards the glorious object of untaxing the bread of the people, and striking the fetters from the industry of a great nation.'

The generous confidence and noble aims thus developed by the council of the League, were cordially embraced by the nation, and efforts were made to sustain the measures which circumstances suggested.

The principle of representation, so admirable *in theory*, as recognized in the British constitution, has been singularly popular and efficient in the movements of the League. Whatever their abstract opinions be of parliamentary suffrage or of the duration of parliaments, in the choice of delegates they have recognized *complete* suffrage, and in the period of their service they have not exceeded a year in duration. The *quasi* parliaments convened, for the abolition of the corn laws, by the League in London, have in many ways promoted the accomplishment of their object. The delegates have had a direct appointment from the people, immediate instructions from their constituents, and generally have had their expenses defrayed; they have made direct reports of procedure, and joined the community in carrying into effect their counsels. In this mode the London conventions of the League have fixed national attention on their proceedings, have extorted a consideration of their claims from a reluctant legislature, and have urged upon the ministers of the crown their responsibility and the consequences of indifference to the national welfare and public opinion. Publication has been multiplied to the extent of periodical literature, and the organs of every party in the press have been constrained to agitate, discuss, or denounce the claims of the League. A moral dignity, a benevolent aspect, a national character, and the grandeur of

noble and generous enterprise have been impressed on the combinations of the League by these annual convocations of the best, the most industrious and useful members of the community in the presence of the empire and the age. The senate has felt their influence, and monopoly has quailed before their intelligence and just demands. Every year has witnessed these moral triumphs, and exhibited the shrinking apprehensions of a once powerful oligarchy.

In 1840 the council of the League advanced with a bolder attitude, and increased its agency and operations. Preparations on a magnificent scale had been made in the midst of great *eclat* and excitement for a free trade banquet. The erection of a temporary pavilion in Manchester sufficient to accommodate four or five thousand persons, showed a determination and energy which would not yield to subordinate difficulties. The significant and elevated tone of preparation which was sustained preliminary to the meeting; the classes and character of the men who received and responded to the invitations of the council; and the enthusiasm and expectation which their arrangements excited to the remotest parts of the empire, gave auspicious omen of success. Three thousand five hundred gentlemen, and three hundred ladies assembled on the first evening; and mingled with a fervour and animation in the proceedings which gave sure presage of ultimate conquest. On the evening following, the 14th of January, 1840, five thousand persons of the operative classes assembled in the same hall to testify the sympathy and to pledge the co-operation of the masses in the generous and national conflict. When the affections of woman, and the solicitude and resources of the skilled artificer were once pledged to the cause, it was manifest that the triumph was only a question of time. The thousands who had assembled from a distance, representing every class, from the peerage to the peasantry, conveyed the impression and the impulse which they had received to the districts and spheres in which they usually moved; and their effort and ambition were directed to excite and ripen the mind of the people for union and combination in the speedy overthrow of monopoly, and the establishment of wise and equitable principles of national commerce. The *League* could now enlarge its field of operations. A greater number of lecturers was employed, and a wider range was occupied. The press was regarded with increasing confidence, and engaged in more discursive efforts. Pamphlets began to give place to tracts; and the distribution of these silent but insinuating messengers of free trade was directed to districts where lecturers could not find access. It was deemed desirable not only to enlighten manufacturers in the rights of their labour and the benefits of un-

restricted commerce; but also to instruct the agriculturist that as a nation could never prosper by inflicting injustice on any portion of the community, so they could not permanently profit by a system which injured their own customers and countrymen; that the prosperity of commerce would necessarily benefit agriculture and increase the market for its produce. Where they could be brought within the means of information the farmer and his servant were visited and taught. The apprehensions of the whig ministry that their antagonists would over-reach them and gain their places, were presumed to be the occasion of some suggested advances towards free trade in the shape of fixed duties and changes in the tariff. Reverses in trade, and the cry of want among the people; a falling revenue and changes in certain commercial treaties with the continent and America, the altered circumstances of the Canadian colonists and the West Indian interests, strengthened the new opinions and growing convictions of whig financiers, and corroborated the reasonings and representations of the leaguers. And at length, either as a last resort—a sort of death-bed repentance—or as the honest expression of enlarged principle and more enlightened judgment, the ministry proposed their *fixed duty* on corn, and their modification of discriminating duties on sugar, coffee, &c.

In a retrospect of the progress of free trade, justice demands a notice of what was done in parliament. The number of enlightened and effective advocates among our senators was small, and for some time their introduction of the subject upon the floor of the House of Commons was treated as a pragmatical crotchet, rather than as a wise deliberative appeal to the decision of the legislature. The sliding scale, or prohibitory duties, found some influential antagonists; but a prime minister fancied he could with impunity say that the statesman must be mad who could seriously propose the abolition of the corn laws. The Hon. C. P. Villiers did, however, stand forth generously and with moral fortitude, as a scion of the aristocracy and an aspirant for political influence, in vigorous and repeated attacks upon monopoly: urging the claims of freedom and the wisdom of abrogating all restrictions upon the interchange of British manufactures with the natural produce of other lands. Gentle by nature, and unassuming in manners, amidst all the blandishments of the fashionable coterie, and all the conventionalities of an unthinking but tyrant majority, he boldly shrunk not from the duties and position of leader in the forlorn hope of parliamentary free traders. Great, comprehensive principles, ardent and generous sympathy with the people, a philosophical apprehension of the wisdom of applying the maxims of equity in the national government, combined with a readiness to sacri-

fice partial interests in promoting the general welfare, have distinguished the political course, and especially the noble and faithful services to the cause of free trade rendered by the honorable member for Wolverhampton. Mr. Villiers was for a season the only representative of the League in the House. But an incident occurred which led the council to propose the increase of their parliamentary advocates. A vacancy occurred in Walsall, and a probability appeared that a free trade candidate might be successful. Though the effort threatened at first a collision with the liberal whigs, yet the principle was so vital and the question so urgent, that at the risk of alienating the whig aristocracy, the League determined to appear in the person of their chairman, J. B. Smith, Esq., to solicit the suffrage of the electors. The sympathy so spontaneously elicited from the voters in other boroughs, and the public excitement and anxiety expressed throughout the country about the issue, demonstrated the beneficial influence of the experiment. Mr. Smith was defeated, but the League obtained a moral triumph, and established and extended its reputation in the country. The cause of free trade made progress, and political partisans were taught a lesson which they could practically understand. The Walsall election was the beginning of the parliamentary career of the League. It was then fighting for its existence, and it fought tooth and nail; but it now fights with more assured might for ultimate success, and can take more time to measure and judiciously aim its blows. It has risen above the attempts to put it down, and its conduct may have acquired more character; but its adventure at Walsall was requisite to give it impetus and movement. It was an index that the controversy was about to agitate the constituencies, and place the parliamentary relations of political parties in a state of perilous transition. The *ci-devant* liberals had most reason to be apprehensive of the consequences among their supporters. Such considerations might influence their policy and produce the fixed duty of 8*s*. upon which an appeal was made to the country.

The election of 1841 was the response of the nation under adverse influences, and amidst inauspicious impressions. Monopoly desperately and unscrupulously roused its last energies to a death-like struggle, and sacrificed character and property to protract its selfish grasp. The FIXED DUTY was only a compromise, and the people doubted the sincerity of its advocates; while the proposition failed to elicit a cordial reception among the more intelligent and active of the free traders. At the most they regarded it only as a bit by bit reform not deserving, and therefore not securing for its authors any of the enthusiasm or generous sympathy of the nation. The principle of free trade

had been brought on the field, but deprived of the auspices and resources of any of the organized political parties, and avowed as the watchword only of those who were reputed extreme in opinions, and whose tactics in parliamentary warfare were novel, unskilled, and immature. The League planted their standard, therefore, only in a few of the boroughs, and chiefly in the circle of the manufacturing districts. Wolverhampton and Stockport, Bolton and Bury, Salford and Manchester, Sheffield and Walsall, Glasgow and Kilmarnock, Ashton and Greenock, triumphed against monopoly. Other places bravely fought, and honourably lost the victory. Some of the best advocates of free trade were excluded from the senate; but while Hull and Leeds failed to return Colonel Thompson and Joseph Hume, the League could boast of Villiers and Cobden, Bowring and Milner Gibson; and though in former parliaments only a few score could be persuaded *in the house* to vote along with Mr. Villiers in his motions of inquiry, the minority in this parliament have been increased to one hundred and thirty, who desire the emancipation of commerce from all restrictions, and a free exchange of our manufactures for the productions of all the countries of the world. Corn laws, fixed, or discriminative duties, and sliding scales, have been identified with an injurious and blindfold policy, with oppression and misrule. Politically and commercially such schemes had become palpably suicidal and ruinous: but it remained to brand them as impious and unjust, as violating moral precepts and warring with Christian principles and divine benevolence, as exhibited in the order of creation and the mutual dependence of mankind in every clime.

The momentary triumph of monopoly, and the fearful catastrophe which threatened soon to involve the commerce and happiness of all classes of the nation, excited the alarm and awoke the anxiety of the ministers of religion, especially amongst the multitudes who were most exposed to the misery and ruin which approached. A few of the most zealous yielded to the suggestion of one of their number, and met to consider the propriety of a ministerial conference on the subject of the corn-laws. The history of the convention which followed, is a chapter replete with interest and instruction in the annals of our times; and to have borne even the humblest part in its proceedings will be reckoned an honour, when all taxes on food are justly estimated by mankind. But the man who conceived and successfully developed the project—whose indefatigable and arduous labours were crowned with the consummation of his plan,—must have reaped a gratifying reward, when he witnessed the convention of seven hundred ministers, from all parts of the empire, to denounce the corn-laws; and in their sacred and benign character,

—in the presence of their God and before all men,—to protest against the cruelty which would tax the bread of the poor, either for national revenue or a landlord's rent; and the iniquity and presumption which would isolate nations from intercourse with each other in the fruits of God's earth, or the exchange of their several productions. The moral effect of this *conference* has continued to be felt; and its solemn denunciation of the impiety and ruthless selfishness which would restrict trade, diminish the market for labour, increase the price of food, and depreciate the wages of industry to aggrandize a small class of the people, sounded the knell of monopoly throughout the land. To the seven hundred and thirty who assembled, eight hundred more ministers were added, anxious to have their names recorded as approving of their object, and joining in their hostility to the obnoxious system. With few exceptions, these FIFTEEN HUNDRED servants of God were, by denomination, Dissenting ministers, who sympathized for their flocks, and in the fear of God allied themselves with the League. The week which was set apart in Manchester for this conference, and during which the most generous hospitality was exercised to the congregated strangers, proved the progress of the League, and authenticated their principles as consistent with God's word, and conducive to the highest interests of religion. A most valuable accession to the League was made in the name and personal influence of Earl Ducie, who attended the first session of the conference privately, but was ultimately so impressed with the moral and religious character of the question, that he publicly avowed his co-operation, and handsomely subscribed to aid in defraying the necessary expenses. When the ministers of religion returned to their homes and their flocks, the impulse was conveyed from Manchester to every district of the empire, and their people shared in the generous sympathies and enthusiasm which had been inspired by the counsels and proceedings of the conference.

Commercial experience, manufacturing industry, and mercantile intelligence—political philosophy and national patriotism —the highest morality and divine religion had now combined in a solemn league, and confederated their influence and resources not only to denounce, but also to destroy monopoly,—whether in its aggressions or in its strongholds. There remained, however, yet another element of social influence, powerful in its combinations—insinuating and soothing, though comparatively imperceptible, in its operations—tender in its most ardent sympathies, and generously benevolent in its choice of the objects of its compassion. Not always vested with facility and opportunity of utterance, but often most persuasive when under the constraints of silence, woman's power in society and in the

achievement of great and virtuous designs has not been measured, and cannot be resisted. But the chord was struck which vibrated to the inmost recesses of her soul, and a tone was given to her emotions which excited the highest aspirations of philanthropy, and the warmest solicitudes for alleviating the wretchedness of suffering humanity. With admirable tact and appropriate adaptation of duty to claims, measures were taken to bring woman's tenderness and resources, her resistless energies, and captivating influences, into alliance with the League. The programme of the national anti-corn law bazaar was submitted, and the co-operation of the ladies, both in Manchester and throughout the country, was decorously and respectfully solicited. Never was court and suit more generously and honourably responded to, or in love and courtesy more graciously fulfilled. The theatre was filled not as a stage for feminine display, for *legerte*, or the flippant mimicry of human sorrow, or hypocritical pretensions to sympathising grief and pageant charity. The pliant spindle, the skilful needle, the palette and the brush, had been wisely and well employed in useful garments—in variegated embroidery—in imitation of the beautiful tints of nature—in the expressions and symbols of music, poetry, and eloquence. The magnificent display of female skill, perseverance, and taste, which adorned the gorgeous scene—which appealed to the sympathies, attracted the admiration, and secured in purchases the liberal contributions of visitors, demonstrated how spontaneously and cheerfully the ladies of Britain had embraced the cause of the League, and had joined in the prayer of cheap bread for the poor—for the equitable policy which would give just remuneration to industry, and the rightful value to the *capital* of the poor as well as of the rich—of the peasant as of the peer. The clear receipts, ten thousand pounds, from the bazaar to the funds of the League, were the smallest part of the ladies' contribution. They had given their names, their sympathies, their association and fellowship to the cause of the poor—they had consecrated woman's power, dignity, and rights on the altar of their country, in furtherance of the cause of commercial freedom, and for the abrogation of all taxes on the food of the poor. The preliminary publication of their intentions, their efforts, and alliances, through the press of the empire, proclaimed their confederacy with the League, and they encountered the contumely and ribald reproach of a hireling press, or of the more degenerate and ruthless champions of oppression and monopoly. Henceforward it was manifest to what cause the suffrage and the service of English women were consecrated; and how extensively the advocates of free trade and humanity might rely on female constancy and support.

The basis had been enlarged, but to secure a speedy triumph to the League, a yet broader foundation was required. Theirs was the cause of the people and the co-operation of the people must be secured. The abrogation of corn laws and other legalised monopolies, could only be peacefully obtained through the legislature; and the members of the senate, in many instances, blinded or perverted through selfishness or political predilections, could only be moved or instructed through their constituencies. The electoral suffrage appeared, therefore, the instrument which the League should immediately bring into tune, and harmonize with the dictates of sound philosophy, and the principles of free trade. But it must not be a collision of interests, a strife between agriculture and manufacture, between the spade and the loom. It must be rendered evident, that the cry of free trade arose from a sense of justice and reciprocal interest, from a conviction, that as all were now suffering under the operation of monopoly, and were participating in the baneful effects of the obnoxious principle in our social system, so all would share in the benefits accruing from the application of the antidote—that if one member rejoiced, all the members should rejoice with it; that if manufactures flourished, the agriculturist would prosper; and that the agricultural labourer could not continue prosperous unless the millions engaged in manufacturing industry, had employment at remunerative prices. The council of the League. comprehended their position and their mission; and with stedfast purpose they resolved upon their course. They had funds, and they had the moral courage requisite for the enterprize. To shew that they desired to welcome and accommodate the masses of the people, and identify them as part of the League, the Free Trade Hall at Manchester was erected, not at the expense of foreign contributors, but from the resources of a local association; and its portals were thrown open to the assembling of many thousands at a time, of the operative classes. The spectacle of such a congregated host, enthusiastically united in the pursuit of one great national good, was magnificent and exhilarating. It inspired the leaders in their further course; gave impetus and continuousness to their more distant efforts, and served as a burning altar whence they might re-kindle their exhausted energies and flagging spirits. The qualification for membership was popularized. Reduced to a registration-shilling, it was accessible to the humblest mechanic; and made the rich and the poor meet together as brethren, and work as equal members of the same generous confederacy. They felt themselves placed in the presence of the nation, bearing a common standard, and fighting for their own father land. They became united, responsible and attached as a solemn league, covenanted

not to weaken or impede their separate or combined exertions, for the overthrow of giant monopoly. The League has never been divided or split into factions by quarrels, petty jealousies, or rival pretensions. Their adversaries have never been able to divide, and then to conquer them. They have no creed but *free trade;* and no weapon but the tongue, the pen, and the printing press; they have no means but the voluntary contributions of their supporters. Their numbers are as the waves of the sea; their union and force, as the undivided and swelling tide. But other means yet remain, to be sketched or alluded to, that the great moral and social lesson taught by the League, may be appreciated, and our purpose in presenting this survey may be fulfilled. In the progress of the agitation, qualified and willing agents were discovered and employed. The League never made a situation for a protegé, or created a place for a favourite. Yet, whenever they perceived an agent likely to be efficient, they secured his services. Their lecturers were increased in number; and by experience and collision, acquired greater adaptation for the places they filled. Nor was the office of lecturer suffered to degenerate into the drudgery of a menial, or the hackneyed homage of a hireling. Men of the greatest influence in the council, and who had attained the utmost eminence as politicians and statesmen, went forth in this enterprize; and counted it no disparagement to labour to dispel the darkness and obtuse ignorance of peasants; or answer the cavilling conceits of pert demagogues and adventurers. Richard Cobden, John Bright, Colonel Thompson, J. S. Buckingham, Arch. Prentice, R. R. Moore, and Henry Ashworth, T. Bazley, the Rev. T. Spencer, and others, have filled the lecturer's desk, and occupied the platform in debate against the advocates of corn laws. But another department gave scope for more deliberate and mature service; and was occupied most efficiently. The PRIZE ESSAYS, brief, pointed and pungent, for the instruction of farmers, and the popular diffusion of correct principles among the rural population, were well timed, and proved a judicious and beneficial effort. Besides the successful essayists, other pens were employed, 'Reuben,' and 'One who has whistled at the Plough,' sometimes in one character and sometimes in another, with other reporters for the League, and correspondents of the press, penetrated rural obscurity, and laid bare landlord oppression, and the subterfuges of monopoly. While material was thus furnished for the periodical press, or as a supply for tract distribution; the *electoral packets,* sent often by post, but more frequently conveyed by trustworthy messengers, diffused, where lecturers could not come, or meetings could not be convened, information and excited inquiry, which caused the monopolist to tremble, where he could ill-conceal

his chagrin, or counteract the agitation. Men have traversed the country quietly, from one county to another; their names not appearing, and their obscurity escaping suspicion, for months and longer; and whose only traces have been anti-corn law tracts, the awakening inquiries, the growing convictions, and the frank and well-considered avowal of free trade principles, when their utterance was least expected, among masses of the population in town and country; while the journals of such *Colporteurs* have conveyed to the council of the League, a full and intimate knowledge of the state of every district. They can tell when and where there is the probability of success in a vacant borough. They will soon also know the exact condition of the parliamentary registration, and upon what the issues of the controversy may depend. The first £50,000. were thus expended; the second great League fund of £100,000. will provide for the same warfare. The first sum was more than contributed and employed. The second and greater fund will also be raised and faithfully expended in the achievement of this great conquest.

Of the philosopher and the statesmen, this '*great fact*' demands special consideration, and we shall now proceed to give a further analysis of the *moral* agency, thus created and applied. The skill, efficiency, and extraordinary popular influence acquired by the leaders may make political partizans jealous, and awaken apprehensions in conservative minds. The League is composed of men, naturally as other men, fond of power, and subject to the temptation of becoming ambitious. They have evinced talents and aptitude for public business; and the popularity which they have acquired, may easily be rendered subservient to ulterior objects. Their occupation will not only train them for greater facility in the management of aggregate masses of their fellow men, but also for greater sympathy with a position and influence in public life. They are passing through a normal school, and have already proved themselves apt scholars. The system which they assail requires not merely familiarity with great and comprehensive principles, hostile to all monopolies alike, and the rigid application of those principles in matters affecting the *property* of the nation; but it also developes the operation of congenial evils, whether for illustration or to enforce the conclusions of their argument. They are led to associate *virtue* with the demolition of legalized and antiquated institutions. The disposition which would tolerate or conserve time-honoured associations and practices is supplanted by the more severe and judicial spirit of the reformer; who would overturn whatever might obstruct improvement or the amelioration of society. The men of the League mingle and sympathize with the middle classes, who having in many instances themselves passed

through the transition state, have few prejudices and predilections for the antique or the venerable. The corn laws are a grievance; an enormous grievance, which is daily rendered more notorious and formidable. It is not consecrated by time or any endearing superstitions, farther than the hereditary reputation of the landlords; while public writers of every class admit the bad odour in which the system is held, and none dare venture unreservedly to defend its legislation. Nobles and statesmen ascribe the continuance of such laws to the sordid avarice of our senate houses; and among the middle classes a most diligent and impartial scrutiny would discover none but repealers of the corn laws. Yet in the esteem of the ardent advocates of repeal, the men, the legislation, and the laws which tend so manifestly to mar the prosperity of the nation, are identified with other monopolies, and especially such monopolies as are presumed to bias the minds of public or official characters who uphold, or tacitly sanction, the restrictions on commerce and food. The exertions of the League may yet realize, for the nation and the time, the overthrow of more things than of the corn-laws. It is neither a religious denomination, nor a party held together for political theories, and the interests of whig or tory. It contains churchmen and dissenters of every shade; and is a combination of every class of politicians; whig, tory, radical, complete and universal suffragists. But it is neither a church, nor a conservative association. The objects of the League may be found at the very antipodes of these denominations, and its advocates may learn some *inconvenient* lessons from a frequent resort to such quarters for the benefit so eagerly desired. Such considerations do not alarm us—but far-sighted and sagacious statesmen, and ecclesiastics, would do well for their own presumed interests, to consider this aspect and operation of the League. It has already been observed by a shrewd organ of no revolutionary party; 'Any more years spent in exhibiting the strength of agitation, and the weakness of authority, is eminently dangerous to the monarchy and the institutions of Great Britain. It is not the League which is half so dangerous as the foundations of the League. They rest upon the privations and sufferings of the nation—in the virtue and enthusiasm of a people, who never fixed their affections on any object without success. The Saxon character does not degenerate, and will be too much for the corn laws or the minister who palters to their maintenance.' The question is started as to the *prospective* objects of the League—'Does any one suppose, that if much longer resisted, they will confine themselves to *commercial* agitation?' We might respond —the League, as such, can not for an instant entertain any other object. But we cannot promise, that Friend Bright, who has

mainly annihilated church rates at Rochdale, and twenty others as decided in opinion as he, will cease their conflict with monopoly when the corn laws are entombed. The habits of the leaguers must, however, be remembered. They abjure a sole allegiance to professional chairs, or political lecturers. Quotations from M'Culloch and Ricardo, only serve to point their arguments. They have confidently approached the electoral bodies; Durham, London, Kendal, and Salisbury, have felt their sway. They propose, and virtually nominate; they are even said to dictate candidates to vacant boroughs. They have gained a point where their interference is considered not in the light of an impertinence, but as an obligation. The continuance of such an association for twelve months, may well alarm the apprehensions of partizan politicians, and such as have served as janizaries under the banner of the strongest. Power always employs itself; the power of the League must now increase with its progress; bad trade will strengthen its popularity, good trade will replenish its resources; and such power will necessarily contemplate other objects, and speculate on probable success.

The condition into which the League has brought the public mind of the present age, is no less a matter of deep interest and anxiety. It is not merely the influence which Messrs. Cobden, Bright, Wilson, and their colleagues are able to exert; but it is the popular appetite for such influence which they have created. Multitudes in every district meet for anti-corn law discussions, as if it were a business of personal interest. They assemble not to hear eloquence or stirring flights of oratory: the characteristics of the League speeches are matters of fact, solid argument, and most dispassionate discussion, with the usual accessory of monetary appeals. Merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers flock to such meetings, for the express purpose of appropriating their wealth to the cause, with as much alacrity as if it were but a profitable investment of their capital. The weekly revenue of the League, and the monthly receipts of its treasurer, possess more interest than does the quarter's revenue of the chancellor of the exchequer; and while from the odious income tax there is a small increase in the coffers of the latter, the annual amount of the former is doubled from the free-will offerings of the people; while the benefactions of absent, retired, and anonymous contributors, are poured in from every quarter. The peerage has sent its most honourable representatives to do homage to the League: the Hon. C. P. Villiers, Lords Kinnaird, Ducie, Radnor, Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and Westminster, count it no dishonour to be identified with this confederacy, and to contribute to its success. Thousands of the *elite*, the intelligence, the virtue, the enterprise and capital of our most pop-

ulous cities and boroughs mingle in the resolute and progressive course of the League. Scotland, with her hardy and instructed children—the metropolis equally with the provinces—the merchants as well as the manufacturers—traders as well as mechanics—the sire and the beardless youth—tender woman and laborious manhood,—are all moved and animated by its success, its achievments, and its aggregate assemblages. Farmers and farm-labourers, doubtfully and with hesitation, approach the scenes of discussion and combination: they linger at a distance, are charmed within the circle, and gradually their hostility is removed, their admiration is matured, and the convictions of their more enlightened judgment lead them to acquiescence in the justice and expediency of a final settlement of the disputed question. At length all classes are coming to acknowledge that it is by the measures which the League pursues, we may expect peacefully and wisely to effect national changes and improvements, and to remove other abuses as well as the corn-laws—other monopolies besides that in land or corn. The suffrage movement, as well as ecclesiastical controversy—freedom for conscience as well as for trade—the abolition of all encroachments on liberty, or the maintenance of the divine prerogatives, and the extension of a liberal and correct system of popular education, can only be secured by the confederacy and co-operation of their several advocates, on principles analogous to and sanctioned by the Anti-corn law League.

A little more, definitely and for a moment, it may be useful to exhibit an analysis of the present position of the League. Their influence upon the suffrages of the electoral body is not only a symptom of their power, but an efficient means to the attainment of their object. They have never entered on an electoral contest without *promoting* their cause. A defeat has been turned to account as well as a victory. Walsall lost, was of greater advantage than Walsall gained. Salisbury created a greater sympathy in all parts of the country, and more widely diffused their principles, though lost for a season, than did the success at Kendal. London was an unmixed triumph; and, as became the capital, sounded forth from the metropolis to the most distant province the energy, vigour, indomitable resolution, and the almost omnipotent resources of the League. Were it possible that the petitioning tories of Durham could for an hour unsettle Mr. Bright, and cause a new election, it may prove as another Cannæ for the knights and nobles of monopoly. The leaguers will rather contend among the Alps than luxuriate at Capua. They court the battle-field and hardy conflict, rather than a Fabian policy. Every electoral field, therefore, which opens to them will they occupy, and by every collision with monopoly

will they seek the victory of truth and free trade. But the electoral power will be proved in another direction. The expenditure of means upon the *collective* representation of the kingdom has been inadequately requited by the response which the house of commons has given to the petitions of three millions and a half against the corn-laws. The League will not unnecessarily squander their resources: they will reach their antagonists individually, and thin their ranks by processes in detail. Without a new election or a dissolution of the house, they have the power in numerous cases, and they are acquiring it in many more, to bring the member into an immediate consciousness of his responsibility to his constituents. A remonstrance may not be addressed to the house, because of its privilege; there is no such impunity for the individual representative; and the power of the League may be thus felt where it is least dreaded. Such significant admonitions will grow in efficacy as the septennial circle approaches completion, when they will not be found a mere *brutum fulmen*.

The position which the League occupy in relation to the diurnal, weekly, and periodical press, is another symbol of their character, and another element of their power. Seventy-four pages in the Quarterly, even for abuse, is no despicable compliment; the monthly diatribes of Blackwood; the dolorous and deprecatory tirades in ecclesiastical journals; the would-be witty and sneering pasquinades in the John Bull and the Britannia; the vituperation of the Standard, the Post, and of the haughty Times, are only evidences that they would fail, as organs of their party, if they did not chronicle the movements and measures, however hateful, of the League. They, as well as the liberal journals, must now, without fee or perquisite, report the banquets and grand musterings of the free traders, and by special messengers, expresses and correspondents, watch their proceedings at the canvass and election contests. The most exclusive and haughty of conservative journals must give currency to speeches and sentiments obnoxious to their party and injurious to their representatives in power.

It would be a delusion to imagine that the whole executive of the League is located or resident in Manchester. Not only has London its offices and meetings of the council, its centre of operation, and powers of action; but principal and influential members, whose counsels are received and whose co-operation is necessary for all great emergencies, are found at Leeds and Liverpool, at Birmingham and Bradford, at Derby and Doncaster, at Carlisle and Colchester, at Bristol and Bath, at Durham and Salisbury, at Southampton and Nottingham, in Scotland and Ireland—east, west, north, and south. Lancashire has been

most prolific in men and money, in action and demonstrations; but the League is no monopoly; wherever the work is done, or by whomsoever effected, the end of the association is answered. Manchester has contributed from within its own locality £20,000 during the last four months; Ashton upwards of £4000; Rochdale more than £3,000; Liverpool above £6,000; Oldham, Bury, Bolton, &c., in Lancashire £6,000 more. Yorkshire has already doubled its contributions; Scotland is coming up; and London will soon equal in its increase any other city. Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire have generously reciprocated the liberal efforts; Northumberland will not fail in the noble enterprise; the parts of Cheshire, and the sea-ports of Durham will demonstrate the sympathy of all places and classes in the resolution to overturn the tax upon food. The assemblage of thousands in Glasgow and Edinburgh, in Dundee and Perth, in Greenock and Leith, in Paisley and Aberdeen, in the rural as well as manufacturing districts of Scotland, when pecuniary assistance is the object of solicitude, warrants the conclusion that the *money power* of the League is equal to any emergency which may arise; and gives assurance that banded as is the monopolist confederacy, there is certainly a prospect of its proximate and total overthrow, and the substitution of equal laws for the manufacturing capitalist and the industrious mechanic; for agricultural enterprise and peasant labour.

The *anti-league* movement projected and ostentatiously paraded, forms no discouraging ingredient, and threatens no serious delay to the triumph of free trade. The anti-corn law league could have desired no more auspicious omen; and can welcome no more acceptable associate and coadjutor than an *open* confederacy of advocates and promoters of discussion on the principles and claims of monopoly in food. Whatever will promote discussion and secure a full investigation of the principles involved in the controversy and develope their operation, must advance the progress of truth and hasten the satisfactory settlement of the claims advocated by the League. They are more than lovers of and inquirers after truth; they believe they have already established the justice of their principles, and ascertained that they are invulnerable to every assault. They will therefore hail as an accession the new-born association for the *protection of the home producer*. They will rather help than seek to prevent an inquiry into the *claims and burdens of land*; and the peculiar immunities, superior to those shared by the manufacturers, which the landholders should in justice and wisdom enjoy. These anti-League associations must, however, be very distinctly, *bona fide*, for the defence of the agriculturist, and not political alliances only, for Sir R. Peel's Government. The

suspicion that they are ministerial clubs and partisan stratagems to ensnare the farmers and secure a little prolonged support to the falling fortunes of the premier, will not do much damage to the League. The tariff has already awoke not a few of this class to the value of an income tax and the probity of the great statesman; and such a *ruse* will deceive but few. These associations, whether ministerial or not, must avoid direct antagonism with the League or any professed opposition to plain principles and common sense. If they begin to measure swords with the free-traders, and to pitch the battle in argument with the leaguers, they may find themselves in a wrong position and have to contend with fearful odds. The monopolists have never been very confident of the reasonableness or truth of their demands and their politics. They are inexperienced and unprepared for the controversy. Organization, resources, and the sympathy of the multitude, effect wonders in a great undertaking. Correspondents and articles in newspapers may be easily procured; meetings and fabrications may be prepared; but their auditory must be convened, and a *public* must be found who will read or believe their falsehoods and perversions. The organization and command of the country which the League has now acquired enables them to send, in one day, 5,000 communications to a borough in which a vacancy is expected; and in another day, 17,000 packets to a *county*, where a misrepresentation or an argument is to be refuted; and every recipient of these communications has been ascertained to be an elector or an influential member of the community. They have the General Post Office subject to their influence; whether in the metropolis or the provinces; whether to work a London election or expose a landlord's perversion of the truth. We do not think, therefore, the new protection clubs will otherwise influence the League than to increase its efficiency and augment its resources; to extend its power and hasten its triumph. The League is proof against all monopolist strategy; whether conducted by a Ferrand, a Baker, or a Chaplin.

The success which has attended the proceedings of this association augurs well for its final triumph; the speedy progress which in a few years it has attained, sanctions the most sanguine expectation of an early denouement to the struggle. We believe it is almost within the control of the council whether to precipitate a crisis in the country in the session of 1844; to wait on the chapter of unforeseen coincidences during another year, or to effect a *coup d'état* after next summer's registration. The last would be the most politic, deliberate, and conclusive; and if the impatient eagerness of some more ardent spirits can be

restrained, and the existence of the Peel cabinet can be tolerated by the country so long, the tax on bread and restrictions on trade will be thus most effectually doomed and destroyed. The people will be prepared, the electoral community will be organized, and the leaguers will be better schooled and matured in the tactics of agitation, for other greater and more theoretic modifications of our national institutions. It is possible her Majesty's opposition, the loyal Whigs, may think this too long a delay; but the council of the League has never contended for a party, and does not *now* minister to nominal liberalism. Mohammed must come to the mountain. The fixed duty advocates have no alternative to the recreations enjoyed while 'out,' but in an abandonment of their half-way policy and an honest and hearty adoption of the whole doctrine of the Anti-corn-law League. Free trade in corn must become the Whig war-cry, otherwise they lose the enthusiastic sympathies of the people, so long their heir-loom and support, and the diminution of their party will grow daily more apparent and disheartening. Every convert to free trade will widen the chasm between them and place, and render less probable their continuance as a political power. Perhaps the discerning but obdurate adherents of the name may therefore make a desperate effort to overturn the Peel cabinet in the proximate session, and by assaults on the suicidal Irish policy of the ministry, in concurrence with some administrative crisis in Ireland, they may succeed in seizing the reins of government and suspending the more energetic and deliberate operations of the League. This is an evil more to be deprecated than dreaded; for the Whigs know their party is insufficient without the confidence of the free-traders; and their ascent to power, in hostility to the policy of the League, would not promise permanency in place or ability to govern the country, or eventually to suppress the supremacy of the principles avowed by the strongest section of reformers in the country. Should therefore an Irish accident or blunder terminate the sway of the present incapable and mischievous administration, it will be one of the triumphs of the anti-monopolists to prevent the mistakes of Lord John Russell and his adherents, in prescribing terms or imposing restrictions. We feel assured the council of the League cannot for a moment listen to the proposition of any policy less liberal than free trade in corn and an entire abrogation of all prohibitory or discriminating duties on any article of merchandize of foreign growth.

The leaders of this movement *have* acquired, not merely a sense of their power, but consummate skill in the direction and wielding of it. The teachers in this great school of agitation *have* taught themselves many valuable lessons. Unity of purpose,

unity of action, and singleness of object, with an entire absence of partisan subserviency, and a self-renunciation in pursuit of a public good, which is devoted in the extreme, are maxims not only recorded in their manual of ethics, but elements essential to their expectations of success. Their addresses to agriculturists have not been mere invectives against error, but arguments for conversion, conducted with more than cleverness and point, with logical precision and persuasive sincerity; so that the mischievous misrepresentations that the advocates of free trade were the enemies of the agricultural interest have been swept off from every ingenuous mind. Quackery has been denounced severely, but the idea of ill-will to the patient has been obliterated from the mind of the sufferer. We adopt in these assertions the concessions of the most classical, the most deliberate, and clear-sighted among the organs of the Whig party. And to the Whig aristocracy, were we of their counsels, we would deduce this lesson.—If you wish to rally a vital, healthy, and enduring party; if you wish to wear unsullied the distinctions of your class, and to be again powerful for the defence of constitutional liberty and popular freedom; if you desire to re-invigorate your baronial titles and influence; if you covet the leadership in the high places of the field, among the multitudes of generous hearts for the honour of the British crown, the safety of the throne, and the glory and prosperity of a faithful and rejoicing people, throw yourselves at once, promptly and frankly, without reserve and without conditions, into the advanced ranks of the free trade column. See how Lords Ducie and Kinnaird, young men: see how Earls Radnor and Fitzwilliam are venerated and beloved; see how Earl Spencer and the Marquis of Westminster have been embraced, and how their good deeds have been magnified. The success of the cause—as it may be identified with your honour—as it may be achieved through your instrumentality—be conducive to your more extended reputation—DEPENDS ON YOUR PROCEEDINGS DURING THE SESSION OF 1844. Let this be your *lustration:* immortalize your name; and by deeds worthy of high renown, evoke the prayer from acclaiming multitudes, '*esto perpetua.*'

We have one parting word for the leaders of another body, not yet a confederacy, or a League, or anything, much more adhesive than a rope of sand. The dissenters of England have numbers, resources, principles, and energy, which would suffice for the greatest emergency. Let them ponder the sketch we have presented, not only of the council, but of the operations of the League. They have here scope and verge enough for example and encouragement. We do not, and with our convictions we cannot, counsel them to refrain from co-operation, or by

dividing *action on the public mind*, to paralyze or diminish their own influence and progress. We would not even countenance any collateral or contemporaneous agitation, so as to distract attention from the claims of free trade, or to postpone the triumphs of the League. But we mark the obvious fact that, in the course of events, the sphere of operations occupied by this powerful confederacy is altogether removed from the channel in which ecclesiastical controversy must flow. There is, moreover, much preliminary discussion and arrangement, much preparation and subsoil ploughing, much subservient and unostentatious labour required before the dissenters can assume a position that will either relax the intense sympathy of the country with the League, or obstruct its onward and victorious movement. When dissenters are prepared wisely and vigorously to take the field, the free trade agitation will have achieved its conquest, and dissenting Leaguers will be released from all restraints to their zealous and efficient co-operation, for the repeal of all laws infringing the liberty of conscience, and taxing the bread of life, in the shape of church establishments or of national, and, therefore, unrighteous and unchristian endowment for any religious sects. The cause of the League is the cause of dissenters; the prosperity of the League promises free scope for dissenting principles: the triumph of the League will be the dawn of just religious equality and universal freedom. Let dissenters, therefore, co-operate with, and imitate the League. Let them advance its efficiency and follow its action, by becoming A FREE CHURCH LEAGUE!

Art. VI. *A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Rev. John Foster, late of Stapleton, near Bristol; preached at Broadmead, Bristol, Oct.* 22, 1843, *by Thos. S. Crisp.* London: Ward and Co.

IT was said of the grandest intellectual change that ever passed upon the universal mind of man, that it came not with observation. To this great principle innumerable analogies are suggested by the ordinary experience of mankind. The gradual and silent character of the process, is ever proportionate to the depth, the universality, and the permanence of the result. Just thus the seasons change without a perceptible bounding line—the grand processes of nature elude observation, and

> 'Waters that babble, on their way proclaim
> Their shallowness, while in their strength deep streams
> Flow silently.'

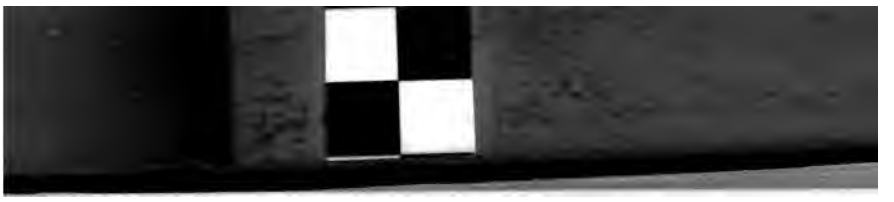
And thus it is with all operations of which that strange thing,

which we call mind, is the subject. The results of those processes, indeed, become manifest enough in altered conditions of the world itself. Power and subservience, influence and insignificance, whether seen in the great social body or in the individual character, are with all their indefinite consequences, but the efflorescence of seeds sown in secret, and grown in silence. To their slowness we may apply the illustration of Dr. South, drawn from the rapidity of the lightning: 'we cannot say it lightens, but only it has lightened.' Of all the sublimer operations of creative power, transient or permanent, we realize only the results and can only infer the process.

This, however, is especially true of those great changes which pass from time to time upon the mind of society. The law which revolutionizes individual character in an instant, is never brought to bear upon the social mind. The selected individual is made the sower, but the seed springs up while men sleep. Hence, perhaps, it is, that in all ages the renovators of their fellow-men have been but ill appreciated during their lives, and half-deified by idolatrous monuments, and still more idolatrous tradition, long after they have accomplished as hirelings, their day.

We doubt not, that this law will receive another corroborative example, in the case of that extraordinary man by whose lamented decease, the intellectual world has sustained a loss, of which it need not fear a repetition. Few distinguished men have been less known during the prime of their lives, than John Foster. The only obvious reason for this was, that cast of intellectual character and sentiment, which led him to prefer the closest seclusion; and, indeed, to immure himself in an almost monastic retirement. It will be our business hereafter, to adduce some other causes why, one of the most singular and powerful minds that have illustrated the present age, was distinguished by so little of that popular notoriety, which attaches to the ordinary class of conventionally great men.

The faculties first developed in the individual, and in the social mind, are those which are strictly *perceptive*. Thus the acquisition of facts, precedes the formation of theories and laws. Hence, too, the mechanical arts will flourish, in those ages which precede the daylight of philosophy. So, also, the first efforts of the philosophic spirit, have regard to the phenomena of nature, and the uses with which they are pregnant to the service of man. And even the efforts of fancy which are earliest developed in the social, as in the individual mind, are found to have a chief reference to the material sublime, and to the sentimental delineation of the great and the beautiful in external nature; while the delineation of the intrinsic, and the mental, is left to the



more adult ages of the world. Thus, while Herodotus prattles, and Homer paints, and both with a wild and tender charm which has never been surpassed; it has been left to far later writers to stir the depths of human feeling, to paint the pictures of many-coloured life; and thus, while exhausting worlds in observation, to develope analogous creations in fancy.

To such classifications of natural objects, and to such fanciful delineations of them, succeeded in the course of ages, that philosophy which was to combine them under laws. Yet, even these laws, partook of the infantile character of the social mind. There was in the scholastic systems which swayed the intellectual world until a comparatively recent date, a natural, and almost a necessary childishness. Induction and generalization, were comparatively unknown; pre-conception and fancy, supplied the place of experience, and of the only true philosophy. It was for our own immortal countryman, Lord Bacon, to supersede these vague and groping systems of false philosophy, by enacting, almost with the authority of law, the only true system of attaining to universal truth. Yet, even Bacon, though he might seem to have been raised and appointed to trim the lamps of universal science, shared the fate of those prophets, who, disregarded in their own country and in their own time, were destined to receive their meed of veneration in those distant days, when popular experience had established the truths they taught. The new philosophical instrument, however, which Lord Bacon had invented, though certainly of universal application, was for ages chiefly employed either in purely physical investigation, or in such enquiries in intellectual science, as terminated almost entirely on simple classification.

To these naturally succeeded, more practical enquiries into the principles of moral science. And perhaps nothing can indicate more unequivocally, the absence of deep and steady thinking upon the moral constitution and duties of man, than the strangely abortive and contradictory systems of opinion, which then gained, and still retain the sway among the students of ethics. One holds, that all is for the best, and that individual actions are comparatively indifferent. A second holds, that actions universally regarded as immoral, are innocent if performed in secresy, so that no pain may accrue to individuals, and no inconvenience to society at large. A third maintains, that the moral character of all human conduct is dependent on the expediency, or inexpediency of such conduct, if generally pursued. While a fourth lays down the precepts of scripture as the sole rule of morals to all mankind;—'et ad huc sub judice lis est.'

We may well adopt the characteristic language of the author, whose genius and writings are now under consideration, while

sitting in imagination among the stores of literature he had collected around him. 'Within these assembled volumes, how many errors in doctrine may there not be maintained—how many bad practical principles palliated, justified, or displayed in seductive exemplification—how many good ones endeavoured to be supplanted—how many absurdities and vain fancies set forth as plausible. Is it not as if the intellect of man had been surrendered to be the sport of some malicious and powerful agent, who could delight in playing it through all traverses, freaks, and mazes of fantastic movement—mocking at its self-importance, diverted at its follies, gratified most of all when it is perverted to the greatest mischief and malignity, and providing for the perpetuation of the effect of all this through subsequent time, by instigating the ablest of the minds thus sported with, to keep their own perversions in operation on posterity through the instrumentality of their books? If such a thing might be as the intervention of the agency of a better and more potent intelligence, to cause, by one instantaneous action on all these books, the obliteration of all that is fallacious, pernicious, or useless in them, what millions of pages would be blanched in our crowded libraries!'

It has been reserved for a still later age to advance beyond all these investigations, and to treat, as the highest of all subjects, on the cultivation of the intellect itself. Mankind had long been taught to do everything but to think, and the incalculable differences of opinion which have obtained in the world—the rise and fall of scholastic systems—the jargon of disputants—and the triumph of error by immense numerical majorities,—all these have been dependant on the absence of that grandest and yet simplest of arts, the art of thinking. This may indeed be designated with far deeper truth, and far stronger emphasis, than Bacon himself intended, the PRIMA PHILOSOPHIA. The system which the great inductive philosopher vaguely foreshadowed to himself under this imposing name, was only one which should combine all sciences under certain great and comprehensive analogies: but that of which we speak is one which should qualify the mind to perceive those analogies, and to bring all subjects to the final test of certain elemental principles.

Of this last class of intellectual and moral philosophers, in the most emphatic sense of those terms, John Foster may be regarded as the modern, if not the only leader. He has fulfilled for the class of thinkers the same high functions which Lord Bacon performed with relation to philosophers, and which Bentham, and perhaps Macintosh, performed with respect to jurists and political reasoners. Beneath the veil of a most elaborate and yet transparent tissue of style, the workings of a mighty

mind on the most abstract and elemental subjects are seen in the writings of Mr. Foster. Indeed, throughout his works, he indicates the right employment of reason, not so much by precept as by example—the very soul of the writer is seen beneath his majestic style, labouring in processes to which the fabled Vulcan forging in volcanic depths the thunderbolts of Jove, supplies but a meagre and vulgar illustration. Had the conceptions of Shakspeare been ostensibly philosophical, instead of being essentially imaginative, and philosophical only by inference, they might, in our opinion, have been ranked in the same category with those purely intellectual creations of John Foster, in which perfect originality contends for our admiration with the deepest wisdom and the most enchanting fancy.

It has been common with those who are only qualified to derive their opinions from personal observation, and who are unaccustomed both to generalize and to reflect, to condemn all those abstract principles which, from their very abstractness and consequent comprehensiveness, admit of universal application, under the conveniently opprobrious designation of theory,—little thinking, meanwhile, that what they are despising is only, in point of fact, the essential principle of truth expressed from the mass of common experience. In this ignorant and short-sighted notion is, perhaps, involved the true cause of nine-tenths of the errors abroad in society. The diversities of individual experience are obviously infinite, and error is correspondingly infinite, when no higher standard than individual experience is referred to. But truth is one and uniform, and that oneness and uniformity can only be derived from that which comprehends all the diversities of personal experience, which harmonizes their varieties, and condenses a result which, under the despised name of theory, becomes the essence and the element of universal truth. The tendency of the writings of Mr. Foster is to the elaboration of this element—not to improve the machinery of logic, but rather to supply a primum mobile to the entire mechanism of mind, which may lead it to the attainment of the grandest purposes to which it is destined alike by its intrinsic powers and by the irreversible will of its Creator.

If those who have wrought more obviously practical changes on the popular mind have attracted comparatively little attention during the labours of a life, it need scarcely be matter of wonder that one who, like John Foster, thought and wrote for futurity, should be anything but the idol of his day. None but minds of a somewhat high intellectual order would even relish, to say nothing of appreciating, such writings as his. While the erroneous notion generally entertained, and which he set himself to rebuke and put down, would necessarily array against

him the prejudices of the great majority of society. For example, he commenced his career in times when a bold opposition to things, as they are, was regarded as little less than criminal. Yet there was scarcely one of the cardinal arrangements of society then existing, which was not either battered by his arguments or lashed by his satire. Again: he lived in an age when popular education was only commencing—when that cause was obnoxious alike to the pride, the fears, and the ignorant selfishness of the age. Of that now all-absorbing subject, he may be regarded as almost the originator. Since in his extraordinary essay on Popular Ignorance, he was probably the first to lay bare the whole extent of the evil—to point out its ramifications of mischief, striking into every vital interest of man—boldly developing its necessity solely for the purposes of political and spiritual despotism—and tearing away the grave and sanctimonious mask of self-styled wisdom and prudence, by which the baseness of rulers was concealed, and through which the destruction of the people was perpetuated.

At the period referred to, nonconformity was almost universally despised. Its adherents were commonly regarded as divided between infidels and fanatics. The established church, popularly regarded as sacred throughout, and inviolable, even to its most insignificant corruptions, was deemed the sole depositary of Christian truth in the world. To reverence and obey its priests was thought to be a sort of third table of the law. While to hold any thing like communion or even sympathy with the dissenters was deemed sufficient to unchristianize any man, or at least to constitute him ceremonially unclean, and to consign him to the limbo of the 'uncovenanted mercies.'

We must not be understood as intimating that this is altogether matter of history in the present day. We find not a few surviving representatives of this regime, though chiefly to be found at the two extremes of the ecclesiastical scale; plethoric bishops and pluralists at the top, and very ignorant and hair-brained curates at the bottom—the former a class that cannot afford to think, and the latter one whose responsibilities nature has mercifully abridged by denying them the power. It is just possible that Voltaire had the church of England immediately in view when he characterized our nation as resembling their own porter butts, froth at top—dregs at bottom—in the middle (by French courtesy) excellent. In order to arrive at a just estimate of the state of things which prevailed when Mr. Foster and others had to lead the battle of dissent, the reader must imagine the middle class to which we have alluded, and which is of subsequent growth, annihilated, and the two extreme classes occupying the whole extent of the clerical body.

Perhaps, since the days of John Milton there has not lived a more uncompromising nonconformist than John Foster. In his writings he never neglected a suitable opportunity of advocating the rights of conscience; and of scattering in the minds of his readers those philosophic principles by the light of which the whole system of ecclesiastical coercion—the very theory of establishing any doctrines or opinions by legislative authority, would be seen to be as utterly absurd as any superstition that ever seized upon the minds of the most uncultivated tribes of men. The more religious aspects of this question were, in his just estimation, far too grave and solemn for the application of ridicule; but those who were privileged to enjoy the society of Mr. Foster will not readily forget the perfect tempest of scornful satire with which he would sometimes assail the secular inconsistencies and corruptions of the hierarchy, or such absurdities of ecclesiastical doctrine or practice as were too gross for such a mind as his to condescend to discuss.

To complete the climax of his fanatical opposition to things as they were, he was one of the most devoted advocates of Christian missions. At the time when this mighty enterprise was popularly looked upon as the ephemeral crotchet of a few well meaning but ignorant persons, Mr. Foster threw into it all the force of his genius, and defended it with all the ardour and power of his eloquence. His celebrated missionary sermon is certainly the most complete and noble defence of the missionary cause which ever has been, and probably which ever will be produced. It need scarcely be said that the prosecution of such a course required a high degree of moral courage, and this formed a distinguishing feature in the mind of John Foster. It seemed to be combined of an instructive reverence for principle, an inalienable and dignified self-respect, and a moral temperament and character in which the fear of man could no more subsist than snow-flakes in the summer of the tropics.

It cannot but be regarded as matter of deep regret that Mr. Foster has left behind him an amount of contribution comparatively so small to the literature of his country. For this fact, however it may be lamented, it is not difficult to account. The chief reason for it undoubtedly is, that Mr. Foster was not so much a writer as a thinker, and that his comparatively brief published writings contain the profoundest thought of many years in the most condensed form. The French critic says: '*Montesquieu abrege tout parcequ'il voit tout.*' The same may be said of Foster. His profound and comprehensive reflection had eliminated from every subject all superfluous accessories—had stripped, as if anatomically, every subject with which he dealt to naked and primitive essence; and he consequently presented

its results, as our most elaborate chemists produce theirs, in a form at once the most condensed, the most delicate, and the most powerful. A further reason which perhaps may be adduced for the comparative scantiness of Mr. Foster's literary productions may be found in that singular habit of deep reflection, and sometimes of merely imaginative musing, which was strikingly characteristic of his mental tendencies. The very act of composition served to call him off from the natural business of his life. Not that he was a man of inactive mind;—on the contrary, his very repose was in intellectual exertion;—but that he was more disposed to seek the cultivation of his own vast faculties for the highest of purposes than to develope each successive attainment for the uses of others.

A still further reason, however, had probably more to do with the paucity of his writings than either of those which have been referred to—this was the almost morbid sensitiveness of his critical taste. The writer of these pages was once told by Mr. Foster himself, that on some occasions he has expended as much as half an hour in constructing a single sentence; and that he has sat for an equal space of time in close meditation without writing a word. Indeed he is grieved to know, that in several instances he has, under the impulse of the same delicate fastidiousness, destroyed many of those productions which, had they been published, would certainly have met with but one exception to universal admiration. His perception of the nicest proprieties of style was one of his most singular peculiarities. We have frequently heard him analyse some of the most beautiful passages from the writings of those in admiration of whom he yielded to none, and detect, without the slightest tinge of ungenerous feeling, a number of inaccuracies, faults of style, and even merely verbal inconsistencies, which nothing but the most practised ingenuity could discover. In one of the recent editions of his great work—the four essays—he made, no doubt at the cost of immense labour, no fewer than from one to two thousand emendations. And it was a high treat to those of his friends who were qualified to enjoy it, to draw from him that profoundly analytical criticism which justified the alterations. We have heard men of great literary taste express their regret at these amendments, as if the polishing chisel of the sculptor had destroyed the boldness of the design, or as if the last flattering touches of the portrait painter had irretrievably sacrificed the likeness. But perhaps such objections are only dependent on the jealousy of that first love with which such critics have been enamoured of their author; and he may possibly fall back with confidence upon the maxim of the great critic of antiquity:

'Hæc placuit semel; hæc decies repetita placebit.'

While, however, owing to such causes the productions of Mr. Foster's pen, whether already possessed or in anticipation, fall far below the desires of the public, enough has been left to place him in the highest rank of intellectual men, and to form, one would hope, a permanent class of congenial minds. His first and perhaps his greatest work, certainly that by which he is most known to the public, was his four essays.

It is the less necessary to enter upon any extensive criticism of these productions, inasmuch as they have not only already taken that permanent place in the estimation of the public which no observation of ours could establish, and from which we are equally confident it could never be dislodged; but, as a further and stronger reason for our passing over these compositions with a very general notice, we may add that on their first appearance they formed the subject of one of the most elaborate criticisms that ever appeared in this Review from the pen of the late Robert Hall. It is impossible to peruse without the deepest interest the observations of such a mind as Mr. Hall's on such a work as the Essays, especially when, as in this case, from their early appearance, they bear almost the character of prediction. It is, we say, most interesting to observe the lofty intellect of the critic pointing as from an eminence the destined course of universal opinion and estimation, auguring the tendencies of the intellectual world, and casting, as it were, the horoscope of that work which was destined so essentially to affect it. Yet even the eloquent panegyrics of Mr. Hall hardly seem to us to indicate any adequate conception of the effects which the work before him was destined to produce. We find him prognosticating that Mr. Foster's compositions would 'procure their author a brilliant and lasting reputation;' but the critic was probably hardly prepared to anticipate that many of the rising race of intellectual men would hereafter attribute to those compositions the highest of their purely mental attainments.

We fully concur with Mr. Hall in regarding the last of the Essays 'as by far the most valuable and elaborate.' It is indeed difficult, or rather impossible, to calculate the amount of influence it has exercised on religious society at large, and especially on the christian community. Probably, however, its uses have as yet only commenced, and will never end but with the imperfections of our common nature. So long as human passion and human weakness shall pertain to those whose office it is to disclose the highest of truths, this profound production will constitute a mirror in which they will see, and by which perchance they will correct, the infirmities which prejudice the success of their vocation. In the strictures which it contains upon the Christian pulpit as it was in that day, and as unhappily

it is in a great measure still, we have chiefly to admire the singular combination which the author exhibits of profound wisdom and perfect taste; but every reader has probably stood for a moment amazed at the boldness with which he has assailed the idols of popular literature whether ancient or modern. He seems to be emboldened by a sort of sacred fidelity to truth, as, rising with the greatness of the occasion, he despoils a covert principle of immorality of all the armour of logic and all the trappings of style with which it is disguised, and with a touch unlike that of Ithuriel, dwarfs the majestic spirit of error to the insignificant dimensions of the toad. To disabuse the public mind of prejudices so long and so fondly entertained, indicates a moral courage that is the fit associate of the highest intellectual power.

We cannot so readily acquiesce in another of Mr. Hall's criticisms, which assigns to the essay on decision of character a higher degree of excellence than belongs to that 'On a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself.' Even granting a higher degree of practical value as attaching to the former composition, we cannot but feel some degree of surprise at such a comparison as the following in its favour:—'The subject is pursued with greater regularity, the conceptions are more profound, and the style is more chaste and classical.'

The greater degree of regularity here noticed, is probably more dependent upon the nature of the subjects pursued, than upon any other cause. The essay on decision of character is a rigid and profound investigation, mapped out into the ordinary rhetorical divisions, and is developed with all the methodical caution which is essential to the usefulness of a moral dissertation. The other, on the contrary, partakes less of the nature of investigation than of reverie. The very subject is of a far more original kind, and the method of treating it partakes so much of that character, as to render it one of the greatest curiosities of modern literature. The author seems to be not so much reasoning and arranging as thinking aloud. As a composition it gives the impression of a lofty intellect in repose, or, at most, lawlessly following out its own sublime suggestions, rather than engaged in a performance which should compel attention, and defy criticism.

Still less can we concur in the next reference of Mr. Hall. In perfect originality and profundity of conception, we should regard the first essay as the most characteristic and the most extraordinary of all Mr. Foster's productions. It rather reminds us of an ingenious defence which he once made to the writer of some productions of Coleridge, in which it was objected, that he failed to convey to the reader anything like an accurate concep-

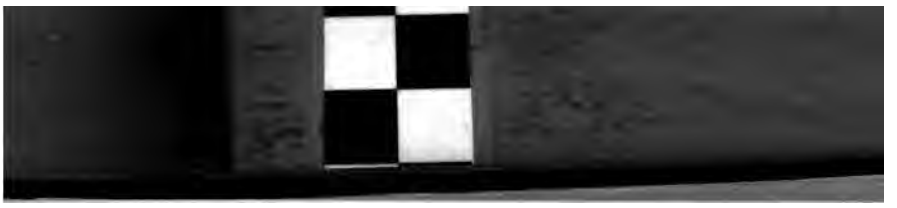
tion of his meaning. Mr. Foster urged in reply, that it was quite possible to think without the mental use of language at all; that there was especially a certain order of subjects to which language, progressively constructed as it is to meet those demands of mankind which are chiefly of a social and commercial nature, was most imperfectly adapted; and that the fault in the case of Coleridge lay less in his want of perspicuity than in that mental habitude by which he was led to certain topics even as the theme of didactic composition, of which the ordinary language of society was a very inappropriate vehicle.

No such want of perspicuity attaches to any of the writings of Mr. Foster as that which he thus ingeniously sought to account for. Yet we cannot but think that in so far as such a charge can be brought, of course in a very mitigated form, against the style of the first essay, it may be refuted on somewhat similar grounds. It is characterized by a redundant fulness of thought, which, in the struggle to develope itself, taxes the resources of the English language, and seems to strain the capacity of ordinary sentences. Indeed, Mr. Hall himself appears to have been fully aware of this grand peculiarity, for in the closing, and by far the most beautiful part of his critique, he makes the following observations:—'An occasional obscurity pervades some parts of the work. The mind of the writer seems at times to struggle with conceptions too mighty for his grasp, and to present confused masses rather than distinct delineations of thought. This, however, is to be imputed to the originality, not the weakness of his powers. The scale on which he thinks is so vast, and the excursions of his imagination are so extended, that they frequently carry him into the most unbeaten track, and among objects where a ray of light glances in an angle only, without diffusing itself over the whole. On ordinary topics his conceptions are luminous in the highest degree. He places the idea which he wishes to present in such a flood of light, that it is not merely visible itself, but it seems to illumine all around it.'

It appears to us sufficiently evident that Mr. Hall, in the above observations, had the first essay most prominent in his view. Yet with great deference to one of the ablest of critics as well as the most beautiful of writers, we should say that no single composition of our great essayist indicates so singular a power to compel language into subserviency to an original mind, as that On a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself. A comparison of this, as of all the other productions of the same mind, with those of one or two modern writers, distinguished by somewhat similar intellectual tendencies, will, we think, make this evident to every reflective student of their respective writings. We will instance Coleridge, Carlyle, and Emerson, as three authors, who are led

by a profoundly reflective habit of mind to shun the extrinsic, the pseudo-practical, and almost statistical style of thinking and writing, which prevails in these utilitarian days, and to develope the abstruse, to dive beneath the surface of mere interests, and to inspect and explain that hidden mechanism of the moral and intellectual nature, whether individual or social, of which all that is exterior is the result. It is by no means surprising that such men should have been conducted as if by their tutelary genius to the regions of German philosophy. But this fact surely ought not to be taught us by their style. That independence of mind which is analogous to the sentiment of patriotism, not to say of nationality in the social system, would, one should think, have preserved the integrity of the English style amidst the commerce of foreign styles and theories; would have compelled the latter to be naturalized before they mingled in the British republic of letters; or, if we may so change the allusion, to pay a duty, and to be stamped with our own character before they crossed the literary frontier. The reverse of this is, however, the case. We find in the language of the writers referred to an unequivocal brogue, and that, too, in some cases, rather affected than involuntary, which tells us among whom they have resided, and indicates their own seducible imitativeness. Not unfrequently, too, they shew us that they are professed imitators, and, like all that numerous class, they chiefly succeed in copying the defects of the original. They seem to delight in haziness and obscurity for their own sake; they seem to have schooled themselves into a pretended preference for the murky atmosphere and the rugged precipitous soil of the Borean regions; and, perhaps, like Jeremy Bentham, would be best read through an English translation of a French translation of their writings.

We need hardly say that in depth and originality of thought the writings of John Foster will not lose by a comparison with those to which we have referred; but in the natural and unaffected gracefulness of his style, he is incomparably their superior. Elaborate, indeed, he is, and that to the last degree, but his is the art which conceals itself, and deceives by its perfect similarity to nature. He is never on stilts. We believe that there is not a single passage in his published writings, even the most sublimely eloquent, which can be stigmatized as bombastic. And if the young England, who are enamoured of our Germanised word-mongers, justify their predilections on the ground that their pet writers are bringing back our language to its primitive simplicity, we can only say that we are foolish enough to prefer the mansions of opulent refinement to the huts of our ancestors, the diction of Milton and Shakspeare, to that of



Chaucer, and the taste which cherishes Claude and Rembrandt, to that more eccentric passion for the fine arts, which was exhibited in the stained faces and the painted thighs of the ancient Britons. We do not wish to see more pure or more powerful English than that which this illustrious and unaffected writer has selected as the appropriate vehicle of his sublime conceptions.

If, however, any doubt should be entertained on this point, it may be solved by a very simple experiment. Let the critic take some sentence which may seem at first sight overcharged and plethoric. Let him take it to pieces, and seek to reconstruct with a view to greater simplification and brevity, but at the same time under the condition of not losing so much as a hint of thought. We have tried the experiment ourselves, and we are persuaded that in most cases it will utterly fail. We believe that some of the most questionable of these sentences will be found on a severe analysis to exhibit something like the perfection of rhetorical ingenuity; and that if in such an analysis the moulds of the exquisite composition could be lost, it would be almost as difficult to reconstruct the passage as it would be to recover the precise combination of form and colour in the kaleidoscope which had been lost by an accidental jar of the instrument.

We will cite a single passage in illustration of this remark. And while the limits to which we must confine ourselves forbid our entering into anything like a commentative analysis of it, we would invite a close attention to it, and especially to the final sentences. It appears to us a favourable instance of that masterly and elaborate tact, by which a somewhat recondite idea is best developed in sentences, which may seem at first sight too much thronged with clauses and epithets to be recommended as a model of style.

'* Here a person† of your age might pause, and look back with great interest on the world of circumstances through which life has been drawn. Consider what thousands of situations, appearances, incidents, persons, you have been present with, each in his time. The review would carry you over something like a chaos, with all the moral, and all other elements confounded together; and you may reflect till you begin almost to wonder how an individual retains the same essence through all the diversities, vicissitudes, and counteractions of influence, that operate on it during his progress through the confusion. While the essential being might, however, defy the universe to extinguish, absorb, or transmute it, you will find it has come out with dispositions and habits which will shew where it has been, and what it has undergone. You may descry

* Essay on a Man's writing Memoirs of Himself:—13th edit. pp. 23, 24.

† It is not, perhaps, generally known that these essays were written in a series of letters to the lady who shortly afterwards became the wife of the author.

on it the marks and colours of many of the things by which it has, in passing, been touched or arrested.

'Consider the number of meetings with acquaintance, friends, or strangers; the number of conversations you have held or heard; the number of exhibitions of good or evil, virtue or vice; the number of occasions on which you have been disgusted or pleased, moved to admiration or to abhorrence; the number of times that you have contemplated the town, the rural cottage, or verdant fields; the number of volumes you have read; the times that you have looked over the present state of the world, or gone, by means of history, into past ages; the number of comparisons of yourself with other persons, alive or dead, and comparisons of them with one-another; the number of solitary musings, of solemn contemplations of night, of the successive subjects of thought, and of animated sentiments that have been kindled and extinguished. Add all the hours and causes of sorrow which you have known. Through this lengthened, and, if the numbers could be told, stupendous multiplicity of things you have advanced, while all their heterogeneous myriads have darted influences upon you, each one of them having some definable tendency. A traveller round the globe would not meet a greater variety of seasons, prospects, and winds, than you might have recorded of the circumstances capable of affecting your character during your journey of life. You could not wish to have drawn to yourself the agency of a vaster diversity of causes; you could not wish, on the supposition that you had gained advantage from all these, to wear the spoils of a greater number of regions. The formation of the character from so many materials, reminds one of that mighty appropriating attraction, which, on the fanciful hypothesis that the resurrection should re-assemble the same particles which composed the body before, must draw them from dust, and trees, and animals, from ocean and winds.'

While we thus attempt to do honour to the exalted genius displayed in the first essay, we are quite disposed to admit that the tendency of the second, on Decision of Character, is more immediately practical, and exhibits almost the same profundity of thought and striking beauty of illustration. There are not a few, and some perhaps who may read these remarks, who owe to this singular production some of the most capital advantages which they have derived, either from didactic literature, or indeed from any other source. If the library may be truly designated, as by the Egyptians of old, the ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον this essay may fairly be esteemed as one of the finest tonics in the moral pharmacopœia. Indeed, we can hardly conceive of a mind so infirm of purpose, so stagnant in irresolution, as not to be nerved and stimulated by the perusal of this extraordinary essay. It throws such withering scorn upon the feebleness of those minds which passively suspend themselves on the notions and the examples of others, as to make it evident that the writer himself could have had no part in so bitter a condemnation. This was strictly true; and if it is the prerogative of genius to represent itself,

the great essayist in this production has largely availed himself of his privilege. Few men, perhaps, have ever been more remarkable than he for that independence and decision of mind which he so nobly extols; few men who justify their tenacity of opinion by such various knowledge and such deep reflection, and few on whom the force of fashion and popular fallacy was so utterly lost.

On the whole, however, if we were called upon to name that production of Mr. Foster to which we should ascribe the highest and most permanent value, we should certainly fix upon the last, 'On the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion.' The peculiarity which Paul states in one of his epistles with reference to the christian religion as existing in his day, that not many of the wise and the noble were drawn to it, prevails to a fully proportionate degree in our own times, insomuch that popular refinement might seem under certain circumstances to be as effectual a bar to the progress of true religion as popular demoralization and barbarism. It was an effort alike worthy of the genius and the piety of Mr. Foster, to develope the most hidden causes of this melancholy phenomenon, whether existing in the church or in the world, and to expose and rebuke them in both with the most dignified but unsparing severity. We agree with Mr. Hall, that he seems to have expended the whole force of his genius on this exquisite production; indeed it is difficult to determine whether his profound knowledge of human nature, from its most elegant tastes to its lowest passions and its saddest depravities, is more to be admired than his comprehensive knowledge of literature, and that sensibility to the foibles and faults of religious parties, which was so far above the influence of sectarian prejudice. The boldness with which he dethrones the long-worshipped idols of the intellectual aristocracy, is scarcely less admirable than the incorruptible rationality, if we may be allowed such a phrase, with which he rebukes that phraseology and imagery which has been consecrated in the veneration of the vulgar, through their adoption by men whose ordinary good sense ought to have imposed sterner laws on their religious sensibilities. Many of these strictures necessarily refer to the grosser defects of the christian pulpit. And here so deep is the truth of his observations, that they not only find ample illustrations in preceding times, but might seem to have been almost prophetic of certain preachers who have risen to notoriety since the date of their publication. We will adduce in illustration one train of remarks which might well be mistaken for a portrait, the original of which the reader will not long have to look for among the divines of Scotland and of the English metropolis.

'There is a smaller class that might be called mock eloquent writers. These saw the effect of brilliant expression in those works of eloquence and poetry where it was dictated and animated by energy of thought; and very reasonably wished that Christian sentiments might assume a language as impressive as any subject had ever employed to fascinate or command. But unfortunately they forgot that eloquence resides essentially in the thought, and that no words can make genuine eloquence of that which would not be such in the plainest that could fully express the sense. Or probably they were quite confident of the excellence of the thoughts that were demanding to be so finely sounded forth. Perhaps they concluded them to be vigorous and sublime from the very circumstance that they disdained to show themselves in plain language. The writers would be but little inclined to suspect of poverty or feebleness the thoughts which seemed so naturally to be assuming in their minds and on their page such a magnificent style. A gaudy verbosity is always eloquence in the opinion of him that writes it; but what is the effect on the reader? Real eloquence strikes with immediate force, and leaves not the possibility of asking or thinking whether it *be* eloquence; but the sounding sentences of these writers leave you cool enough to examine with doubtful curiosity a language that seems threatening to move or astonish you, without actually doing so. It is something like the case of a false alarm of thunder, where a sober man, who is not apt to startle at sounds, looks out to see whether it be not the rumbling of a cart. Very much at your ease you contrast the pomp of the expression with the quality of the thoughts; and then read on for amusement, or cease to read from disgust.

'A principal device in the fabrication of this style is to multiply epithets, dry epithets, laid on the surface, and into which no vitality of the sentiment is found to circulate. You may take a number of the words out of each page, and find that the sense is neither more nor less for your having cleared the composition of these epithets of chalk of various colours with which the tame thoughts had submitted to be dappled and made fine.'

Some readers will perhaps be reminded by these passages of Dr. Chalmers with his 'vista of a succession' (not referring to his own verbiage) 'which ever flows without stop and without termination*.' If, however, Mr. Foster's observations may be regarded as prophetic, they might seem to have more direct reference to certain feeble imitators of the Scotch orator. Mr. Melville and Mr. Montgomery, (not the poet, but the author of 'Woman' and 'Satan,') for example, with a little fraternal fry scattered throughout other denominations *quos fama obscura recondit*. Let Mr. Melville be their exponent, and let the reader say if great praise is not due to our author for his warning. 'Death came against the Mediator: but, in submitting to it, Christ, if we may use such image, seized on the destroyer, and, *waving his skeleton form as a sceptre over his creation,* broke

* Chalmers's Astronomical Discourses, p. 158.

the spell of a thousand generations, dashing away the chains, and opening the graves of an oppressed and rifled population*.' Or let us take the following: 'He went down to the grave in the weakness of humanity, but at the same time, in the might of the Deity. And, designing to pour forth a torrent of lustre on the life, the everlasting life of man, *oh! he did not bid the firmament cleave asunder, and the constellations of eternity shine out in their majesties, and dazzle and blind an overawed creation.* He rose up, a moral giant, from his grave-clothes, and proving death, vanquished in his stronghold, left the vacant sepulchre as a centre of light to the dwellers on this planet. *He took not the suns and systems which crowd immensity in order to form one brilliant cataract, which, rushing down in its glories, might sweep away darkness from the benighted race of the apostate.* But he came forth from the tomb masterful and victorious; and the place where he had lain became the focus of the rays of the long-hidden truth; and *the fragments of his grave stone were the stars from which flashed the immortality of man*†.'

It will be as little difficult to detect again in the following sketch a class of religionists, now, we hope, gradually decreasing, and situated at the very opposite poles of orthodoxy. The closing sentence will probably remind every reader of a certain well known preacher generally, and perhaps appropriately, designated under a nickname, who has recently been removed from this world.

'Under the denomination of mock eloquence may also be placed the mode of writing which endeavours to move the passions not by presenting striking ideas of the object of passion, but by the appearance of an emphatical enunciation of the writer's own feelings concerning it. You are not made to perceive how the thing itself has the most interesting claims on your heart; but are required to be affected in mere sympathy with the author who attempts your feelings by frequent exclamations, and perhaps by an incessant application to his fellow-mortals, and to their Redeemer, of all the appellations and epithets of passion not appropriate to the object. To this last great object, especially such forms of expression are occasionally applied, as must excite a revolting emotion in a man who feels that he cannot meet the same being at once on terms of adoration and of caressing equality.'—Foster's Essays, 13th edit. p. 252.

We cannot refrain from citing one or two sentences in the same connexion which depict with equal force of satire and propriety of taste a class once rendered notorious by such names as Huntingdon and Hawker, but now we hope gradually filtering through the dregs of society into the oblivion they deserve.

'You may meet with a christian polemic, who seems to value the

* Melville's Sermons, pp. 19, 20. † Ib. pp. 146, 7.

arguments for evangelical truth as an assassin values his dagger, and for the same reason; with a descanter on the invisible world, who makes you think of a popish cathedral, and from the vulgarity of whose illuminations you are glad to escape into the solemn twilight of faith; or with a grim zealot for such a theory of the divine attributes and government as seems to delight in representing the Deity as a dreadful king of furies, whose dominion is overshadowed with vengeance, whose music is the cries of victims, and whose glory requires to be illustrated by the ruin of his creation.'—Foster's Essays, 13th Edition. p. 253.

Next in order as an intellectual and literary performance, and scarcely second to it in popularity and usefulness, stands the essay on Popular Ignorance, with which in some of its editions is appropriately published his celebrated sermon in defence of christian missions. We have already stated that Mr. Foster was one of the earliest and certainly by far the most powerful advocate of a comprehensive scheme of popular education. And much as that subject has grown upon the public mind during subsequent years, we may confidently assert that no new arguments have been urged in its favour since the date of this publication, though it was written in times of the deepest darkness and the grossest prejudice, ere yet 'the march of intellect' had become a proverbial phrase familiar to the lowest classes of society. So full is the essay on Popular Ignorance of deep truth and comprehensive thought, that any thing like a faithful analysis of it would be well-nigh impossible. Such an attempt would almost involve the re-composition of the volume. There are, however, some views developed in it which the subsequent position of affairs has rendered too important to be passed by without particular notice.

One of the peculiarities of the present age is the degree in which christians and christian ministers exert themselves for the promotion of great political objects; not as selfish or factious partizans, but in the spirit, and as they think under the implied commands, of their religion. This interference has been conspicuous in the history of the movements in favour of religious equality, commercial freedom, and the further reform of the representative system. It was naturally to be expected that the introduction of so much high-principled earnestness into political contests should awaken the apprehension and the censure of those who are hostile to the progress alike of civil and religious freedom. We are told that such persons are stepping out of their province, secularizing their minds, and impairing their usefulness; and no doubt if their exertions were put forth in a certain spirit, such would be the inevitable result. But do the same censures fall on those good men who devote an equal proportion of their attention to the interests of our public charities?

Are *they* not loaded with eulogy and respect, although their object is purely secular? And why, we may well ask, may that attention be lawfully expended on humane societies and hospitals, whose benign operations are limited to individual cases, which is denied to those systems which starve the bodies, destroy the lives, and degrade and ruin the souls of classes to be counted by millions. Yet to the latter category of evils those efforts have reference which, conducted ever so mildly but at the same time energetically by the advocates of civil and religious freedom, are visited with the severest censure by those who have neither the ability to lead nor the courage to follow.

In this condemned class Mr. Foster cheerfully and even emulously places himself. And as the feeling which forbids this interference is perhaps increasingly prevalent among *respectable* dissenters, while it amounts to a mania among the 'stupidly good' of the endowed sect, it may not be amiss to introduce a few observations from our author, especially as the classes to which we refer impress us with a shrewd suspicion that they are among the number for whose benefit the essay on Popular Ignorance was specially intended.

'This interdiction comes with its worst appearance when it is put forth in terms affecting a profound reverence of religion; a reverence which cannot endure that so holy a thing should be defiled by being brought in any contact with such a subject as the manner in which the intellectual and moral state of the people is affected by the general conduct of the ruling power. The advocate of schemes for the improvement of their rational nature may take his ground, his strongest ground on religion, for enforcing on individuals the duty of promoting such an object. In the name and authority of religion he may press on their consciences with respect to the application of their property and influence, and he may adopt under its sanction a strongly judicial language in censure of their negligence, their insensibility of their accountableness, and their expenditures foreign to the most important uses: in all this he does well. But the instant he begins to make the like judicial application of its laws to the public conduct of the governing authorities (and to make it not in the way of commenting on that conduct on a *general* account, but strictly and specially as it affects the object in question) that instant he debases Christianity to politics, most likely to party-politics; and a pious horror is testified at the profanation. Christianity is to be honoured somewhat after the same manner as the Lama of Thibet. It is to stay in its temple, to have the proprieties of homage duly preserved within its precincts, but to be *exempted* (in reverence of its sanctity!) from all cognizance of great public affairs, even in the points where they most involve its interests. It could shew, perhaps, in what manner the administration of those affairs injures those interests; but it would degrade its character by talking of any such matter. But Christianity must have leave to decline the compliment. As to its sacred character, it can *venture that* on the strength of its intrinsic quality and

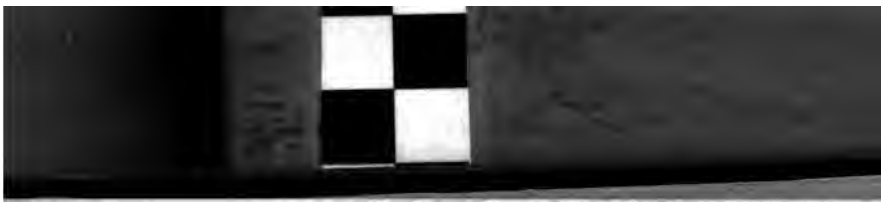
of its own guardianship, while in a censorial capacity it steps on what will be called a political ground, so far as to take account of what regard has been shewn, or what means have been left disposable for operations to promote the grand essentials of human welfare by that public system which has grasped and expended the strength of the community. Christianity is not so demure a thing that it cannot, without violating its consecrated character, go into the exercise of this judicial office. And as to its *right* to do so—either it has a right to take cognizance now of the manner in which the spirit and measures of states and their regulators bear upon the most momentous interests, or it will have no right to be brought forward as the supreme law for the final award upon those proceedings and those men.'—Preface to the Essay on Popular Ignorance. pp. 11—13.

In the same preface, we find a masterly exposure of the abortive plan for national education, introduced to parliament, by Henry (now alas! Lord) Brougham, about the year 1821. While the author does honour to the intellectual powers of this singular man, he indicates a profound knowledge of his infirmities, which those are best able to appreciate who have witnessed his subsequent erratic course. The re-perusal of his observations reminds the writer of a very characteristic observation once addressed to him by Mr. Foster, to the effect, that Lord Brougham resembled an elephant in the van of an army;—it was an even chance whether he trod down the enemy or backed his uncouth bulk on those who had availed themselves of so equivocal an alliance.

Did the space to which we must limit our observations allow of it, we should be tempted to quote the passages in which the author demonstrates the utter absurdity of state interference with the religion of the people:* a train of reasoning which we deliberately regard as altogether unanswerable. We should be tempted too, to cite certain pages which might seem to have been prophetic of Sir James Graham's National Education Bill; and upon which, whether respecting state education in general, or education in the state religion, no amendment certainly has been made amidst the excitement which that abominable measure has recently occasioned.†

It would be easy to cite a great variety of passages from this singular book which evince such habits of profound and comprehensive reflection, as qualified the author for an almost unlimited censorship of popular fallacies. One train of thought, especially, has struck us as worthy of the deepest attention in these later days, in which the strongest holds of political and ecclesiastical despotism have become the selected objects of popular evasion. We refer to a passage, in which the author‡

* See 'Popular Ignorance,' p. p. 78, 83. Second Edition.
† Ibid., p.p. 232, 235. ‡ Ibid., p.p. 453, 457.



analyzes, and emphatically condemns, the prudent policy of those who withhold their co-operation from the grandest undertakings, on the ground of the improbability of their success, and the imagined mischiefs which would be consequent on their failure. It would be well, if on the eve of that important movement, now in contemplation, against the connection of the episcopalian or any other denomination with the patronage and power of the state, these invaluable pages were daily read in every dissenting family.

But it would be an endless task to commend to general attention insulated portions of a work, which as a whole, should be familiar to society at large. It is replete with the profoundest thought, pregnant with practical wisdom, and radiant with a genius which is characteristic of the author alone.

The most strictly religious of Mr. Foster's productions is, his introductory essay to Dr. Doddridge's, 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul.' From our knowledge of our author's theological character, we should have little doubt that, notwithstanding that deep piety which has secured the usefulness of Dr. Doddridge's work, he would have strongly disapproved of the philosophy, (if we may so term it), of the Rise and Progress. The book, however, is hardly alluded to in the introductory essay, and even had he wished, which is altogether insupposable, to diminish the number of its readers; he, perhaps, could hardly have better secured his object, than by overlaying it as he did with his own extraordinary essay. It is, indeed, so heart-searching a treatise, so irresistible, except indeed, by a depraved carnality which nothing human can conquer, that we can well imagine a mind of ordinary sensibility shrinking from the reperusal of it, lest it should be daring the last remedy which can subdue the human heart to the obedience of faith. We commend it, however, to the careful perusal of all, to the uneducated for its simplicity, to the intellectual for its sublime and hallowed genius, and to all for a majestic and venerable piety, which might seem to invest it with a species of inspiration.

Mr. Foster's dissertation on the character of the late Robert Hall, as a theologian and a preacher, has been the subject of much discussion, and of some dissatisfaction among the admirers of the latter. We are persuaded that no one held that most lamented and most extraordinary man, in greater admiration than John Foster. The originality of his mind, moreover, withheld him from fulfilling the duty allotted to him, by a mere effusion of panegyric. He entered into a complete anatomy of the more public character of his subject; and if certain respectful strictures, (and they certainly are only such), appear in his performance, they may well be justified, as they were by himself,

in that admirable aphorism.—'The crude admiration that can make no distinctions, never renders justice to what is truly great.' If in our veneration for the character and genius of Mr. Hall, we are to condole with those who are dissatisfied with Mr. Foster's analysis of it, we can only do so on the fact, that a man was employed to paint that magnificent landscape, whose sight was strong enough to discern its limits.

To delineate the intellectual character of John Foster would require a genius like his own. We can only undertake to offer a few hints supplied by the study of his writings, and by a personal acquaintance with the author. The character of his mind appears to us to have been pre-eminently reflective and imaginative. John Foster was emphatically a thinker. His life was passed comparatively undisturbed by professional and secular affairs, in the most various and profound contemplation. He thus acquainted himself with almost every subject which bears upon the interests of mankind. He studied the human mind in all its aspects and conditions as few if any have done in past or present times; and we cannot help thinking that the curious tendency of his study, at least in the latter part of his life, to the habits and manners of foreign and even of uncivilized nations, as delineated in the narratives of travellers, was chiefly the result of that law of his mental economy which ever led him from particulars to generals. He seems almost to have completed the study of human nature as it existed around him, and to have reached forward with the characteristic vivacity of his nature to every other aspect under which man, his great study, could be viewed.

His imagination was certainly of the highest order. His sensibility and fancy remind us of Shakespere; his noble and masculine defences of truth, bring home to us the recollection of Milton; and his overwhelming but dignified satire must have suggested to the classic reader the finest passages of Juvenal.

As a theologian he was thoroughly orthodox in the most conventional, and yet in the least sectarian, sense of that term. He received and lived upon the gospel in all its fulness. While too generously catholic to personate the fierce and petty controversialist, he habitually dwelt upon the very heights of evangelical truth; and from that eminence observed the tiny warfare of polemics with an emotion which but for his piety would have been scorn. The vital doctrines of the christian religion entertained by a man of almost superhuman independence, gave their glory to his life, and their support to his mighty mind, in that hour when, only watched by the eye of his great Master, he serenely thought himself away from the restraints of mortality to the glories of a sublimer economy.

The social character of Mr. Foster was attractive in the high-

est degree. His affability and candour were only equalled by those powers of mind which one might have supposed would have found but scanty gratification in the intercourse of ordinary society. His conversation in all its variety was enriched with knowledge, adorned with wit, glowing with kindness, and chastened with piety. In point of originality, few men have equalled John Foster, either as writers or companions. Unlike the two classes of eminent talkers, of the one of whom Johnson may be cited as the type, and Coleridge of the other, he never indulged either in dogmatism with the former, or in monologue with the latter. The fund of his topics was indeed all but universal, extending from the profoundest metaphysics to the most exquisite minutiæ of the arts. To the latter, he was devoted with an enthusiasm which constitutes almost an anomaly in his character; and in his visits to the metropolis would seclude himself from the choicest circles of intellectual society to enjoy those collections of art from which he was comparatively debarred in his rural retirement.

In person Mr. Foster was slightly above the middle size. His attire was a standing rebellion against the laws of fashion, which he equally defied in various other respects. His countenance was one of the most striking we have ever seen. His forehead may well be the boast of phrenologists. In some respects, indeed, he retained to old age all the beauty of youth; a fact perhaps dependent in some degree upon that disease which eventually destroyed him. His eye was so luminous, that it seemed a sort of avenue to his soul; and his whole countenance in conversation, which was usually conducted in a low tone of voice, and with comparatively little excitement, fixed the gaze of all who were present as by a species of fascination. It was said of Burke by Dr. Johnson, that no man could stand with him under a gateway to avoid a shower of rain, without being conscious that he was in the presence of the greatest man of his day; and the same may be emphatically said of John Foster.

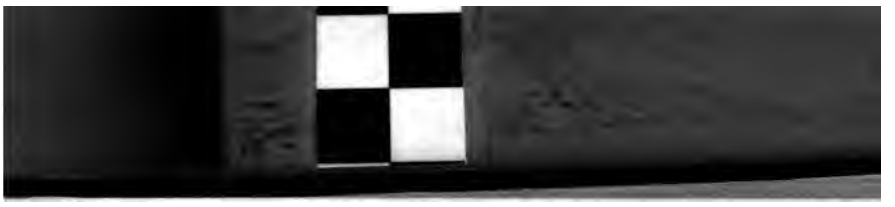
His writings must live as long as the English language; while the image of his mind, with all the moral results it achieved, will happily remain for ever impressed on that memory which, in his own words, may 'defy the universe to extinguish, absorb, or transmute it.'

Brief Notices.

An Essay on the Profession of Personal Religious Conviction, and upon the Separation of Church and State, considered with reference to the fulfilment of that duty. Translated from the French of Professor A. Vinet, of Geneva. By Charles Theodore Jones. London: Jackson and Walford, 1843, 8vo.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that some months ago we called their attention to Professor Vinet's very important work, from which we gave some copious translations. The work itself received and deserved our strong recommendation. We had no idea at the time we completed thearticle, that Mr. Jones was so near the end of his task, his translation being advertised at the very time we sent our remarks on the original to the press. Had it appeared earlier it would have saved us some trouble, for we should have gratefully availed ourselves of his version instead of making our own; and even had we known that it was so soon to appear, we should probably have waited for it, that we might give his labours a more ample consideration than we can now do. We can say no less, however, than that his translation appears to us in general to be marked both by great fidelity and considerable elegance. He tells us in his preface, that he has been, as every translator should be, more ambitious of the former quality than of the latter, but he has in a great degree attained both. In the preface, he says 'that his chief aim has been to give a true and faithful version of the original; and this he has done from a sense of duty; he is well aware that had he ventured to make the translation more free, he might have rendered his own work more acceptable to his countrymen, inasmuch as it would have been more truly English. Such as it is, however, he entreats for it a candid perusal.'

While he, not without reason, 'anticipates that the majority of his readers will be found amongst dissenting Christians,' and is well aware, that 'generally speaking, churchmen are too well satisfied with their position as members of the dominant sect, and as possessors of the wealth, learning, and honours of the state protected party, to wish to be enlightened as to the defects of their system,' he expresses a conviction, in which we participate, 'that there is a superior class of churchmen, both lay and clerical,' (may they be increased a hundred-fold,) 'men of true piety, whose hearts and minds have been imbued with the spirit of truth, having experienced the vivifying effects of the Holy Spirit upon their own consciences,' who 'have learned to respect the consciences and convictions of others.' To give consistency and solidity to the views of such men, many of whom are seeking the truth, but are still wavering about it, we know no work better adapted than that of Professor Vinet. Indeed, we are convinced that it is by the wide diffusion of such works amongst the more influential classes, and of more brief and popular



expositions of the same principles amongst the masses, that the consummation so much desired—the dissolution of the pernicious alliance between the church and the state—must be sought and attained. Agitation is, as in all like cases, the great weapon. When we have *convinced* the public that what we hold is THE TRUTH, the result is inevitable and will follow of itself.

The table of contents is very properly prefixed to the work, instead of being appended to it as in the original. There is also a good index. We heartily wish it an extensive circulation.

Outlines for the Pulpit; or short illustrations of select texts for Evangelical Discourses. By Adam Thomson, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant. London: Hamilton. 12mo.

We have never entertained any very high opinion of the usefulness of 'Sketches of Sermons,' and 'Outlines for the Pulpit.' They are too often an excuse for indolence, and an assistance to those, who either have not the capacity to make their own sermons, or sufficient industry and love for preaching, to sustain an independant and laborious examination of divine truth. Moreover, it is a difficult thing to work up a sketch, prepared by another hand, without giving a pie-bald appearance to the whole; while much of the earnestness and fire consequent on the delivery and enforcement of the preacher's own thoughts and feelings, will for the most part be wanting. There will not be that sense of integrity, that dependance on divine teaching, which impart life, force, and truthfulness to a really good sermon. If, however, their use were confined to the purposes of suggestion, we should regard them as on the whole, a good. But it is notorious that it is not so; partly from the causes already hinted at, and partly from the injudicious manner in which many of such productions are got up.

We must except these 'Outlines' from this general censure. Any one will find it difficult to preach them, without the previous mental process of digestion. They are eminently *suggestive*. There is no particular regard paid to the style of expression. Few sentences are finished. They are Outlines—and very excellent ones too,—and as far as we are able to judge, are judicious and useful.

The preface is short, but important. Some excellent truths are forcibly stated. Dr. Thomson justly attaches the highest importance to the Scripturalness of a discourse.—'It is not the words which man's wisdom teacheth'—not the style of language, however pure or refined—nor numerous figures, however elegant and happily introduced—nor bursts of imagination, however seemingly powerful—nor appeals to the passions, however eloquent—nor philosophical reasoning, however profound and demonstrative— but 'the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth,' that enlighten, and support, and sanctify, and save the souls of men.

In the 'Outlines,' the author has fully exemplified these views.

The references to Scripture are numerous, appropriate, and forcible; and display a deep acquaintance with the oracles of God. We could have wished that he had not so uniformly adhered to the textual form in the construction, as in many cases the *topical* would have given variety and freedom. In some few cases we observed odd and ungrammatical modes of expression which doubtless escaped his eye. Our limits will not permit us to notice separately those discourses which we deem most excellent, nor admit of suggestions, in those instances where we think improvements might be introduced. We can most cordially recommend the work, as eminently adapted to the end for which it was prepared.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

New Sketches of Every Day Life: a Diary, together with Strife and Peace. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. 2 vols.

The Highlands of Ethiopia. By Major W. Cornwallis Harris, E. I. C. Engineers. 3 vols. 8vo.

A Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor, of Norwich, with Correspondence. By J. W. Robberds, F.G.S. 2 vols.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto, assisted by various able scholars and divines. Part IX.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology. Edited by Wm. Smith, LL.D. Ph.D. Part V. Bubares—Cato.

The Child's Picture and Verse Book, commonly called Otto Speckter's Table Book. Translated into English by Mary Howitt.

The Anglican Church in the Nineteenth Century; indicating her relative position to dissent in every form; and presenting a clear and unprejudiced view of Puseyism and orthodoxy. Translated from the German of F. Uhden by W. C. C. Humphreys.

The Life and Adventures of Jack of the Mill, commonly called Lord Othmill, created for his eminent services Baron Waldeck and Knight of Kitcottie, a Fireside Story. By William Howitt. With forty illustrations on wood. 2 vols.

The Epistles of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Epistle to Diognetus. Edited from the text of Hefele, with an introduction and notes. By Algernon Grenfell, M.A.

The Happy Transformation; or the History of a London Apprentice: an authentic narrative, communicated in a series of letters, with a preface. By W. H. Pearce. 3d edition.

Memoirs and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant, of Laggan. Edited by her son, J. P. Grant, Esq. 3 vols.

Guide for Writing Latin; consisting of Rules and Examples for practice. By J. P. Krebs, D.Ph. Translated from the German. By Samuel H. Taylor, Andover, Massachusetts.

Scripture Truths in verse for the use of the Young; being an attempt to exhibit in easy descriptive poetry some of the all-important lessons contained in the Old Testament subjects.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MARCH, 1844.

Art. I. *France: her Governmental, Administrative, and Social Organization, exposed and considered, in its principles, in its working, and in its results.* 8vo. Madden & Co. London.

THE daily and the weekly press have recorded, with uncommon readiness, the appearance of this volume; and almost unanimously proclaimed it the most extraordinary production that has been published for a long time. To whatever party they belong, all are astounded at the appalling picture which it presents of the social and constitutional condition of France; and, whilst they differ as to the causes of that condition, as to the object of the author, and as to the proper conclusions to be drawn from his statements, all agree upon this point; that, if his veracity and his accuracy can be depended upon,—if the picture he draws is not the fantastical creation of a very angry mind, a violent satire upon all existing men and things,—then France is subjected to a rule more stringent, arbitrary, inquisitorial and degrading than that of the most despotic sovereigns of Europe.

An opinion so generally expressed, and the importance of the subject, made us feel more than ever the obligations imposed on conscientious and impartial reviewers. We are not accustomed to mislead our readers, to offer to them hastily-formed notions, and to claim their adhesion to any principle, their support for any cause, without first ascertaining that the principle and the cause are founded on truth and justice. But if we consider this a duty, in ordinary circumstances, it is more particularly so at the present moment, when we see on one side

our own country, after half a century of misgovernment, overwhelmed with distress, goaded to the last degree of discontent, on the very verge of a revolution; and when, on the other side, France is represented to us as, after a half century of revolutions, crushed under the most degrading tyranny that a nation was ever subjected to. This certainly deserves the attention of philosophers, of moralists, of statesmen—nay more, it is the duty of all to investigate the matter, to inquire whether the author is entitled to credit; and, if so, to what extent the evils so forcibly represented have really spread; to search for their causes; and, then, to endeavour to save our own country from similar dangers, while attempting to extricate herself from her present difficulties.

As to the first question, the credibility of the author, we admit that the circumstance of the work being anonymous, is calculated to excite suspicion. We read at the end of the dedication to Sir Robert Peel,

'I do not give my name, because I am more desirous of repose than of agitation. I feel conscious of discharging a duty in publishing this volume, and that it is calculated to produce some good effects; but I am also aware that the expression of conscientious opinions on political matters, on political men, and on moral and religious subjects, in opposition to adopted notions, to long-entertained prejudices, and to profitable nuisances, subjects an author to persecution, which, at my age, and with my disposition, I do not wish to be exposed to. I should not like, when visiting Paris, to be hunted by the swordsman of public order, excommunicated by the archbishop, and, even here, treated somewhat worse by some of my political friends'—p. xiv.

These motives for preserving the incognito, do not satisfy us; if, as it has been surmised, 'the author is an English gentleman, a member of parliament, one who has taken an active part in the political world, who has resided in Paris for a considerable time, and been in a situation to peep behind the curtain, and see with his own eyes the working of the French administrative system, which has roused his honest English bile to such a degree, that he has taken pen in hand, in order to describe and expose the system in all its details, and to warn his countrymen against the inroads and the seductive principle of centralization.' Any such gentleman would have better effected his purpose by avowing the authorship. His name and his position would have given more authority to his book, or, at at least, would have prevented incredulity. The fear of the 'swordsman of public order,' is a sort of libel against Lord Aberdeen; for we are certain that, however unequal he may be, in our opinion to the direction of the foreign affairs of this country, he is not the man who would abandon to the tender mercies of the

French police, a countryman, whose only crime is that of having expressed his honest opinion on the French governmental system. As to the excommunications of the Archbishop of Paris, we should imagine, after having read the book, that the author is not likely to be much annoyed by the anathemas of all the archbishops in the world, with the pope at their head. His dread of his political friends at home is equally inadmissible. It is clear that he is a match for any one of them, and, therefore, we think that the absence of a name is not justified, and, in some sort, affects the credit of the work.

The case would be different if the author were a foreigner—a Frenchman,—one, for instance, of those who, ever true to their affections for the old dynasty, recently came over here to pay homage to the royal exile, whom their wishes restore to the throne of his ancestors. The publication of this book, contemporaneously with the arrival of the duke of Bordeaux in this country, may, to a certain point, lead to the conclusion, that the author, a legitimist with liberal opinions, has seized the opportunity for unfolding and offering to the young pretender the standard under which all Frenchmen would rally, by exposing the system which ruins, enslaves, and crushes them all; and of which all must now be quite tired. We have no doubt, that if the Duke of Bordeaux has any idea of recovering the crown, he could not do better than declare himself against the governmental and administrative organization exposed in this work. Such a declaration would be the most deadly blow aimed at the sovereignty of the citizen king: but then the author of the book must, as it may easily be conceived, take great care not to be known. The court of peers would soon doom him to a perpetual dungeon, if not to the scaffold.

Our readers must not infer that we mean to fix the authorship on such a party, we are only mentioning one of the probabilities; but, if we must express what we consider most probable, we will say that, after a careful study of the book, we imagine the author to be a foreigner,—a Frenchman, very likely; a friend to the popular classes, who dealt with kings, princes, ministers, and legislators, without ever being anything himself; and who, deceived by them all, yet as firmly attached as ever to his political principles, (amongst which his partiality to England is not the least pre-eminent) tries to make his fellow-citizens ashamed of their truly degraded condition, and writes in England and in English that which there would be no possibility of publishing in France. We suspected this, on reading the first paragraph of the introduction, and our suspicions seemed to be confirmed by the perusal of the first part of the work. Nobody but a Frenchman could, in our opinion, be so com-

pletely acquainted with all the details of the administrative organization. Nobody but a Frenchman could present them in so succinct, and at the same time so clear and comprehensive a manner. As to his being a legitimist, that does not appear at all in his book,—quite the reverse; he seems to acknowledge no other legitimacy than that of the people. But such a man, if known in Paris as the author of this volume, would be no more mercifully dealt with than a legitimist,—he would most probably be treated still worse; and, therefore, the book has no name attached to it.

If such is the case, the absence of the name of the author cannot be considered as impugning the truth of his testimony; but, at the same time, the public has no security for the accuracy of all the statements, unless unquestionable authorities are referred to. The author himself, aware of this, concludes his introduction with the following observations:—

'In a composition like this, not only are truth and the utmost accuracy the first duty of an author; but also, considering the extraordinary and almost incredible character of the facts exposed, it is necessary to quote authorities, in support of all statements which concern individuals or the system; therefore I had appended notes and references to every chapter of this book; but, on reflection, seeing that their great number would have doubled the bulk of the volume, and that such innumerable annotations would constantly interrupt the reader, I thought it better to abandon that plan; and to give, as a general reference, a list of the documents on which I have founded my work, and which, for the most part, are to be found in the library of the British Museum; the best conducted establishment that I have any where seen.'—p. 13.

then follows a nomenclature of ministerial reports, official documents, and other authorities, on the several subjects treated of in the book.

Before entering upon our task as reviewers, we determined to test the author's accuracy by recurring to the authorities referred to; and, in order to save those of our readers inclined to do the same, the loss of time to which we ourselves were subjected, in searching for those works in the catalogues, we inform them that most of the documents are registered under the head of 'France.' We soon found that to look over two hundred volumes of the size of our parliamentary blue books, would take us more than two months, and we therefore limited our investigations, as to the accuracy of the author, to three principal points: first, with regard to the number of officials and the amount of their salaries. Second, with regard to the laws, royal ordinances, ministerial orders, and parliamentary reports. Third, with regard to facts incriminating corporate bodies and political individuals, in their public or private character.

As to the first point. The account annually presented to the chambers, by each minister, of the expenditure of his department, completely bears out the statements of our author. Nay, more, we found, (by chance, we admit, and not in the official accounts,) that, far from having exaggerated the number of officials wholly dependent on the government, and the enormous amount of their united salaries, he has passed over, without even mentioning it; a most numerous class—the *surnuméraires*, attached to all the ministries and all the administrations, and employed in all the principal offices in the chief towns of every *arrondissement*. These supernumeraries are all young men, a kind of administrative apprentices, receiving no salaries, but gratuities (*gratifications*), which are more frequently bestowed on account of the good offices of the parents, than for the services of the sons, whose prospect in life, and promotion to office depend entirely on ministerial good will.

With regard to the second point, after tedious researches in the 'Moniteur, Journal Officiel,' we fell upon the 'Annuaire de France,' by Lesur, a work not mentioned by our author, but which greatly assisted us in our investigations, by giving the text of the principal laws, royal ordinances, and ministerial instructions, or by referring to the official newspaper, and giving the dates. On this point again, the statements of the author are fully supported by all we read. The laws on the municipal councils, on the councils of arrondissements and of departments, on the national guard, on the press, on the jury, are just what they are represented to be,—the most complete annihilation of all individual or collective liberties, the legal establishment of the most absolute tyranny that was ever set up.

Thus far our inquiries resulted in the justification of the author; yet, still, his opinions on most of the public men, the severity of his judgments on their political or their private acts, appeared to emanate from the unjust and strongly prejudiced mind of a violent party man; and, therefore, we found it the more necessary to proceed with the utmost diffidence on the third part of our inquiry. Our task was very difficult, particularly as we had no certain data to direct us in our search for facts, either to impugn or to support the views of our author. We thought it best to select the principal characters, or bodies so strongly animadverted upon, and to consider on what grounds they are so unmercifully treated.

As to Louis Philippe, we can easily conceive why he should be condemned by an honest and liberal minded man. It is clear to us, after our inquiry, that his government is much more tyrannical than that of the Bourbons, whom he contributed to expel. The *Times*, followed by the herd of corrupt writers, may

now fill its long columns with the praise of the citizen-king; but its shameless panegyrics will convince none, even among its readers. In our opinion, in the opinion of every unprejudiced individual, a man who ascended the throne, if not at the call, at least with the enthusiastic assent of a whole people; and who, yet, in the course of a few years, has arrayed against him the immense majority of the nation, so much so, that periodical insurrections against his rule have taken place in his capital and in most of the principal towns of his kingdom; and, that he cannot publicly leave his palace, and ride five or six hundred yards to meet his legislative chambers, without having the public kept at a distance, and the road, according to the *Times* itself, lined by 20,000 soldiers;—such a man can be neither a wise nor an honest man. Human nature proclaims, that universal hatred succeeding to universal predilection, can never be the lot but of a bad and treacherous man. Therefore, there is no need to enter into particulars to find a reason for the opinions of our author, upon the character of the king of the barricades, or, rather, the king of the fortifications. The next in our author's dislike, is M. Guizot; and, hatred it must be admitted, is the feeling generally entertained and expressed in France towards the present leader of the French ministry. In this volume, he is represented as devoid of all political morality, without any other principle, than the uncontrolled exercise by himself of the govermental power, and as being as cruel as he is unprincipled in the pursuit of his object. The facts quoted in support of this accusation, have been submitted by us to severe scrutiny. Indeed, we thought it necessary to study the political life of M. Guizot, in his acts as reported by his biographers of all parties, as recorded in the official papers, and as alternately boasted of and apologized for by himself in his political pamphlets, and in his speeches. The following result of three days incessant reading, in the *Moniteur*, the other French daily and weekly papers, and, especially among the latter, the *Minerve*, completely confirm the opinion expressed by our author.

M. Guizot entered upon his political career, at the Restoration, in April 1814, as secretary to the Abbé de Montesquieu, minister of the interior, and prepared all the legislative and administrative measures having for their only object to annihilate the provisions of the charter which had just been granted to the French. Thus he was the concoctor of the law, establishing the censorship of the press, in violation of the article proclaiming its freedom, and of many other legal enactments, which so completely estranged the people from the newly restored dynasty, that, on the return of Napoleon from Elba, he was everywhere welcomed as a liberator. M. Guizot joined the

Bourbons at Ghent, but only after his dismissal from office, and when certain of the determination of all the European powers to restore them to authority. He came back with them after the battle of Waterloo, was appointed general secretary to the ministry of justice, under the weak-minded and pseudo-philanthropist, Barbé Marbois, and showed himself the most violent, among the violent *réactionaires* of those times. Not satisfied with the capital executions, the assassination and the proscription of the patriots and the Bonapartists, he framed the classification of the army and the people, into categories of guilt; and, distrusting not only the jurors, but also the regularly established courts of justice, he prepared the law to organize, in every department, a court martial, (*cour prevôtale*,) for the trial of political offenders. Thus far the accusation of cruelty is satisfactorily proved against him.

As to his want of political principle and of morality, in proof of which the author represents him as successively and repeatedly acting in co-operation or in opposition with his present colleagues or adversaries in seven different ministries, during the last thirteen years, the facts are incontrovertible. We find them recorded in the parliamentary debates reported by the *Moniteur*; and, consequently, we cannot but admit the opinion expressed in this volume; and this makes us the more desirous of the second volume promised by the author, 'Political Parties, and Political Men in France.'

Among the men whom the author has mentioned in the present volume, are 'Enfantin, the chairman of a commission on the affairs of Algeria, and Chevalier, a councillor of state and M. Guizot's candidate for the ministry of the public works,' both of whom were, eleven years ago branded by the Royal Court of Paris, as violators of all social laws, and swindlers, and sentenced to a fine and one year's imprisonment. We had just verified the fact by reading in the *Moniteur* of 1832, the report of their trial, and their condemnation, when our own daily papers quoted from the French gazettes the recent sentence of the Civil Court of Justice, of Paris, against Chevalier, condemning him to pay to the widow of one of his dupes, when a leader of the Saint Simonists, a large sum of money which he had obtained from her husband. A government, so shameless as to invest with official dignities, men of this description, is certainly nothing but an engine of corruption; and, to proclaim, as most of our daily papers do, the wisdom and the morality of Louis Philippe, and his worthy minister, M. Guizot, is an outrage against decency and common sense.

The fact relating to the peculation of General, now Field-marshal Bugeaud, in his treaty with Abdel-Kader, is also con-

firmed by the parliamentary debates reported in the *Moniteur;* and the order of the day adopted by the Chamber of Deputies upon this question, is *prima facie* evidence of the corruption, of the want of morality in that chamber. This is further confirmed by all the newspapers of November and December, 1839, which relate the following fact. A M. Corne, the upright deputy of Cambray, desirous of putting an end to the scandalous transactions which had taken place during the legislative discussions on the two Versailles railways, proposed, at the beginning of the session, that deputies should not be allowed to vote on any railway or canal law, in which they directly or indirectly had a pecuniary interest. No more than 32 deputies, out of 459, joined in the motion of M. Corne, who, therefore, was compelled to abandon it.

We were unable to devise any further means of ascertaining the corruption and venality of the French chambers, except with regard to the number of functionaries in each of the two legislative assemblies, to secure their subserviency to the ministerial will. Here, again, we can vouch for the accuracy of our author, and we conclude with him, that it is impossible to imagine a more complete mockery of national representation, as well as of national aristocracy in the French peerage.

As to the composition of the courts of justice, and the character of the judges, the attorneys and solicitors-general, or the king's attorneys, we were prepared for the statements of our author. We remember having read in the 'Edinburgh Review,' fifteen or eighteen months ago, a very remarkable article, on the trial of Madame Laffarge; in which the Reviewer, entering into all the details of that extraordinary case, followed step by step, the course of the judge who presided at the assizes, and of the attorney-general who conducted the prosecution; and, after exposing their partiality, their savage violence, their treacherous interrogatories, and the iniquity of the whole of their proceedings, concluded that the conduct of those officials was a disgrace to a civilized nation. When we reflect, that, in the case of Madame Laffarge, the crown and the ministry were disinterested, we are naturally led to this conclusion, that, in political cases, when the crown or the ministry have an interest in convicting, both the judge and the attorney-general, who have everything to fear from the failure of the prosecution, and everything to hope from its success, will be much less scrupulous in the choice of the means best calculated to secure a conviction; every such conviction being, for those who procure it, an advance towards the ministry of justice, which has in turn been the reward granted, for like services, to Barthe, Persil, and Martin, who is the actual holder of this office.

Our readers are now able to judge how far they may rely on the veracity of the author. Our endeavours to ascertain his general accuracy were the more necessary, as we find in almost every page statements of facts which seem to be beyond possibility, and which forcibly exemplify that line in the '*Art Poetique' of* Boileau.'

'Le vrai peut, quelquefois, n'etre pas vraisemblable,'

But we must now proceed with the review of the work; and, in order to show the object of the author, an object we should be delighted to see advanced, we give the following extract from the introduction :—

'In my attempt to expose the governmental and administrative system of France, and the condition of the people, my task is not so pleasant as that of Delolme; yet, the work may be equally useful. I cannot, unfortunately, exhibit the French institutions as a model worthy of imitation, but as a beacon to warn other nations.

'I am certain that the government and the state of France are not better known in England, than the government and state of England were known to the French, seventy years ago. Some are still under the impression, produced by the recitals of the French emigrants—the modern Jacobites, and maintain that all the French are so many Robespierres and Marats, longing for massacres and pillage. Others proclaim, that the Napoleonian ideas of glory and conquest are still prevalent, and that they are dissatisfied because they are not allowed to disturb again the peace of Europe. Others, again, attribute the unsettled state of the country to the inconstant and restless character of the people; and all, while praising to the skies the wisdom and firmness of Louis Philippe, come to the same conclusion, that no reliance can be placed on the French, and that no alliance can be contracted with them.

'This conclusion has for the last twelve months furnished a text to the leading newspapers of all parties in England.

'All of them have made the people answerable for the acts of a government over which they have no controul; and they have given credit to that government for its good intentions, and its resistance to the prejudices and bad passions of the nation; whereas a strict and judicious examination of all the facts would convince every body, that to the French government alone are to be attributed the causes of the existing political and diplomatic animosities.

'I am sure that most of the English newspapers have not willingly perverted the truth, that they have not been intentionally unjust towards the French; but it cannot be denied that they *are* unjust; and the result of that injustice has been to rekindle national animosities, which may lead to disastrous consequences, if the honest and intelligent men of England and of France do not hasten to elucidate the truth and to repair the breach.'—pp. 2, 3.

Then follows a rapid survey of the political events which have taken place in Europe during the last thirteen years, and of the diplomatic intrigues and transactions, the result of which has

been gradually to undermine that good understanding and those friendly feelings which had spontaneously grown up, after the revolution of July, between England and France; and to bring the two countries into almost direct hostilities. This part of the introduction, in which the writer displays the utmost impartiality, deserves peculiar attention, especially on the part of the members of our imperial parliament. We are decidedly of opinion that the facts quoted respecting the treaty of July, 1840, ought to be the subject of a parliamentary inquiry. There has been treachery either on the part of Lord Palmerston, or on that of Louis Philippe, who, as every one knows, is his own minister for foreign affairs; and, until the darkness which still hangs upon those transactions is dissipated, until the guilt is fully proved against its author, it is vain to hope for the return of that international confidence which is the only security for the welfare of the two countries and the peace of Europe. Nay more, it is vain to expect the continuance of that good understanding between the two governments, so solemnly announced by the King of the French at the opening of his chambers, and so triumphantly boasted of by our ministerial newspapers. We do not hesitate to predict that, before six months have elapsed, our minister for foreign affairs will have to resent some new acts of perfidy on the part of the French ruler. At the age, and with the character of Louis Philippe, a smile of the Russian Kalmouk will soon obliterate all recollection of the affectionate embrace of our young and gracious Queen. As to fidelity to his formal engagements, the volume before us demonstrates that this forms no part of the policy of the King of the Barricades.

The work is divided into three parts. In the first the author exposes the mechanism, and presents a complete enumeration of the forces of the government, and of the administration. In the second he displays the condition of the people, dissects its organization, and examines in turn all the institutions which, apparently intended for its protection, have each and all been transformed into irresistible instruments of governmental and administrative despotism. In the third part, he exhibits the working of that mechanism and of those institutions; the perpetual struggle, the desperate conflict between the governmental and administrative forces and the people; and their constant inroads on public and private liberties, and on the national welfare.

According to this plan, we expected to find, in the first part, merely a dry catalogue of all the offices of each department of the state, a long enumeration of the officials and of their salaries; in short, one of those statistical documents which are emi-

nently useful for reference, but at the same time eminently tedious for reading. The author, however, aware of the peculiar danger attending his undertaking, has taken care to enliven the subject, whenever he found an opportunity, by quotation of facts, amusing explanations, or sarcastic remarks.

Our limits will not allow us to enter into details, but we think it important to condense into a few lines the statistical resumé of our author on the administrative forces and their cost:

Ministers.	*Paid or unpaid officials.*	*Total amount of salaries.*
Interior	274,850	54,297,000 francs.
Justice	27,470	17,724,000 "
Public worship	83,700	35,280,000 "
Public instruction	56,810	13,950,000 "
Public works	22,710	10,190,000 "
Commerce and agriculture	17,630	12,572,000 "
Foreign affairs	620	8,290,000 "
War	98,900	75,000,000 "
Marine	25,300	18,000,000 "
Finances	258,527	149,028,000 "
Legions of honor	65,400	8,000,000 "
Total	931,977	397,331,000 francs.

We must remind our readers that the army and the navy are not included among the officials of the ministries of war and marine. Here the author very properly says on concluding the first part:

'The exposition of the governmental and administrative system, and the enumeration of the government and administrative forces, are now complete. The result is, 932,000 paid or unpaid officials and dependants, with 400,000 soldiers and *gens d'armes*, and 60,000 marines. Total 1,392,000.

'Here we have what I call, because it really is such, the army of occupation, which holds in subjection the beautiful country, which still retains the name of its old conquerors—France. It is more than five times the number of the Franks who made the four successive invasions in Gaul, and finally kept possession of the country, which they ruled for centuries as lords and owners of the soil and of the inhabitants.

'The discipline of the new conquerors is vastly superior to that of their predecessors, who prided themselves on their freedom, their equality, electing their chiefs, enacting the laws which they were to obey, and rising in arms against their elected leaders, when they acted in opposition to their will and interest. The reverse is the case with them and their present dominators. Instead of their electing their chiefs, they are appointed by the supreme chief, or, in his name, by subordinates. Instead of glorying in their freedom and equality, they compete in subserviency, as the only means of attaining superiority. Instead of having a will of their own, they must all submit to the will of their superiors, or be annihilated by being instantly dismissed from office. They have

but one interest; and that is, to comply with orders, whatsoever they may be. . . . . The next thing, after such inducements to what they call a proper discharge of their duty, by the new Franks, is to secure them against any responsibility for their official misdeeds, for their malversations with regard to the conquered Frenchmen. The case is provided for by the code of the former conquerors, which enacted that they could not be tried but by their fellows and companions in guilt, their *pares*, their peers; and such an enactment is too well adapted to the present circumstances not to be still the law. Nay, there is a modern improvement. Before any administrative official can be summoned before judiciary officials, the plaintiff must obtain the authorization of doing so from the council of state, the nominees and dependants of the probable authors of the injustice complained of—the ministers. So that there is small chance of obtaining the authorization, and, if obtained, so little chance of redress, that one submits to injustice sooner than incur the risk of a series of prosecutions, by an imprudent attempt at a remedy for a previous wrong. . . . .

'On contemplating the deplorable situation of France, one naturally thinks such a state of things incompatible with an electoral body, with a representative assembly, with trial by jury, with a national guard, and with an intelligent and spirited population. This reflection is a fallacy resulting from an erroneous notion of these institutions in France. They must be accurately exposed in order to explain how what are considered in England as the bulwarks of civil and religious liberty, form, in that country, the promoters and safeguards of oppression. This will complete the exposition of the French governmental and administrative system, or, as it ought to be called, the new monarchy of the Franks in now subjugated France.'—pp. 85, 87, 88.

As our readers might expect from the last paragraph just quoted, the second part of the work offers a really appalling picture of the condition of the French people. The first chapter, 'Statistics of the French population,' presents three most elaborate classifications of the French, according to their trades, their property, and their degree of ignorance and of instruction. With regard to the last, we confess, that the praises so long bestowed upon the French system of public instruction, and upon its pretended author, had not prepared us for the revelations here made. We could not have imagined, that of a population of 34,400,000 inhabitants, 17,000,000 can neither read nor write; that 7,000,000 can read but imperfectly, and are unable to write; and that seven other millions can read and write but imperfectly. Yet such are the results of the investigations of our author. We believe, indeed, that the number of persons completely ignorant is much greater than it is represented. The documents upon which the author has made up his calculations, are the annual reports of the minister at war, on the operations of the recruiting service. According to the provision of the law *de recrutement*, every young man of twenty-one years of age, when brought

before the proper authorities, to draw lots, is questioned as to his being able to read and write; and they all are duly registered, according to their answers and to the specimens of their abilities they have given; but, the number of educated young men, cannot be considered as a fair average of the state of instruction of the whole population. It is well known, that, in most of the villages of France, there are no schools for girls, and that their education is much more neglected than that of the boys. Our readers, therefore, will conclude with us, that the condition of the French people, with regard to education, is still worse than represented in this book. Indeed, nothing but the general ignorance of the immense majority of the nation, their consequent inability to understand and value the birth-rights of man, and the mental degradation which follows upon exclusively animal pursuits, could enable a government to cripple so completely all the popular energies, and to establish under the name of constitutional institutions a system of government, whose *prima mobilia* are terror and corruption.

In this second part, the author successively examines and describes the municipal and departmental institutions, the councils of arrondissements, the general councils, the electoral system, the legislative assemblies; the organization of the jury, the national guard, and the press. The municipal councils as well as the councils of arrondissements and departments, are but the tools of the ministers. The following extract will show their composition :—

'According to law, the payment of 200 francs direct taxes, and the age of twenty-five years, are the present electoral qualifications. By a subsequent law, similar to that of the Restoration, the electoral list, with the addition of about 15,000 officials, appointed by the king, compose the list of jurymen. Thus, a small proportion of the citizens are, at the same time, the electors of the councils of *arrondissements*, and of the general councils of the departments; the electors of the deputies, and the judges of the rest of their fellow citizens.

'The number of the persons entitled by their age and their property to share in the electoral monopoly, is under 200,000. We have seen, in the administrative statistics, that the paid officials, and those who, although not paid by the state, derive their income from the offices bestowed upon them by the government, are above 500,000. It follows that the government has the means of seducing and bribing the whole of the electoral body.

'Four hundred of these officials are paid from 20,000 francs to 400,000 francs (the allowance of the French ambassador in London). Two thousand nine hundred officials receive from 10,000 francs to 20,000 francs. Seven thousand obtain from 4,500 francs to 10,000 francs. Forty thousand offices are worth from 2,000 francs to 4,500 francs. Seventy-five thousand range between 1,200 francs and 2,000 francs; 125,000 *words*, from 800 francs to 1,200 francs. All the other offices produce less than

800 francs. In short, here we have 245,000 places at the disposal of the government, with a salary of 800 francs for the lowest offices, and gradually rising to 100,000 francs.

We have stated that a direct tax of 200 francs supposes an income of 1,800 francs. It may easily be conceived that a gentleman with so small an income is not unwilling to add even the insignificant sum of 800 francs to his annual revenue, by accepting an employment. If he is not willing to accept of it for himself, he may be induced to procure it for a son, a brother, or for a son-in-law, as the marriage portion of a daughter. An elector in easier circumstances will decline an office so niggardly remunerated, but will be pleased with another producing 1,800, 2,000, or 3,000 francs. To the superior class of electors, the bribes are the highest and the best paid places. Thus it were easy to imagine an electoral body entirely composed of placemen, who would unanimously elect, as deputies, the ministerial candidates. Then the 459 deputies, and the peers being provided for in the same manner, the same unanimity would prevail in the two chambers. The laws would be passed by acclamation as soon as introduced. Would not that be a capital order of things?'—pp. 113, 114.

The description of the Chamber of Deputies is one of the most remarkable passages in these volumes. It has been given in full by almost all the newspapers, and, therefore, is already known to most of our readers. We will offer them, instead of this, the composition of a French jury :—

'' It has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, when speaking of the elections, that the electoral lists of the departments, are, at the same time, those of the jury for the same departments, with the addition of state pensioners, retired officers, persons filling public offices, and graduates of the universities. These lists are made out every year by all the mayors of the communes, assembled at the chief town of their canton. They are then given to the sub-prefect, who sends them, with his observations, to the prefect. The prefect revises those lists, and is authorised to erase the names of those whom he considers improperly inserted, although no complaint should have been made against their insertion. The lists are then published.

'Parties whose names have not been inserted in the lists, or erased, may claim their insertion; and other parties may claim the erasure of electors improperly admitted; but the prefects and the councils of prefecture adjudicate on their claims. The law, however, allows the interested parties to appeal to the royal courts from the decisions of the prefect; but the trouble, expenses, and loss of time attendant on those appeals, deter most of them from defending their rights. In case the number of the electors of an electoral college should be reduced under 150, the prefect may supply the deficiency by inserting the names of persons paying less than 200 francs of direct taxes.

'But all the persons entitled to serve, and inscribed on the lists, are not called in turn at the assizes. The prefects select every year, from the general lists, a certain number of the electors, according to their known opinions, carefully excluding the legitimists and the liberals; and

thus secure the judgment of their political adversaries by their friends. This has been fully proved by the correspondence communicated by M. Isambert to the chamber of deputies, twelve months ago, in which a prefect recommended the postponement of a trial, in order to have the benefit of his improved list of electors and jurymen. Thus, the minister seems to have nothing more to fear from the courts of justice than from the representative body; and his subordinates can rely not only on his support and on promotion, in proportion to their zeal in executing his commands, and keeping the people in due subjection, but also on the severity of the jury in case of any prosecution instituted by them against any one who dares question their authority, resist the execution of their orders, or publicly censure their measures.

'The general lists of the jury, so reduced by the prefects to one-fourth of their former number, are then forwarded to the presidents of the royal courts, who, every month, take from those lists the names of the jurymen who are to form the jury during the following assizes. The forty names are drawn by lot, at least so the law orders it, and, afterwards, the twelve jurymen who are to try the case are chosen in the same manner by the judge, in the presence of the attorney-general, who prosecutes, and of the prisoner.

'It might seem that, after the careful reformation of the lists by the prefects, the public prosecutors ought not to be afraid of what they call scandalous acquittals, and to claim an extensive right of challenge. Such, however, is the case. They are by law entitled to the half (twelve) of the challenges, and the parties accused have the same number, and no more, however numerous they may be. I have seen, in a political prosecution, twenty-eight prisoners tried by ten placemen, and only two independent men, the attorney-general having challenged all the others. Of course, they gave a good verdict.

'Yet, there were still two dangerous practices in the course of the deliberations of the juries. First, the jurymen expressed and debated their opinions; and it sometimes happened that one or two honest, intelligent, and courageous jurymen convinced their colleagues, by the force of their arguments, or awakened in their minds a sense of duty—a feeling of mercy. Secondly, it was easy to know the votes of every one of the jurymen, and to let the public know to whom were due the horrid sentences so frequently pronounced. To get rid of these inconveniences, the law was altered; and by the new act, every juryman, on retiring to consider the case, receives from the president of the court a card, (*un bulletin*,) on which the question relative to the guilt of the prisoner is written; and the jurymen are requested to write secretly and in their turn, yes or no, under the question, and to put their cards in a box prepared for that purpose; afterwards, the foreman of the jury, in the presence of his colleagues, takes the cards, examines them, and declares the majority for or against the accusation. By such process all discussion is precluded, and every one may condemn without fear of the consequences on the part of the public; whilst an acquittal exposes them all to the vengeance of the government.

'And that is what is still called trial by jury!'—pp. 138, 139, 140.

Our limits compel us to pass over the chapters devoted to the

national guard and to the press, both of which are as completely fettered as the municipal and departmental councils and as the jury; and merely to glance at the third part of the volume, 'The working of the governmental and administrative system.' Indeed, we cannot give a more complete idea of this part of the work than by quoting the heads of the chapters:

I. The Working of the Governmental and Administrative System.
II. The Ministries of Interior and Justice tending only to enslave and oppress the People.
III. The Ministry of Public Instruction tending to keep the People in ignorance, or to teach errors.
IV. The Ministry of Finances absorbing all the resources of the country.
V. The Ministry of Agriculture and Trade trammelling agriculture, manufactures, and trade.
VI. The Ministry of Public Works, an obstacle to, or a cause of failure in the execution of Public Works.
VII. Ministers of War and Marine.
VIII. Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
IX. Conclusion and General Tables.

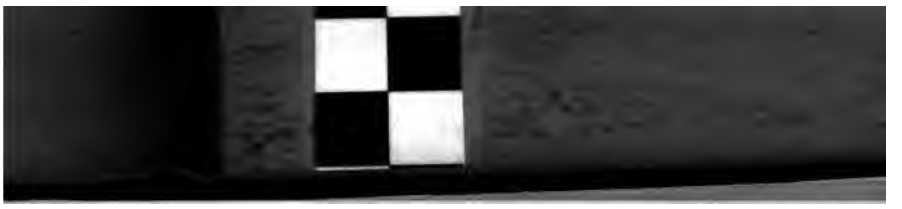
Every one of these chapters is full of facts; and, generally, those facts are supported by official documents, which put beyond doubt the accuracy of the author. The chapters on the ministries of finance, of agriculture and trade, and of the public works, if translated into French and published in Paris, would make the government itself blush. In the conclusion of the third part, the author gives a table of the fifteen ministries which were formed from the 7th of August, 1830, to December, 1840. The results are very curious, and illustrate the consistency of the present administration in a manner which they will not relish. We see that—

'*Firstly*. Marshal Soult, the actual president of the council, has held office in five administrations; in the ministries of 1831 and 1839, in opposition to Guizot, Thiers, and Molé; in the ministries of 1832 and 1834, in co-operation with Guizot and Thiers; in the ministry of 1839, in opposition to both Guizot and Thiers; and now, in co-operation with Guizot, and in opposition to Thiers.

'*Secondly*. Guizot has been seven times in office: in 1830 and 1837, in co-operation with Count Molé! in the four administrations of 1832, April, 1834, November, 1834, and 1835, in co-operation with Thiers; and now, in opposition to both Count Molé and Thiers.

'*Thirdly*. Martin held office, in 1837, under Count Molé with Guizot; in 1838, under Count Molé against Guizot and the Coalition; and he is now with Soult and Guizot against Count Molé.

'*Fourthly*. Villemain was in the administration of 1839, in opposition to Count Molé, Guizot, and Thiers; he is now in the ministry with Guizot.



'*Fifthly*. Duchatel made part of the three administrations of April and November, 1834, and February, 1835, in co-operation with Thiers and Guizot; then, in 1836, under Thiers against Guizot; in 1837, under Molé, and with Guizot, against Thiers; in 1839, with Passy and Dufaure, against Molé, Guizot, and Thiers.

'*Sixthly*. Cunin Gridaine was in the Passy-Dufaure ministry, against Molé, Guizot, and Thiers.

'*Seventhly*. Teste was also in the Passy-Dufaure administration.

'*Eighthly*. Humann had been in four administrations with Thiers and Guizot. Then, in 1836, he was with Thiers, in opposition to Guizot and Soult; and he latterly was with Guizot, in opposition to Thiers.

'Lacave Laplagne, his successor, was in the Molé ministry of 1838, in opposition to Thiers and Guizot; he is now with Guizot, against Molé and Thiers.

'*Ninthly*. Duperré was with Thiers and Guizot in the ministries of 1834 and 1835; then in the ministry of Thiers, in opposition to Guizot, in 1836; then in the Passy-Dufaure administration, against Thiers and Guizot, in 1839; and now, with Guizot, he is in opposition to Thiers, Passy, and Dufaure.

'And this is the administration daily commended by the London press for the abilities, the consistency, and the unanimity of its members! Indeed, I cannot account for the extraordinary concurrence of all our journals in the same views of the subject, but by a most extraordinary influence exerted over their correspondents; and I have no doubt that the Editors, if better acquainted with the facts, would not hesitate to retract their erroneous notions, and honestly represent the vices inherent in the French governmental and administrative system.'—pp. 221, 222.

The general results of the governmental and administrative system, are given in three other statistical tables, which now demand our attention, and which we recommend to the meditations of moralists, of statesmen, and, above all, of the religious public.

The first is an alphabetical table of the 86 departments of France—exhibiting the amount of their respective population, and of the taxes paid, and the physical and moral condition of the inhabitants:—the physical condition comprehending agriculture, food, manufactures, pauperism, and longevity; the moral condition, tested by instruction or ignorance, religious zeal, criminality, bastardy, and foundlings. The second and third tables present the eighty-six departments classified according to the number of the inhabitants, to the amount of taxes paid, to the degree of agriculture, pauperism, religious zeal, criminality, &c. &c.; 43 departments, with a maximum of population, &c. &c., form the second table; and 43 departments, with a minimum, &c. &c., form the third.

It would be impossible to exhibit all the consequences which might be inferred from these documents, even in an article entirely devoted to the subject. The author himself did not at-

tempt it. He seems to have been astounded at the result of his investigations, and unable or unwilling to explain their causes.

The importance of the subject leads us to regret that the author stops short, and chooses to let the public pursue an object, which he himself could have easily achieved. In the last part, he ought not to have adopted the official denomination given by the government to its church establishment, and taken it as a standard of religious zeal; and then he would not have exclaimed, on seeing criminality increase, according to the increase in the number of priests:—

"Quæsivi cœlo lucem ingemuique repertâ."

Religion is quite out of the question. It is priestcraft—it is church and state worship, and not religious zeal;—it is mammon, and not the author of Christianity which produces such appalling results, not in catholic France only, but also here, in Protestant England. Let Sir Robert Peel act upon the suggestions of the author, and institute a severe and conscientious inquiry; and he will soon be convinced that state-church establishments, irreligion, pauperism, immorality, and criminality, all go hand in hand—that the statistical tables of England would tally with those of France.

We have accomplished our task. Hitherto we have not said one word about the manner in which the author has executed the undertaking which he had prescribed to himself. The *matter* is so overwhelmingly important, that even a professed reviewer is apt to lose sight of all considerations of a merely literary character, in the perusal. We cannot omit to add, however, that the style in which the author of 'France' composes, is not less remarkable than the contents of his book. Although perfectly qualified to shine as a writer, as he has proved by those touches of wit, humour, and sarcasm, with which he has enlivened the drier parts of his subject; yet, he manifests that complete self-control, which enables men of the first class, when conscious of having a serious business in hand, to keep every inferior object in entire subordination to the achievement of their principal design. The result is, a view of the whole system of government in France, condensed within the compass of less than three hundred pages, and yet everywhere clear; conveying to the reader's mind a strong impression of the knowledge, earnestness, and sincerity of the writer, as well as a distinct exhibition of the mechanism of that vast machinery, by means of whose powerful motive principle and lubricated wheels, the French nation are ruled, as we have been boastfully assured, 'without an effort.' In short, this volume presents the only means accessible to foreigners, of understanding the internal adminis-

tration of France; while, to all other nations, it is at once a beacon and a model;—a beacon, to warn them against those dangers with which the system of central government is fraught; and a model for those who may undertake to exhibit the action of the ruling powers in their own country.

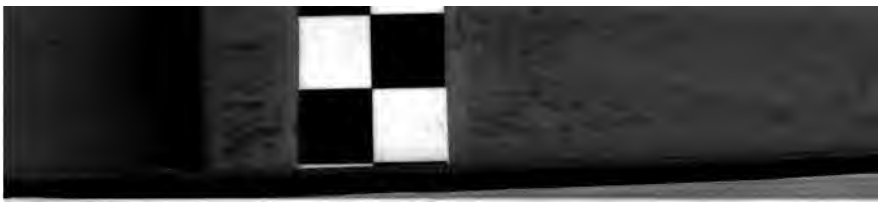
Art. II. *Die Authentie des Pentateuches Erwiesen u. s. w. The Authenticity of the Pentateuch demonstrated. By Ernest William Hengstenberg, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, and ordinary Professor of the latter at Berlin.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. lxxxiv. 502, 662. Berlin. 1836—1839.

THE name of Professor Hengstenberg, of Berlin, must be familiar to all who take an interest, either in the religious condition of the continent, or in the progress of biblical literature among our learned and laborious neighbours, the Germans. Though yet, comparatively, but a young man, he has for a number of years occupied a foremost place in the ranks of the advocates of evangelical truth, and sound biblical exegesis in his native country. Among a nation of scholars, his claims to pre-eminence as a profound and accurate interpreter of scripture, there are few who will venture to dispute; whilst, as a firm, unsparing, and indomitable opponent of rationalism, in all its forms, he has outstripped every one of his confederates, both in zeal and in success. In the pages of the *Evangelische Kirchen Zeitung,* [Journal of the Evangelical Church,] of which he is editor, he wages a fearless warfare with every species of theological error; and is not slow to castigate what he deems the aberrations of individuals on his own side, as well as the heresies of those on the opposite side of the great questions which now divide the advocates of neologianism and christianity, of protestantism and cathólicism on the continent. He is, in fact, not only a perfect *malleus hereticorum,* but we fear a little of an Ishmael in theological controversy; at any rate, it is to be regretted that his stern, uncompromising opposition to the ruinous errors which have so long infected the theology of Germany, should have betrayed him into several bitter and harsh censures of individuals who have the good cause as much at heart as himself, but have not been endowed with such courage, natural decision of character, and vigorous powers of reasoning, as have fallen to his share, or have not so fully escaped from the twilight of early prepossessions, into that clear light in which he is privileged to walk. This has embroiled him in controversies with his brethren, which have not only wasted his energies in a great measure fruitlessly, but have given

advantage to the common foe, and have somewhat affected his own reputation. It were to be wished, also, that even towards the enemies of the truth he had adopted a tone partaking a little more of 'the meekness of wisdom',—combining somewhat more of the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*, than he has seen meet to assume, for the most part, in his strictures on them, and on their writings. To a certain degree of severity, where it is so richly deserved as by the German neologians, we have no objection; on the contrary, there are cases, and theirs is beyond all doubt one of them, where it becomes a sacred duty to 'rebuke sharply that others may fear.' But in the tone of Hengstenberg, there is too often a bitter and sarcastic contemptuousness towards his antagonists, which has more the appearance of personal hostility, than of zeal for the truth. Justice compels us also to add, that his controversial keenness has in one or two cases seduced him into gross unfairness towards his opponents, in withholding from them that credit and respect, to which in common equity they are entitled. Thus, De Wette is hardly admitted by him to possess the learning of a schoolboy; and Gesenius, who, whatever may have been his defects as a theologian and interpreter of scripture, was beyond all doubt one of the first Hebraists of his day, is sometimes treated as if he were the merest sciolist in the sacred tongue.* All this is to be regretted, but at the same time it should not be allowed to blind us to Professor Hengstenberg's great merits as a biblical scholar, and his valuable services as an advocate of genuine evangelical truth. Allowances also must be made for the natural ardour of his temperament, and for the tremendous provocation he has received at the hands of the neologian party. But it is best that, on such a point he should plead his own defence, and, therefore, we shall submit to our readers the remarks with which he closes the prolegomena to the work before us—a work more than any other of his larger productions marked by severity of tone towards his opponents:—

'The tone of this book will in many places be displeasing to many. People will denounce its want of charity, its harshness, its passionateness. The author did not write down the passages, which may give occasion to such censures at first without mature deliberation nor without pain;

* Gesenius, who was a coarse-minded man, and fond of indulging in vulgar jesting—a propensity which he gratified as unscrupulously at the expense of patriarchs and apostles, as at that of his contemporaries—was wont to retaliate upon his antagonist, by the undignified expedient of making him the object of ridicule to his class. One of his favourite modes of doing this was, in referring to Hengstenberg, to stop, after pronouncing the first syllable of his name, *Hengst.*, and gasp as if unable to finish it. 'Hengst' in German, means 'stallion.'



and he afterwards revised them to see if he might not venture to soften them, but this he dared not do. Even had he no other interest at heart but that of science, he would feel himself constrained to speak in strong language against the attempts of his opponents. When, however, not only science, but, as he sincerely believes, religion itself is endangered by their attempts, (it being impossible to separate the fate of religion, from that of its written records), and where these attempts as they tend to irreligion, proceed also from irreligion, he would have sinned against himself, had he not allowed this conviction to exercise an influence on his tone. Equitable opponents will measure him by his own standard; they will direct their strictures, not so much against the tone of the author, as against his entire religious stand-point, of which the former is but a necessary consequence. At the same time, he cares little whether they do so or not. His sole anxiety is, that he may retain a good conscience, and that he may not need to dread that account which he must one day give of this book to his Lord and God, by whom strength has been given for it, and whose blessing upon it he implores.'—p. lxxxiv.

This seems to us candid and honest; and, in truth, as far as the volume before us is concerned, we do not know that there is one of the strictures it contains, which has not been fully merited, or which we should desire to see clothed in a milder tone. The impudence and arrogance of the rationalists are in full parallel with the bold impiety and reckless scepticism of their system.

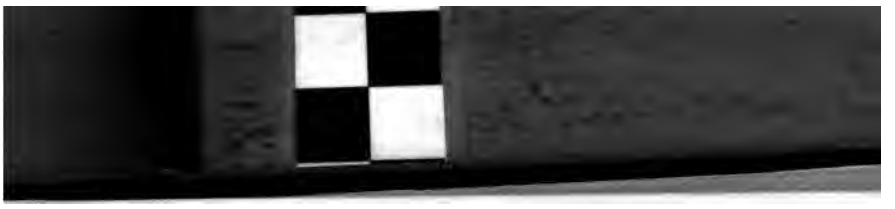
The work by which Hengstenberg has hitherto been best known in this country, is his '*Christologie des Alten Testaments*,' in which he explains and illustrates the intimations of the Old Testament, respecting the person, work, and kingdom of the Messiah. This is a work of great value to the biblical student. Profoundly learned, unweariedly laborious, adding great acuteness to great solidity and good sense, the author has in this production supplied a work which leaves little to be desired in regard to the elucidation of the Messianic portion of the Jewish scriptures. On the predictions concerning the Messiah, contained in the professedly prophetical writings of the Old Testament, it is particularly full; and, after using it for several years as an aid in the study of that very difficult part of the sacred volume, we have no hesitation in pronouncing it by far the most thorough and satisfactory exposition of these predictions extant. What Moses Stuart has said of it, appears to us perfectly just; he calls it, 'a masterly performance, a fine exhibition of enlightened and thorough philology and exegesis, and an able effort to vindicate and explain the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament.'* A very good translation of the whole work has appeared in America, from the pen of Dr. Reuel Keith, Professor in the Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary of

* Quoted in American Bib. Repository, for October, 1840, p. 399.

Virginia (3 vols. 8vo., 1839,) which we should be glad to see reprinted in this country.*

The work now before us, has occupied the mind of the author for several years; and, as compared with his Christologie, it bears evident traces of increasing power and maturity. It is in our opinion, the most valuable work in the department to which it belongs, that the restless industry of German scholarship has produced. It is one also, which all who are acquainted with the present state of biblical learning in that country, will admit to have been much needed. From the time of Le Clerc, and, especially since the reign of rationalism commenced, a mass of theories regarding the composition of the Pentateuch, and objections to its authenticity and integrity, had been gradually accumulated, which from their very number and variety had tended to instil into the minds of general observers the notion, that the orthodox opinions on this head were far from being tenable. To these attacks on this portion of the sacred records, numerous replies had from time to time been issued; so that, perhaps, not one of the objections or cavils of the neologians had been left without a sufficient answer. At the same time, many of these replies had proceeded from men whose stand-point was not that of rigid orthodoxy, and who had adopted views, or who made concessions, of which the enemies of inspiration were not slow to take advantage. There was a want also, of some work which should present in an orderly and vigorous manner, *all* that the friends of truth had to say, in defence of the Mosaic writings, and in reply to those by whom their claims were impugned,—a work which had of late become the more necessary, from the circumstance, that the opposite party had been careful to present their views under all the advantages which rhetorical artifice and connected argumentation could supply. To remove this appearance of insecurity and unsettledness on the part of the advocates of the authenticity of the Mosaic writings—to subject the cavils and objections of the adversaries to a thorough and searching scrutiny, on the ground of rigid supra-naturalism,—

* We perceive that an abridged translation, by the Rev. J. K. Arnold, is announced as about to make its appearance in London. Why an *abridged* translation? Abridgments are good, only when the original work is too *wordy*, or too much loaded with *incongruous matter*. In all other cases, they are real evils, as they give us only the 'disjuncta membra,' instead of the complete and harmonious development—'totus teres atque rotundus,'—of the author's views. In the case of Hengstenberg's *Christologie*, neither of the two conditions above specified exist; there is nothing we could wish retrenched; and we cannot conceive how Mr. Arnold is to achieve his projected abridgment, except, by eliminating those elaborate exegetical discussions which, to the thorough scholar constitute the chief value of Hengstenberg's work, however much they may transcend the modern standard of Cambridge and Oxford.



and to present the evidence for the integrity and authenticity of the Pentateuch, as these have been maintained in the church of God, from the time of Moses downwards, in such a form as should satisfy the mind of the candid enquirer, and silence if not confute the gainsayer; this was the important task which remained to be undertaken for the cause of truth in Germany, and to this Dr. Hengstenberg has addressed himself in the volumes before us. We are heartily glad such a duty has fallen into his hands. Of all men in Germany, so far as our knowledge extends, he is the fittest to be the champion of truth in such a field. His unbending orthodoxy—his profound learning—his logical and exegetical tact—his indomitable diligence—his minute accuracy—and his Hannibal-like hatred of rationalism, in all its forms, point him out as the individual to whom the weighty interests of this great controversy might with the fullest confidence, both in the honesty and the prowess of the champion, be entrusted. As a writer in Tholuck's *Anzeiger*. (Jahrg. 1836, s. 618) justly says, he is beyond all doubt, 'the most valiant of all the more recent theologians' of his country; and his furniture and skill, are at least equal to his valour. In the present encounter, his bow has not turned back, nor his sword returned empty. Against one after another of the heroes of rationalism—De Wette, Von Bohlen, Vatke, Hitzig—he has successfully kept the field, parrying their deadliest thrusts, and, when he had exhausted their strength, levelling them with the dust. As Englishmen, in whose uncompromising temper, and after whose un-mystical, earnest, practical, and straightforward fashion, Hengstenberg is reproached by his countryman with writing, we feel proud of this work, believing that it has done irreparable damage to the cause of infidelity, and rendered immense advantage to the cause of truth. To the latter, the author's services are likely to prove valuable, not merely by overthrowing its opponents, but by what is, perhaps, still more important—teaching its friends how to be true to its interests, and how best to maintain its cause.

Dr. Hengstenberg has chosen to arrange his work in the form of separate treatises or essays, upon the leading topics of importance in the controversy to which it relates. This plan he has followed, he tells us, against his better judgment, which would have led him to pursue a more connected, systematic, and logical order, in which the subjects discussed should have been taken up according to their natural sequence. This certainly would have been much preferable for the reader, who has now to undergo the labour of reconstructing the author's materials so as to perceive the full force of his reasonings and researches. The reason which Dr. Hengstenberg assigns for the course he has

adopted. Nerves is free from a practice of which the Germans are much too fond—that of publishing the first volume of a work before the author has commenced the second—a practice which has enabled many the literature of that country, a larger number of unfinished works than can be found, perhaps, in the literature of all the rest of Europe besides. Though these considerations, are he, are intended to embrace the enquiry regarding the authenticity of the Pentateuch in its whole extent, yet the author knows not when the end is to follow the beginning, the second volume the first. At the best, with that toilsome work which the subject demands, this can only be after the lapse of some years. In this case, he did not deem it suitable to commence with a tome for which the work of Ranke had just done so much.* He believed, therefore, that he might yield to his own inclination, especially as in the Prolegomena, he has endeavoured to give such a view as will gather the scattered portions into one. He had also in his eye the advantage to the reader of rendering by this means less cumbrous those investigations which have to do with the external evidence, and which, when presented in their entire fulness all at once, are apt to fatigue. Vol. I. p. xxxv.

The author commences his work by Prolegomena, extending over 84 pages. In these he discusses the causes of the opposition which theologians of the rationalist school have manifested to the claims of the Pentateuch, whilst these have been admitted and proceeded upon by historians of the highest order, and with hardly an exception. This latter fact shows that it is not from any real defect in point of evidence that the authenticity of the Mosaic writings has been so fiercely and pertinaciously assailed by the rationalists. The cause, therefore, must be sought somewhere else; and the author very clearly traces it to that dislike of everything supernatural, that aversion from right views of the holiness of the divine character, the evil of sin, and the necessity of repentance, that opposition to the leading features which mark the characters of the men whom the Pentateuch holds up to our admiration, and that incapacity to enter into the spirit of the sacred writings, which distinguish all the disciples of the neological schools. He then proceeds to describe the different views which have been entertained regarding the Pentateuch, as respects both its Mosaic origin, and the historical character of its narratives, by different writers. In regard to the former, there is first the party of those who deny the authenticity of

* The subject to which the author alludes, is the 'Design and Unity of the Pentateuch,' a subject which has been discussed with much ability, by F. H. Ranke, in his (yet unfinished) work, entitled '*Untersuchungen ueb. d. Pentateuch u. s. w.* Erlang. 1834.

the Pentateuch altogether, or with very trifling exceptions. At the head of these in Germany stands De Wette, followed by Hartmann, Von Bohlen, Vatke, and perhaps, also, Gesenius. A second party admits the Mosaic origin of the more important and comprehensive parts of the Pentateuch;—the leader of this party is Eichhorn, and its ablest advocate at present is Bleek, who concludes that 'the code of laws contained in the Pentateuch is, as respects its entire spirit, purely Mosaic, and that not only as regards the more general moral precepts, but also as regards the special regulations concerning the Levitical offerings, and cleansings, which form so large a portion of the whole. By a third party, the authenticity of all the five books in all their parts is maintained, though some admit the existence of a few glosses; and others go the length of conceding that there are more extensive interpolations, of whom Jahn has advanced so far that he has laid himself open in many cases to his adversaries. To this party, besides Jahn, belong Michaelis, Hug, Movers, Sack, and Ranke, 'whose work is the best,' says Hengstenberg, 'which has yet been written in favour of the genuineness of the Pentateuch.' As respects the historical character of the narratives in these books, some, while they reject what does not square with their dogmatical views, nevertheless contend, that whatever does not transcend the ordinary course of things, may be viewed as historically true. Among these, Eichhorn, Bauer, Meyer, Bertholdt, and Gesenius, take the lead. Others, among whom are De Wette, Vatke, Baur (of Tübingen), and Von Bohlen, with greater logical consistency, though with an audacity which is almost incredible, maintain that 'the Pentateuch, as a source of history, is clearly useless; for there is no firm historical basis for anything therein—all is mythic; it is only the want of versification which has hitherto deprived the Pentateuch of the honours of poetry.' The bold avowal of this opinion Hengstenberg hails as of good omen, because it is in such gross opposition to all sound historical feeling, and because, generally, every error must complete itself, and reach its zenith, before the return to truth can begin. Among the adherents of this error, however, there is a difference of view, arising from this—'that some, as De Wette, content themselves with merely pulling down, and protest against all attempts to rebuild; whilst others, as Baur and Vatke, are for attempting this rebuilding. To this latter aim belongs an extraordinary daring courage, of which, in the province of profane history, one can scarcely find an instance. There, every one knows, that without stones, men can build only castles in the air. Ah! But this case is only that of the *common* historian! The *philosophic* historian is in possession of the laws, according to which, history

must unfold itself. Necessity includes actuality. Why, then, require any particular outward proofs for the latter? To lay such at the basis, is only a hindrance, and one must rejoice when none such exist; for when they do, they seldom agree with the necessary laws, and one has the toil of cutting and shaping, and fitting and taking away. As to modifying the laws by them, that is a thing not once to be thought of by anybody. Every contradiction which rests merely on outward evidence, is for 'science' and its priests a thing of no worth. (Vatke p. vii.) Common criticism can only kill; philosophic criticism can restore to life: it has all in itself, and calls, aloud, 'I am, and none else.'' (p. lxxii.) Another difference among the opponents of the claims of the Pentateuch, has arisen from the circumstance that some regard the composition and publication of the Pentateuch, as an intentional piece of fraud, and others, as if ashamed of such wicked thoughts, dismiss this idea. 'In fine, we find a perfect swarm of differences, when we cast our eyes upon the views of the opponents respecting the relations of these five books to each other, the time of the composition of each, and the time of the collecting and uttering of the whole. Here the grand principle of subjectivity* celebrates its triumph. Not two of the more distinguished critics are here agreed as to the proper solution of the most important problems. It is a strife of all against all. We had designed, at first, to present our readers with the ludicrous scene of this conflict, in certain particulars, in order that from the confusion that prevails among the positive results of the more recent criticism (which remains uniform only so long as it is controlled by a common dogmatical influence), they may conclude respecting the boasted security of its negative results. But an irresistible disgust overcame us, and we could not, after entering the province of Caprice, persuade ourselves to collect the mass of vagaries that lie scattered there. Any one may supply the omission, who will take some of the leading works of these authors into his hands, and compare them one with another. The impression will be much the same as that which one receives in a Jewish school.' (p. lxxiv.)

Following the Prolegomena, the first subject discussed by Dr. Hengstenberg is 'the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel.' Under the former of these heads, his design is to set aside what has often been used as an argument for the authenticity of the Pentateuch—viz., its being found among the Samaritans. This he shows to be an argument of no weight, as the Samaritans must have ob-

* *i. e.*, as we should say, of each writer measuring his opinions by his *own* prejudices and predilections.

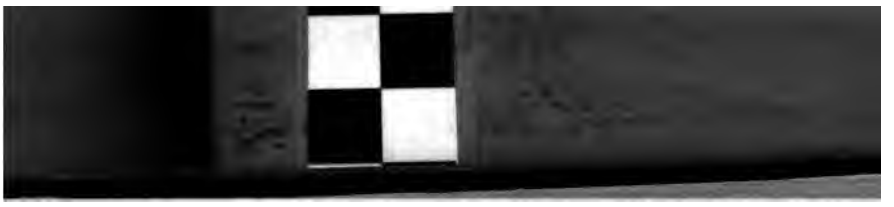
tained the Pentateuch at a late period from the Jews. In order to establish this conclusion he enters upon a long and learned inquiry as to who the Samaritans were, and concludes that so far from being, as is commonly supposed, a composite race, partly of Israelitish and partly of heathen origin, their source was purely heathen, and that the bitter hatred shown towards them by the Jews arose from their wishing to be sharers with them in the privileges and hopes of Israel. To this invaluable dissertation succeeds a lengthened investigation of the traces of acquaintance with, and reverence for, the Books of Moses, in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. For this purpose the writings of Hosea and Amos, the prophets of that kingdom, and the Books of Kings, are carefully examined, and the evidences which they furnish, in favour of the position the author seeks to establish, brought out. Having prosecuted this inquiry, he feels himself in circumstances to administer due castigation to Messrs. Von Bohlen and Vatke, who have had the audacity boldly to deny the existence of any traces of acquaintance with the Pentateuch in these books, and the former of whom coolly observes, that 'here the *argumentum a silentio* is so valid, that one may lay it down as an axiom, that these older prophets knew nothing of the Pentateuch!' Such assertions, Dr. Hengstenberg justly remarks—

'May be adduced to prove (without any hyperbole) that those by whom they are made have not thoroughly perused a *single* chapter of these prophets. For there is not a chapter, in which references to the Pentateuch—utterly overlooked by them—may not be found; and these are so weighty, so full of influence on the essential meaning of the prophet, that he who does not recognize them, cannot thoroughly appreciate it. And when a man misses so completely, what frequently is as clear as day, how much besides must he overlook, which is less plain—and what confidence can be reposed in him generally as an interpreter and scholar? Let these assertions, then, show what degree of acquaintance with the Pentateuch belongs to its keenest opponents.' (I p. 123.)

The next dissertation is on 'the names of Deity in the Pentateuch.' Here, after an interesting historical sketch of opinions on this subject, the author proceeds to examine the theories regarding the composition of the Pentateuch, which have been founded on the use, in some parts of it, of the word *Elohim*, and in others, of the word *Jehovah*, as appellations of the Supreme Being. The principal of these, are those of Vitringa and Astruc, who suppose that this indicated the existence of two distinct authorities, or original documents, out of which Moses composed his books; and that of Vater, who maintained that this was rather a proof that the Pentateuch was made up of distinct fragments of older compositions, merely joined together, and in some places united by a connecting narrative. This notion of the

fragmentary character of the Pentateuch, is denounced by our author as the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, of the modern criticism; and is shown by him, with great learning and success, to rest upon no solid basis. The exclusive use of the word Elohim, in some passages, as in Genesis i. 1—ii. 3; and the exclusive use of Jehovah, in others, as in Gen. iv. 1—16; whilst in others, as in Gen. ii. 4., both terms are used, he contends, is to be traced not to an accidental difference of taste or habit of expression, between different writers, but to a fundamental distinction of meaning in the words themselves, which rendered it proper that the one should be used in some connections, and the other in others. This leads him into a lengthened inquiry into the origin and meaning of these names, the result of which is the conclusion that יהוה is the 3rd. pers. sing. fut., in Kal of the obsolete verb היה=הוה, and means 'the ever existent being;' and that אלהים, is to be traced to a root, אלה now lost in Hebrew, but still to be found in Arabic, and means, 'the being to be feared,' the plural form serving to augment the impressiveness of the name, in the same way as in other passages the threefold repetition of a word is employed. Both words, he contends, are alike ancient, and came to be applied to the same object, from that object being viewed under different aspects. Elohim denotes the Deity, viewed in His outward relations, in His almightiness, and the plenitude of His power: Jehovah, on the other hand, designates the Deity, in respect of His spiritual essence, and of His historical revelation of Himself. For the due determination of the relation of these names to each other, such a passage as Exod. 6. iii., is of great value.

'The common opinion is, that the name *Jehovah*, in this passage, relates especially to the faithfulness of God, in the fulfilment of his promises. But this view has neither in the etymology and usage elsewhere of the word Jehovah a general, nor in the peculiarities of the passage, a special reason in its favour. Here it is the entire unfolding of the Divine nature, with which we have to do. Faithfulness in fulfilling promises comes into consideration only in so far as the immanent nature of God is therein displayed. It was not *only* because he remembered the covenant, but also because he heard the cry of Israel, brought them up, judged their enemies, made them a people for himself, brought them into the land of promise, that from being El-Shaddai, or Elohim, he became Jehovah. El-Shaddai is the unrevealed Jehovah; Jehovah is El-Shaddai, working with power. In Elohim and El-Shaddai, the Deity is set forth only in his outward relations—and to this, the corresponding degree of subjective religion is a simple sense of dependance, the lowest of all. Where the Deity is recognized only in respect of his omnipotence, and the fullness of his strength, we have such definitions of religion as Cicero gives (*De Invent.*, ii. 22—53.):—'religio est, quæ superioris cujusdam naturæ quam divinam vocant, curam cærimoni-



amque affert.' So far as the patriarchs had received a revelation of God, only as Elohim or El-Shaddai (though they were not altogether ignorant of him, as Jehovah), we may say of them what Nitzsch has said of the Greeks, in his tract 'on the conception which the ancients had of religion':—'The Greeks knew no other description of piety, than such as conveyed the idea of a felt, acknowledged, practical dependance upon God, and so of something passive, abject, submissive.' Their most general terms were εὐσέβεια, τὸ εὐσεβές, τὸ θεοσεβές, (from σέβεσθαι, σέβας, the fundamental conception being that of *dread*), δεισιδαιμονία, θρησκεῖν, φοβεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον, through all the ages of Hellenism. In the word יהוה, on the other hand, we are presented, in the place of the *superior natura quam divinam vocant*, with a definite shape, a delineated personality. It is the one name of God, which designates him with respect to his internal essence. It is his *proper name*. This difference between it and all the other names of Deity, is even pictured in the language; the יהוה, has no plural, no article, no construct state. Hence, first in Scripture, Lev. xxiv. 12, 16, and from that in the colloquial usage of the Jews, the expression השם, without anything further, came to be substituted for יהוה, which presupposes that this was simply, and by itself, *the* name, whilst all the other appellations were concerned only with particular attributes and relations.'

'It is also worthy of remark, that this passage affords us a weighty indication of the mode and manner in which the Elohim passes into Jehovah. This takes place not by means of oral instructions concerning his being, nor by means of a simple internal influence on the minds of the people, whereby for the *general* consciousness of God is substituted one of a *definite* character, but it is brought about by a series of historical events, through which the people's consciousness of God is gradually developed. It is by an *historical* pathway that Elohim comes to be Jehovah. In descending upon the earth, and then unfolding his being in his works, he elevates the minds of men to himself in heaven. Hence appears the truth which lies at the basis of the definition given by many of Jehovah, as the God of revelation. Lücke justly remarks (*Comment. Zum Johan.* 2te Aufl. i., s. 213.);—'Man can know the being of God not in itself, but only mediately. We recognise God in his revelation, in his manifestedness; and it is in his attributes alone that his essence is in a distinct and living manner displayed to, and conceived by us.' The true religion must thus, of necessity, possess an historical character, and this—the fact-supported transition of the Elohim to Jehovah, constitutes its grand distinction from all false religions. Nothing but superficial consideration, could induce any to regard monotheism as the supreme excellence of the religion of Israel, and to combine with this the scattered strainings towards monotheism, found in the rest of antiquity, as standing upon the same level. Had all heathendom been monotheisitic, still would this one God have remained only Elohim. It is only through testimonies and facts, that Elohim becomes Jehovah, that in place of the unity of the world-powers, there appears the living, personal, supramundane, and, at the same time intramundane God, to whom alone belongs the power to unite those

among whom he has revealed himself, into one truly religious society. That the Elohim becomes Jehovah, is the drift of the entire sacred history; to show how this takes place, is the highest principle of its representations.' Vol. i. p. 231—5.

Having thus settled the meaning and the mutual relations of these two appellations of Deity in the Old Testament, the author enters upon a lengthened and ingenious application of the principles he has laid down to the passages in the Pentateuch in which these terms are used. This is testing his theory by the deductive process, and so completing the circle of proof. Into this part of his work we cannot more particularly enter, as his reasonings are too much conversant with details, to admit of being condensed. The result at which he arrives, regarding the main question, is as follows:—

'If we ask, now, what is the relation of the divine names used in the Pentateuch to the questions concerning its authenticity, the following is the result:—The reasons which have been founded on the interchange of these names in support of the fragmentary character, and, therewith, of the spuriousness of the Pentateuch, have been shown to be utterly nought. On the contrary, the constant carrying through of the use of Elohim, which characterises the Pentateuch from Gen. 1, to Exod. 6, viewed in connection with the no less constant abstinence from it thenceforward to the end, is accountable for only on the supposition of *one* author, who wrote according to a pre-conceived plan, and had, in writing the earlier parts, the later before his eyes, no less than in writing the later he had the earlier. The document-hypothesis as well as the fragment-hypothesis is thus shown to be untenable, and hence we are conducted to a point from which the proof of the Mosaic authorship becomes much easier.' (i, p. 41.)

In the next dissertation the author proceeds to consider 'the authenticity of the Pentateuch in relation to the history of the art of writing.' Here, after a brief sketch of the controversy concerning the antiquity of this art, especially in relation to the Homeric poems and the books of Moses, the author proceeds to show that the age of Moses was not ignorant of this art—that the condition of the Hebrews was not such as, according to the allegations of the opponents of the Pentateuch, to prevent their becoming acquainted with this art, but that there is abundant reason to believe that it was extensively diffused among them, and that materials for writing both existed and were possessed by the Hebrews in the time of Moses. He concludes this learned dissertation—a dissertation of interest, not only to the biblical but to the classical scholar—by enlarging on the following four remarks. 1. The sense of historical truth stands so closely associated with the knowledge and diffusion of the art of writing that we never and nowhere find it, not even among those people

who have the qualifications for it where the latter is wanting. But the Pentateuch, by the accordant judgment of men of capacity, themselves historians, has a truly historical character, and this is not reconcileable with the assumption that the use of writing was unknown in the age of Moses, but was introduced among the Israelites centuries later. 2. The widely extended use of writing among the Hebrews of the post-Mosaic age, as indicative of the general state of cultivation, presupposes the existence previously of a written law. 3. The tendency to written composition, in the religious department, which we find among the Hebrews of the post-Mosaic period, the fact that each prophet, who was conscious of having a revelation, the purport of which extended beyond the immediate period, forthwith committed it to writing, and the fact that no sooner was any portion of the sacred history brought to a close than it was zealously described in writing, all presuppose that they had in this respect a consecrated model. 4. The hypothesis that the law was, for the first time, committed to writing about the era of the captivity, appears untenable, when we reflect on the security afforded by writing, and the high veneration in which the law was held; especially when we consider how evidently a distrust of the sufficiency of oral tradition in religious matters was shown by the care with which the prophets sought to commit to writing their revelations, and by the special injunctions they not unfrequently received, to do so in order that what was communicated to them might reach posterity in a state of integrity.—i. p. 499—502.

We now pass on to the second volume of this work; and here the first subject to which the author calls our attention, is 'The Pentateuch and the age of the judges.' By De Wette and others among the Neologians, it has been asserted that, in the historical narrative of the times succeeding the establishment of the Israelites in Canaan, no trace appears of their having any acquaintance with the Mosaic law and ritual, but, on the contrary, many things were practised by them which were incompatible with this hypothesis, such as the omission of circumcision in the wilderness, the idolatry of the Danites, the marriage of Samson with an idolatress, &c. In opposition to this, Professor Hengstenberg undertakes to show that not only may these circumstances be accounted for without resorting to a denial of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, but that in the Book of Judges there is abundant ground for deducing positive arguments in its support. He accordingly commences with some general observations, intended to show, 1. That the proneness of the Israelites to idolatry is no evidence that they had not among them a ritual and a hierarchy appealing to their outward senses, as De Wette

has asserted. 2. That the fact of the greater conformity of the Jews to the Mosaic ritual *after* the captivity, is susceptible of explanation by facts which have nothing to do with the previous existence or non-existence of the Pentateuch; and that the incidents mentioned in the Book of Joshua which have been urged against the Pentateuch, viz. the gathering of the people at Shechem as a spot where the sanctuary of the Lord was, (ch. xxiv. 1, 26,) and the neglecting of circumcision in the wilderness, (ch. v. 2, 7,) are not justly available for this purpose, but may be accounted for on other grounds; the former on the ground, that by 'sanctuary' in the passage referred to is not intended the tabernacle which Moses built for the Lord, but simply a holy or consecrated place—the free space under that venerated oak around which the Israelites had assembled: and the latter by showing that circumcision was not omitted during the whole of the journey through the wilderness, but only from the time when the Divine censure was passed upon the people—the omission of this rite being the outward sign of the curse, for the covenant being suspended it became proper that the sign and sacrament of the covenant should not be administered. Having fully illustrated these preliminary remarks, the author proceeds to offer some general observations on the character and design of the Book of Judges; and having thus placed his authorities in a proper light, he goes on to show at great length that in that book the allusions to *sacred places, persons,* and *acts,* as well as the intimations therein contained and confirmed by the Books of Ruth and Samuel, respecting the *civil,* the *social,* and the *religious customs* and *practices* of the Israelites, strongly vouch for the existence and the influence of the Pentateuch as the great religious, ethical, and civil code of their nation. At the conclusion, the author expresses his conviction that he has now put it out of the power of the rationalists to repeat with a good conscience their boast that De Wette's treatise on this branch of the subject has never been replied to. We profess ourselves fully of the same mind, with this addition, that if the rationalists have any sense of shame left, they will never attempt to reiterate objections which have been so entirely and so successfully scattered to the winds.

The next dissertation is on 'the declarations in the Pentateuch respecting its author;' and is occupied in showing, on the one hand, that the author avowedly set forth in the book itself is Moses, and on the other, that the circumstances which are adduced to prove that the author must have been some person of a later age, who merely assumed the name of Moses, are all capable of being explained without any such supposition. After this follows a lengthened and careful examination of 'the al-

leged traces of a later age in the Pentateuch,' and of 'the alleged contradictions in the Pentateuch,' in the course of which every passage on which the enemies of revelation, from the flippant and blundering Voltaire up to Vater, De Wette, and Bleek, have founded objections to its authenticity is minutely examined with great learning and sagacity, and manfully rescued from the hands of the adversary. A dissertation on 'the theology of the Pentateuch and its genuineness,' in the course of which the author examines the different objections which, on this score, have been urged against the Mosaic books, and offers a lucid illustration of the ethical and religious peculiarities of the Levitical system, closes and completes the work.

Having presented to our readers this brief outline of the contents of the volumes before us, we shall now occupy what remaining space we can afford to devote to them to the translation of one or two passages from the Prolegomena. We shall thus best furnish our readers with a correct idea of the general character of Hengstenberg's Polemic, and at the same time, we hope, supply them with materials in which they will be interested.

Commentators on the Pentateuch.

'With Calvin the theological interpretation of the Pentateuch reached its highest point, relatively speaking. This man stands still further above his followers than above his predecessors. One cannot sufficiently wonder how such a leader could have had such followers. Were there nothing else, this would be apparent enough from the fact that, to all appearance, they do not seem to have so much as read his works. It is impossible for any man who had carefully studied the Commentaries of Calvin to become so thoroughly and consistently superficial as all of them show themselves to be. We shall here notice three writers who have had the widest influence, Spencer, Le Clerc, and J. D. Michaelis. Others who, like Grotius and Marsham, had adopted the same views, have either not carried them out so thoroughly, or have not made the Pentateuch so professedly their object of interpretation; and hence the traces of their influence are lost in that of the three chiefs above named.

Spencer, whose labours on the Pentateuch are presented in his work, *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus*, has found in recent times a kindred spirit in the person of Strauss.* In both there is the same acuteness coupled with such amazing want of depth, that one is often tempted to doubt their acuteness. In

* Author of the *Leben Jesu* and other works of the most virulently anti-Christian character. Recent intelligence from Germany informs us that this unhappy man, having married a public singer, is busy in composing an opera! *Rev.*

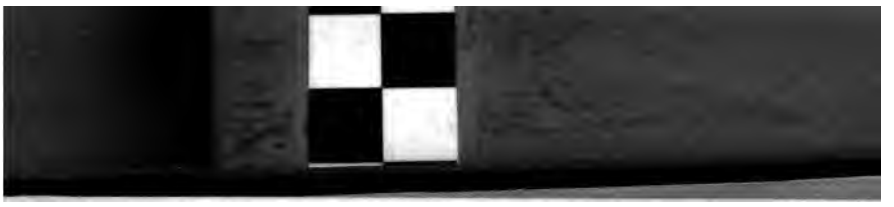
both there is the same icy coldness, the same religious impotence, the same vigour, so to speak, in destroying all consciousness of God, so that religious emotions do not once exercise over them even a transient power, or interrupt the consequence of their reasoning. In both there is the same clearness and sharpness of representation, an attainment the more easily reached the more the understanding isolates itself, and succeeds in subjecting to its yoke the other faculties of the soul. This difference, however, there is between the two, that Spencer satisfied himself with attempting to establish his peculiar position only on one side of Revelation; but this is more accidental than otherwise, and to be traced to the difference of times. One might venture to avow that had he lived in our day this difference would have disappeared; nay, perhaps he thought more than he dared say. Another difference which is not accidental or external exists in respect of scholarship.

The fundamental principle of Spencer's book shows at once how unsuited he was for the interpretation of the sacred writings —how these, under his hands, must become destitute of soul. He sets out from the assumption that there is much in the ceremonial system of Moses which presents a striking resemblance to the religious usages of the heathen nations, especially the Egyptians—an assumption upon the whole correct, but which he has greatly overstated. It is only in respect of form that this correspondence is found, and its explanation presents no difficulty, for this is indicated as soon as it is shown, that the spirit which, in the Mosaic economy, vivified this form was entirely new. It is altogether natural that for the outward representation of that which is *really* holy, those forms should be used which had already been long and extensively employed to represent what was *supposed* to be holy, whilst, at the same time, they were stripped of those profane subordinate references which had originally been attached to each of the symbols that had been consecrated entirely anew. Who, for instance, ever dreams of concluding anything to the prejudice of baptism from the religious ablutions of the Jews and other nations of antiquity? Spencer, however, was unable to detect that on which the whole matter depends. In his view the ceremonial law is a body without a soul. In some parts, it is true, he admits a *ratio mystica et typica*, but these are few, and in his view this is only a subordinate, not the leading design of the institutes; so that the candid and gentle Pfaff, in the *Dissertatio Preliminaris* to the edition of Spencer's work issued by him, is constrained to observe: 'Dicis saltem gratia et ne rationem typicam prorsus eliminare videatur, dixisse hoc videtur auctor.' Moreover, when the spiritual meaning is conceded, it is immediately retracted by

means of the adduction of some entirely outward ground of explanation. In general, however, the above distinction between the heathen usages and the outwardly corresponding usages of the Israelites is entirely lost sight of by him. God transferred the heathenish customs just as they were, for the purpose of granting by means of them to the rude and ignorant people a recreation which otherwise they would have sought from without! He states, this e. gr. as grossly, almost, as possible in the following sentence: 'Deus interim, ut superstitioni quovis pacto iretur obviam, ritus non paucos, multorum annorum et gentium usu cohonestatos, *quos ineptias norat esse tolerabiles*—in sacrarum suorum numerum adoptavit.' . . . The low representation which Spencer gives of God was noticed by some of his cotemporaries, for instance Witsius, *Ægypt*, p. 282. The grossness of his idea of God is such that one is easily tempted to suppose that Spencer himself adduced his hypothesis only in irony, in the hope that his readers matured in the truth would discover it of their own accord. At the same time certain proof is wanting that Spencer was himself aware of what his system naturally leads to; but for our object this is of no moment. It is enough for it that by the publication of this view of the ceremonial law the way was prepared on all sides for the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. As an evidence, we may give here a train of conclusions: if the Mosaic law be thus constructed it could not have come from God; hence Moses, who ascribes it to God, was not a divine messenger; hence he could not, as such, prove his mission by miracles and prophecies; hence the Pentateuch, which ascribes many such to him, could not have been written by Moses. In fine, Spencer did not content himself with robbing the ceremonial law of its deeper meaning and divine character. He sought, also, to deprive the moral part of the law, for the most part, of its import. He labours to show (p. 28) that the decalogue is not a summary of morals, but had only the one-sided design to counteract gross idolatry.

The influence of Spencer's work was very remarkable. Even theologians, like Bossuet, were rash and short-sighted enough to adopt its views more or less fully. His in part very learned opponents did not rightly know where to hit upon the vulnerable points. In place of directing all their strength to a well-grounded and thorough-going investigation of the symbolical and typical meaning of the ceremonial law, and so unfolding the wonders of the law, they gave themselves the unprofitable toil of proving that the outward forms had not been derived to the Jews from the heathen, but *vice versa*. The science of types remained in its ancient arbitrariness, which is in some measure an excuse for Spencer.

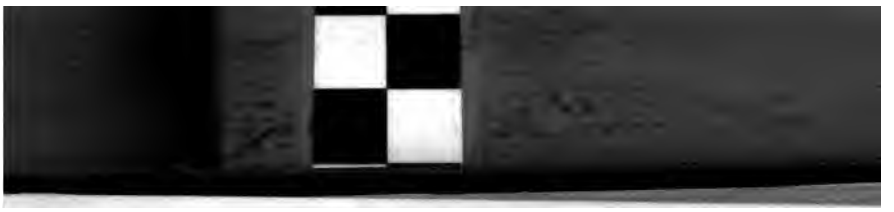
After Spencer came LE CLERC, who adopted his hypothesis unmodified and unimproved . . . . The religious superficiality, which is peculiar to the Arminians in general, appears in him at its height. The stand-point which he in his heart assumed is thoroughly deistical. Whatever transcends his abstract representation of God, whatever indicates a living God, he forthwith sets down as an Anthropomorphism or Anthropopathism; it is to him the husk without any kernel, and in such remarks he deals so much, that one becomes tired of the whole subject. It never seems to have occurred to him, that his own abstract representation is itself the coarsest anthropopathism and anthropomorphism. From his dreamy religious eminence he looks down compassionately on holy persons and sacred writers. That such a principle as soon as it has been brought clearly out and historically developed, (one might, in our day, regard Gesenius as *Clericus redivivus*,) should lead to a denial of the genuineness of such books as the Pentateuch, needs hardly to be shown. Books which speak in such childish fashion of God repel the supposition of their being divinely inspired. Miracle and prophecy, which must be real if the Pentateuch be genuine, involve the conception of a living God, and as even a *word* from such a source is with difficulty admitted (if, indeed, it be not too gross for the deities of reason) how much more those deeds which break through the supposed brazen wall of nature . . . . Above all, he had a horror of whatever could be called in any way a deeper meaning. This is to be traced not simply to an inability for exposition; it arose often from the dread, that in acknowledging the deeper sense he might transgress the bounds of natural operation, and might ascribe to the holy Scriptures something which could belong to them only on the assumption of their being holy. Hence he endeavours, at all risks, to get rid of the passages which show that the Israelitish particularism was not at first opposed to, but was rather the foundation of and preparation for universalism, that the limitation was the medium of enlargement. Genesis, xii. 3, 'In thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed,'—a passage in which, at the very commencement of God's dealings with Abraham, that is of the limitation, this latter ultimate design is avowed—he explains thus:—'*h. e.* tuo nomine exemplove prolato benedictiones apud plurimos Orientis populos concipientur, his aut similibus verbis, benedicat tibi Deus ut benedixit Abrahamo.' Rather would he allow himself a gross violation of the laws of language, than adopt a meaning which, regarding the matter from a mere human point of view, was little likely to be accomplished, and which would lead him into a region where he would find himself anything but at home.



His incapacity for theological interpretation almost passes belief. As a specimen how his mode of interpretation must have served as a direct preparation to the mythical hypothesis, and consequently to that of the spuriousness of the Pentateuch, his remarks on the Fall may serve. This fact is turned by him into a dirty caricature. His remarks render it impossible, from his position, to regard this any longer as history. One is almost tempted to suppose that the author intended to make sport of the holy Scriptures by pointing out all the incongruities attachable to the opinion that this is real history, in order that that opinion might be given up. And certainly if this were not his intended design, he must have had some lurking feeling of that sort in his mind. . . . At any rate, when time had brought to light the consequences of his mode of interpretation, it was seen to be absurd to hold by it, and yet continue any longer to maintain the genuineness of the Pentateuch.

After Le Clerc comes J. D. MICHAELIS, whose *Mosaic Jurisprudence* (Mosaisches Recht) and also his *Annotations for the Unlearned* come chiefly within the sphere of our notice here. His influence extended still further than that of his predecessor. The exegesis of the latter was pretty generally regarded as that of a profane philologist, to whom authority was to be ascribed only in regard to things in his own department. Theological interpretation looked down on him, and pursued her course unretarded by him, though she showed herself unfit for great deeds, and unable altogether to paralyse the influence of the theological portion of Le Clerc's interpretation. J. D. Michaelis, on the other hand, succeeded in rendering his interpretation almost all-prevalent, so that, at the time when danger was imminent, his exegetical results may be regarded as generally received. What was uttered against them was derided; and, indeed, for the most part, not undeservedly; for it was useless, antiquated, and weak. We may confidently affirm, that by unsettling the foundations of the genuineness of the Biblical writings, Michaelis did more to injure them than those by whom they were directly assailed. He destroyed the kernel, and then turned his zeal against those who were attacking the shell. In the interpretation of the Pentateuch, his course and tendency are entirely apologetic. In opposition to the attacks of the English deists and French atheists, he seeks to show the excellence of the Mosaic institutes; but as he had no eye for their real excellence, he strips Moses of the praise that was his due, to cover him with that which he never sought, and which rather degrades than exalts his character as a messenger of God. 'I may say,' he remarks, *Mos. Recht*, Th. i. § 1, 'that in the works

of Moses are to be found some striking and altogether unexpected indications of legislative skill;' and to set forth such indications is the design of his book. The result is, were his reasonings sound, to present Moses to us as just about such a man as the knight Michaelis. That such a man should be supported by miracles and prophecies is not to be believed. Others, in this respect far more eminent than he, though he possessed all that Michaelis allows him, were not; and posterity was more zealous to assume for him the imagined honour, than to allow him to retain that which belonged to him. . . . . Michaelis's own political principles were not of Christian growth; he had borrowed them from the godless politics of the day. His teachers had been the French writers. And when, without shame or fear, he palms these principles upon Moses, he drags him into a society where any one rather than a man of God might be expected. The confidence with which he does this, all the while, too, thinking he is thereby serving the cause of religion, is often such as to provoke laughter. The grossest instance of this is where he attributes to Moses the principle that the end sanctifies the means, and represents him as often making religion itself the means to an end. . . . . Even for the smallest and most humble ends he would make religion serve. Thus, in the appointed cleansing of couches the religious intent is not to be seriously thought of; the sole purpose,—which, however, if openly stated, would have produced no sufficient effect,—was the avoidance of stench! Again, Moses speaks as if to seethe a kid in its mother's milk were a religious offence; but it was in this way that he, cunning man, sought to persuade the stupid people to cook kids not with butter but with olive oil, which is so much more tasty! The prohibition of the eating of the fat and blood, on the ground that they belonged to the altar and were holy, was intended merely to prevent the use of fat pieces for food among a people subject to skin-diseases, for which fat is prejudicial, as it tends to increase the disorder, &c. This instance of the imputation to Moses of wicked political maxims is the grossest and most prominent, but not the only one in his book; there is another which pervades his whole work, and which, if not so glaring, is yet no less calculated to invalidate the divine mission of Moses and the genuineness of the Pentateuch. Michaelis was at one and the same time an opponent of the divine right, and an advocate for the unlimited power of the magistrate; the latter he regarded as granted by the people, and in consequence of representing the will of the people as extending to every department. This notion he attributes to Moses, and that to an extent which makes the principle ridiculous and absurd. The legislator



pokes into chambers and into pots. He is so careful of his subjects, that he exhorts them to cook not with butter but with olive-oil, because it is more savoury. 'This,' remarks Michaelis *Mos. R.*, Th. iv. § 205, 'this, a German would call excessive nicety, but for a people which one was bringing into a land like Palestine it might be useful.' For the health of his subjects the legislator cared, after a most heroic fashion: houses, for instance, which were infected by the leprosy he ordered to be pulled down, through regard to the health of the possessor. For tender nerves he showed the tenderest care; the leper was not to remain in the camp, must veil his face, &c. Why? That 'he might not occasion to any one disgust from the odious sight, or terror from an inadvertent touch.' Such a prying carefulness of police would be anything but kindness even to those for whose good, at the expense of others, it was designed. Who would not rather be disgusted and shocked, now and then than feel the hand of *surveillance* incessantly on one's neck.'—Vol. i. p. 3—17.

Credulity of the Sceptics.

'Many who are keenly opposed to the genuineness of the Pentateuch on the ground of what it contains, in other cases show themselves defective in historical judgment, and as ready to concede the point of genuineness and credibility as any historian of the earlier time. Thus, the same Volney, who with Voltairian flippancy denies all historical grounds for the genuineness of the Pentateuch, who over the fourteenth chapter of his *Recherches sur l'histoire ancienne*, puts the title '*Du personnage appellé Abraham*,' betakes himself to the pretended Sanchuniatho, from whom the criticism of even an unenlightened age had long ago torn off the mask, as to a sure voucher, and uses him as a *lapis Lydius*, by which all others must be tried. 'Ecoutons!' he exclaims, tom. i. p. 166, 'Sanchuniathon qui ecrivit environ 1300 ans avant notre ére.' Late writers, such as Nicolas Damascenus, Alex. Polyhistor, Artopanus, whose excellent stories are obviously a mere echo of Jewish tradition, and consequently possess no historical value, appear to him as weighty, as they are adapted to his purpose as weapons to be used against the truth of the sacred history. It is hardly a thing of mere chance that that very German critic who has chiefly laboured to strip that history of the theological interest which animates it,—he, who with good hopes of success could venture to call the dogmatical prepossession which was imputed to him a *naïvetè*—that Gesenius should, before all Europe, declare how easy it would be for him to acknowledge the genu-

ineness of the Pentateuch, were the matter merely to be decided before the bar of historical equity. First, he run into the noose of a French marquis, who for a joke sent him as a treasure of antiquity an inscription which he had fabricated himself, and Gesenius received it as a weighty document illustrative of the history of gnosticism, and commented on it in his tract entitled *De inscriptione nuper in Cyrenaica reperta.* Hardly had he recovered the smart which the acknowledgment of his blunder—no longer to be withheld after the exposure of the trick made by Boeckh, Kopp, and others—must have caused,—hardly had he armed himself, by means of really excellent paläographical investigations, to drive his error into oblivion, when he fell into a still worse scrape.* . . . Had he and Hamaker before they went further demanded of the French marquis a sight of the stone which he said was in his possession and bore the inscription, the relation of laugher and laughed-at would in that case have been quite changed. Gesenius would then have discovered, what he only found out *post festum,* that the alleged Phœnician of the inscription was a patois of Maltese, Arabic, and Italian. Had Gesenius, in place of inquiring how the proper names in the pretended Sanchuniatho corresponded to those in his Phœnician inscription, determined first to see the Greek MS. of Sanchuniatho, he had not been obliged after suffering publicly a severe smart to acknowledge, that it is very misleading to trust to internal evidence alone. Would that his experience in this matter might serve a good purpose in his labours in biblical criticism, the more especially as it was from this region that he carried over into that of profane literature his bad habits.'†—Vol. i. p. 24, 64.

Present State of Neologian Scepticism.

'How far Vatke‡ goes appears from his assertion, that Genesis supplies so little material from history that nothing can be regarded as ascertained concerning the country and genealogy of the patriarchs (p. 184); the relation of Aaron to Moses is to be rejected as unhistorical (p. 227); the Mosaic state had an

* The author alludes here to the impudent forgery of Dr. Frederick Wagenfeld, of Bremen, who pretended he had discovered a Greek translation of the lost books of Sanchuniatho by Philo-Byblius, in a Portuguese monastery, which he published, and to the genuineness of which he secured the assent of some eminent scholars, and, among the rest, Gesenius. See Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. xix. p 184, and xx. p. 97.

† This was, of course, published before the death of Gesenius.

‡ Vatke is at present the *great name* on the side of modern infidelity in Germany—the rising hope of the newest school of *theology* (!) in that country. He has written a work entitled 'The Biblical Theology scientifically set forth,' from which the references of Hengstenberg are taken.

unhistorical character (p. 204); Moses instituted no system of worship, and consecrated no priestly family for its complete development (p. 218); it is doubtful whether, in the earlier ages, the Levites constituted a tribe in the same sense as the other tribes (p. 221); it is doubtful whether the oldest names of the tribes have been handed down to us (p. 223). Of the holy seasons, he leaves us only the sabbaths and, perhaps, the new-moons; the three great festivals sprung up in a later age than the feast of the first-fruits, and sustain consequently a later relation to the earliest history of the people, &c. Only *one* thing is wanting to complete this; the author, like Voltaire, (*Quest. sur l'encyclopedie*, § 127) should challenge his opponents to show that Moses ever existed at all.'—Vol. i. p. 69.

Art. III. *The Highlands of Æthiopia.* By Major W. Cornwallis Harris. 3 vols. London: Longman & Co.

THE author of these volumes was selected in the spring of 1841 by the government of Bombay to conduct a mission to Sáhela Selássie, the King of Shoa, in Southern Abyssinia. The precise objects of the embassy do not very distinctly appear. They are not stated by Major Harris, save in very general terms, from which we are left to infer that the promotion of commerce was amongst the chief of them. The efforts of himself and his associates were zealously directed, we are informed, 'towards the establishment of a more intimate connexion with a Christian people, who know even less of the world than the world knows of them—towards the extension of the bounds of geographical and scientific knowledge—the advancement of the best interests of commerce and the amelioration of the lot of some of the least favoured portions of the human race.'

The major was accompanied by several other officers and men of science, together with two serjeants and fifteen private soldiers. These, with their attendants, made up a considerable party, and required, for the transport of themselves, baggage, and presents, a train of 170 camels. We much doubt the wisdom of so cumbrous an arrangement which was adapted to excite the mistrust of a suspicious people, to awaken their cupidity, and to interpose many and formidable obstacles to the prosecution of the exhausting journey which had to be accomplished. However, such is the style in which our Indian government usually conducts its missions, and we must look at the results which

were obtained rather than assume to censure the means employed.

It was in the month of April, 'on the afternoon of a sultry day,' that the members of the embassy embarked on board the company's steam frigate 'Auckland,' and soon arrived at Cape Aden, on the coast of Arabia, where they met with 'a hospitality of no ordinary stamp,' under the roof of Captain Stafford Haines, the English political agent. The barrenness of the surrounding region has long been proverbial, and has led to a dearth of animal life far from contributing to the comfort or improvement of the inhabitants. 'A sterility which is not to be surpassed, invests the scene with an aspect most repulsive and forbidding. No tree varies the dreary prospect—no shrub relieves the eye—not even a flower lends its aid to enliven the wild and gloomy hollow, the fittest refuge that the imagination could picture for the lawless and the desperate.'

The history of the city is characteristic of the region. In former ages it was celebrated for its fortifications and extensive traffic, and ranked amongst the most opulent markets of the East. Three hundred and sixty mosques bore witness to the religious zeal of its inhabitants, whose numbers were calculated at eighty thousand. Far different was its condition when it passed under British rule, but it is now, according to our author, rapidly extending its population and attracting towards itself the commerce of Africa and Arabia. Having collected horses and baggage at this place, the embassy set sail on the 15th of May, and cast anchor at Tajúra, on the African coast, on the 17th. The appearance of the town is thus described, and the character of its inhabitants is somewhat illustrated by the anecdote which closes the extract:

'Those who are conversant with Burchell's admirable illustration of an encampment of Cape farmers, with their gigantic waggons scattered about in picturesque confusion, will best understand the appearance of the group of primitive habitations that now presented itself on the sea beach. Exceeding two hundred in number, and rudely constructed of frames of unhewn timber, arranged in a parabolic arch, and covered in with date matting, they resembled the white tilts of the Dutch boors, and collectively sheltered some twelve hundred inhabitants. The bold grey mountains, like a drop scene, limited the landscape, and, rising tier above tier, through coral limestone and basaltic trap, to the majestic Jebel Goodah, towering five thousand feet above the ocean, were enveloped in dirty red clouds, which imparted the aspect of a morning in the depth of winter. Verdant clumps of date and palm trees embosomed the only well of fresh water, around which numerous Bedouin females were drawing their daily supply of the precious fluid. These relieved the humble terraced mosque of whitewashed madrepore, whence the voice of the muezzin summoned the true believer to matin prayer; and

a belt of green *makanni*, a dwarf species of mimosa with uniform umbrella tops, fringing the sandy shore, completed a pleasant contrast to the frowning blocks of barren black lava which fortify the Gibraltar whereupon the eye had last rested.

'As the ship sailed into the harbour, the appearance of a large shark in her wake caused the tongue of the pilot again to 'break adrift.' 'A certain friend of mine,' said he, 'Nákhuda of a craft almost as fast a sailer as my own, which is acknowledged to be the best in these seas, was once upon a time bound from this port to Mocha, with camels on board. When off Jebel Ján, the high table-land betwixt the Bay of Tajúra and the Red Sea, one of the beasts dying, was hove overboard. Up came a shark, ten times the size of that fellow, and swallowed the carcass, leaving one of the hinder legs protruding from his jaws; and before he had time to think where he was to find stowage for it, up came a second tremendous monster, and bolted his messmate, camel, leg, and all.'

'In return for this anecdote, the old man was treated to the history of the two Kilkenny cats in the sawpit, which fought until nothing remained of either but the tail and a bit of the flue. 'How could that be?' he retorted seriously, after turning the business over in his mind. 'Now, Capitan Báshi, you are spinning yarns, but, by Allah, the story I have told you is as true as the holy Korán, and if you don't choose to believe *me*, there are a dozen persons of unblemished veracity now in Tajúra, who are ready to vouch for its correctness.'"—vol. i. pp. 35—37.

From this port the embassy were to proceed inland towards the kingdom of Shoa, the capital of which, Ankóber, was computed to be about four hundred miles distant. They therefore landed, and from the moment of doing so, their vexations and difficulties were innumerable. The Sultan of Tajúra, supported by his chief ministers, soon paid them a visit of ceremony. He was an imbecile and attenuated old man, utterly devoid of truth, and reckless of every other object than the gratification of his own barbarian appetites. 'Enfeebled by years, his deeply furrowed countenance, bearing an ebony polish, was fringed by a straggling white beard, and it needed not the science of Lavater to detect, in the indifference of his dull leaden eye, and the puckered corners of his toothless mouth, the lines of cruelty, cunning, and sordid avarice.' The Sultan and his attendants were not sparing in their promises of aid. These were freely made in consideration of the shawls and scarfs which the embassy distributed, but no one amongst the many recipients of these gifts appeared to retain the least sense of obligation, or to be in the slightest degree inclined to render the services they had pledged. A large convoy of camels was required, which the authorities undertook to provide; the British, of course, paying exorbitantly for them. But it was soon apparent that the object of the Sultan and his miserable council was to detain the embassy in Ta-

jûra instead of facilitating their journey inland. Their cupidity was aroused rather than satisfied by the presents received, and they looked with an evil eye on the stores which their visitors had brought with them. The mean and avaricious passions of a barbarian people were unrelieved by the more generous elements of the savage character. Superstitious and bigoted, without employment, brutalized by an extensive slave traffic, and thieves by profession, they constitute one of the worst specimens of our race.

'The classic costume of the people of this sea-port consists of a white cotton robe, thrown carelessly over the shoulder, in the manner of the old Roman toga; a blue checked kilt reaching to the knees, simply buckled about the waist by a leathern belt, which supports a most formidable creese, and a pair of rude undressed sandals to protect the feet of such as can afford the luxury. The plain round buckler and the broad-headed spear, without which few ever cross their threshold, renders the naturally graceful and manly figure of almost every individual a subject for the artist's pencil; but the population are to a man filthy in the extreme, and the accumulated dirt upon their persons and apparel leaves a taint behind, that might readily be traced without the intervention of a bloodhound. Rancid mutton fat, an inch thick, frosts a bushy wig of cauliflower growth, which harbours myriads of vermin. Under the melting rays of a tropical sun, the grease pours copiously over the skin; and the use of water, except as a beverage, being a thing absolutely unheard of, a Dankâli pollutes the atmosphere with an effluvium, such as is only to be encountered elsewhere in the purlieus of a tallow-chandler's shop.'— ib. pp. 57, 58.

Innumerable delays were experienced by the British embassy, who were intensely anxious to press forward, on account of the rainy season, which was approaching, and threatened to render their journey impracticable.

'Bribes were lavished, increased hire acceded to, and camels repeatedly brought into the town; but day after day found the dupes to Danâkil knavery still seated, like shipwrecked mariners upon the shore, gazing in helpless melancholy at endless bales which strewed the strand, as if washed up by the waves of the fickle ocean.'

Wearied and incensed by these nefarious proceedings, Major Harris at length informed the sultan, that unless the carriages were furnished immediately, according to agreement, the heavy baggage would be re-shipped in the 'Constance,' yet lying in the port, and the embassy proceed as they best could, with the camels at their command. Alarmed at the prospect of losing the gain anticipated from the conveyance of such an escort, the wily savage at length proceeded to make arrangements for the journey which was commenced with unmingled satisfaction, though not without sad forebodings of the dangers to be encountered. These

were soon found to be more fearful than their worst apprehensions; and the details furnished by our author only serve to show, that it should have been for no trifling object that the lives of brave men were so periled. Speaking of one part of this journey, he says:—

'In this unventilated and diabolical hollow, dreadful indeed were the sufferings in store both for man and beast. Not a drop of fresh water existed within many miles; and, notwithstanding that every human precaution had been taken to secure a supply, by means of skins carried upon camels, the very great extent of most impracticable country to be traversed, which had unavoidably led to the detention of nearly all, added to the difficulty of restraining a multitude maddened by the tortures of burning thirst, rendered the provision quite insufficient; and during the whole of this appalling day, with the mercury in the thermometer standing at 126 degrees under the shade of cloaks and umbrellas—in a suffocating Pandemonium, depressed five hundred and seventy feet below the ocean, where no zephyr fanned the fevered skin, and where the glare arising from the sea of white salt was most painful to the eyes; where the furnace-like vapour exhaled, almost choking respiration, created an indomitable thirst, and not the smallest shade or shelter existed, save such as was afforded in cruel mockery, by the stunted boughs of the solitary leafless acacia, or, worse still, by black blocks of heated lava, it was only practicable, during twelve tedious hours, to supply to each of the party two quarts of the most mephitic brick-dust coloured fluid, which the direst necessity could alone have forced down the parched throat, and which, after all, far from alleviating thirst, served materially to augment its insupportable horrors.

'It is true that since leaving the shores of India, the party had gradually been in training towards a disregard of dirty water—a circumstance of rather fortunate occurrence. On board a ship of any description the fluid is seldom very clean, or very plentiful. At Cape Aden there was little perceptible difference betwixt the sea water and the land water. At Tajúra the beverage obtainable was far from being improved in quality by the taint of the new skins in which it was transferred from the only well; and now, in the very heart of the scorching Tehâma, when a copious draught of *aqua pura* seemed absolutely indispensable every five minutes, to secure further existence upon earth, the detestable mixture that was at long intervals most parsimoniously produced, was the very acmé of abomination. Fresh hides stripped from the rank he-goat, besmeared inside as well as out with old tallow and strong bark tan, filled from an impure well at Sagállo, tossed, tumbled, and shaken during two entire nights on a camel's back, and brewed during the same number of intervening days under a strong distilling heat—poured out an amalgamation of pottage of which the individual ingredients of goat's hair, rancid mutton fat, astringent bark, and putrid water, were not to be distinguished. It might be smelt at the distance of twenty yards, yet all, native and European, were struggling and quarrelling for a taste of the recipe. The crest-fallen mules, who had not moistened their cracked lips during two entire days, crowding around the bush, thrust their hot

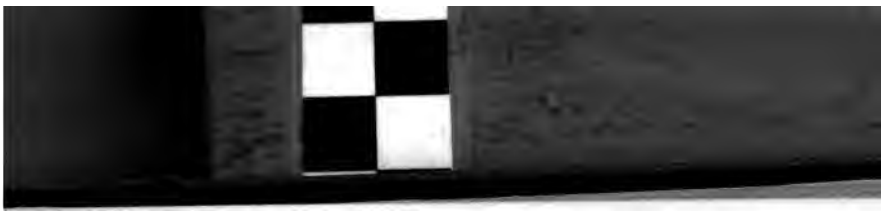
noses into the faces of their masters, in reproachful intimation of their desire to participate in the filthy but tantalising decoction; and deterred with difficulty from draining the last dregs, they ran frantically with open mouths to seek mitigation of their sufferings at the deceptive waters of the briny lake, which, like those of Goobut el Kharáb, were so intensely salt, as to create smarting of the lips if tasted.'—ib. 105—107.

Night unhappily brought no relief, and at one period seemed likely to terminate, both the misery and the hopes of the whole party. The following extract describes a scene not frequently surpassed in the annals of human misery. The Mahommad Ali referred to, was almost a solitary exception to the general brutality of his countrymen.

'Twas midnight when the thirsty party commenced the steep ascent of the ridge of volcanic hills which frown above the south-eastern boundary of the fiery lake. The searching north-east wind had scarcely diminished in its parching fierceness, and in hot suffocating gusts swept fitfully over the broad glittering expanse of water and salt whereon the moon shone brightly—each deadly puff succeeded by the stillness that foretells a tropical hurricane—an absolute absence even of the smallest ruffling of the close atmosphere. Around, the prospect was wild, gloomy, and unearthly, beetling basaltic cones and jagged slabs of shattered lava—the children of some mighty trouble—forming scenery the most shadowy and extravagant. A chaos of ruined churches and cathedrals, *eedgahs*, towers, monuments, and minarets, like the ruins of a demolished world, appeared to have been confusedly tossed together by the same volcanic throes, that when the earth was in labour, had produced the phenomenon below; and they shot their dilapidated spires into the molten vault of heaven, in a fantastic medley, which, under so uncertain a light, bewildered and perplexed the heated brain. The path, winding along the crest of the ridge, over sheets of broken lava, was rarely of more than sufficient width to admit of progress in single file; and the livelong hours, each seeming in itself a century, were spent in scrambling up the face of steep rugged precipices, where the moon gleamed upon the bleaching skeleton of some camel that had proved unequal to the task—thence again to descend at the imminent peril of life and limb, into yawning chasms and dark abysses, the forbidding vestiges of bygone volcanic agency.

'The horrors of that dismal night set the efforts of description at defiance. An unlimited supply of water in prospect, at the distance of only sixteen miles, had for the brief moment buoyed up the drooping spirit which tenanted each way-worn frame; and when an exhausted mule was unable to totter further, his rider contrived manfully to breast the steep hill on foot. But owing to the long fasting and privation endured by all, the limbs of the weaker soon refused the task, and after the first two miles, they dropped fast in the rear.

'Fanned by the fiery blast of the midnight sirocco, the cry for water, uttered feebly and with difficulty by numbers of parched throats, now became incessant; and the supply of that precious element brought for



the whole party falling short of one gallon and a half, it was not long to be answered. A tiny sip of diluted vinegar for a moment assuaging the burning thirst which raged in the vitals, and consumed some of the more down-hearted, again raised their drooping souls; but its effects were transient, and after struggling a few steps, overwhelmed, they sunk again, with husky voice declaring their days to be numbered, and their resolution to rise up no more. Dogs incontinently expired upon the road; horses and mules that once lay down, being unable from exhaustion to rally, were reluctantly abandoned to their fate; whilst the lion-hearted soldier who had braved death at the cannon's mouth, subdued and unmanned by thirst, finally abandoning his resolution, lay gasping by the way side, and heedless of the exhortation of his officers, hailed approaching dissolution with delight, as bringing the termination of tortures which were not to be endured.

'Whilst many of the escort and followers were thus unavoidably left stretched with open mouths along the road, in a state of utter insensibility, and apparently yielding up the ghost, others, pressing on to arrive at water, became bewildered in the intricate mazes of the wide wilderness, and recovered it with the utmost difficulty. As another day dawned, and the round red sun again rose in wrath over the Lake of Salt, towards the hateful shores of which the tortuous path was fast tending, the courage of all who had hitherto borne up against fatigue and anxiety began to flag. A dimness came before the drowsy eyes, giddiness seized the brain, and the prospect ever held out by the guides, of quenching thirst immediately in advance, seeming like the tantalising delusions of a dream, had well nigh lost its magical effect; when, as the spirits of the most sanguine fainted within them, a wild Bedouin was perceived, like a delivering angel from above, hurrying forward with a large skin filled with muddy water. This most well-timed supply, obtained by Mohammad Ali from the small pool at Hanlefánta, of which, with the promised guard of his own tribe, by whom he had been met, he had taken forcible possession in defiance of the impotent threats of the ruthless 'red man,' was sent to the rear. It admitted of a sufficient quantity being poured over the face and down the parched throat, to revive every prostrate and perishing sufferer; and at a late hour, ghastly, haggard, and exhausted, like men who had escaped from the jaws of death, the whole had contrived to struggle into a camp, which, but for the foresight and firmness of the son of Ali Abi, few individuals indeed of the whole party would have reached alive.'—ib. 115—118.

Three of the party were subsequently assassinated, and serious apprehensions were entertained lest a similar fate should befal the whole. Mohammad Ali, however, remained faithful, and the embassy prosecuted its route without further loss. The general aspect of the country, through which they passed, was bleak and cheerless in the extreme. 'For days together, the pilgrimage had led across a dreary and desolate waste, and through sterile ravines, where no verdure relieved the eye, no melody broke upon the ear, and so few living creatures were to be seen, that

the unwonted appearance of a solitary butterfly, which had become bewildered in the desert, was duly hailed as an event. The general character, is that of a stern wilderness, parched by the intolerable heat of a vertical sun, blazing in fierce refulgence over the naked landscape, of which the chief varieties consist in immense plains of dry cracked mud, or in barren rocks lowering towards an unclouded and burning sky.'

Major Harris treats with merited ridicule, the Arcadian scenes with which poets have been accustomed to people these regions, and the facts which he records amply suffice to dispel any illusion of this kind.

'Betwixt savage and civilised existence there yawns a wide gulf. The savage man and the civilised man, although descended from a common parent, can scarcely be said to belong to the same stock of humanity, and he who has been pronounced the only true man, the lordly lord of the wilderness, might here more appropriately be designated a devil incarnate. An interesting trait in the children of nature was witnessed on the occasion of the slaughter of the rank buck goat presented to the embassy by Loheïta ibn Ibrahim. No sooner had the razor-like creese been drawn across the throat, with the concomitant ejaculation, '*Bismilláhi rahmáni, rahím*,'—'in the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful,'—than a savage threw himself upon the expiring animal; and having, vampire-like, quaffed as much of the hot flowing blood as he could obtain, besmeared his greasy features with the residue, and wiped them on the still quivering carcass. No tiger could have acted in more ferocious guise, or displayed a greater relish for the tide of life.

'This had been a day of feasting and carousal; for both Izhák and the son of the Rookhba chief had likewise received sheep, and the slaughter of each had been followed by a general tussle for the possession of the caul. For the purpose of larding the head this is a prize infinitely preferred even to the tail, which appendage in the Adel sheep is so copiously furnished, that the animal is said to be capable of subsisting an entire year upon the absorption of its own fat, without tasting water. It was truly delightful to witness the process of greasing the poll at the hands of the Danákil barber. The fat having been melted down in a wooden bowl, the operator, removing his quid, and placing it in a secure position behind the left ear, proceeded to suck up copious mouthfuls of the liquid, which were then sputtered over the frizzled wig of a comrade, who, with mantle drawn before his eyes to exclude stray portions of tallow, remained squatted on his haunches, the very picture of patience. The bowl exhausted, the operator carefully collects the suet that has so creamed around his chaps as to render him inarticulate; and having duly smeared the same over the filthy garment of him to whom it in equity belongs, proceeds, with a skewer, to put the last finishing touch to his work, which, as the lard congealed, has gradually assumed the desired aspect of a fine full-blown cauliflower.'—ib. 154—156.

Of the Adaïel or Danákil population claiming a descent from the Arab invaders, who in the seventh century overran the low

country between the hills of Abyssinia and the Red Sea, our author gives anything but a flattering account. Destitute of the better qualities both of civilization and of savage life, they partake of the vices of each, and are in consequence inhospitable and cruel, capricious in their attachments, and relentless in their revenge—mean, sordid, and passionate, hating the white man and plotting his death, yet willing to sell him their services for the clothes and trinkets he has at his disposal:

'From time immemorial every individual has been his own king. Each marauding community is marked by a wild independence; and the free spirit of the whole is to be traced in the rapine, discord, and bloodshed which universally prevails. Theirs is 'an iron sky, and a soil of brass, where the clouds drop little rain, and the earth yields no vegetation. It is no 'land of rivers of water,' nor have the 'lines fallen in pleasant places.' The desert stretches far on every side, strewed with black boulders of heated lava, and enveloped by a glowing atmosphere. In this country of perfidy and vindictive ferocity, the proprietors of the barren land murder every stranger who shall intrude; and the common benefits of water are an object of perpetual contest. Reprisal and revenge form the guiding maxim of all. Monsters, not men, their savage propensities are portrayed in a dark and baleful eye, and the avenger of blood is closely dogging the footsteps of one half the population.

'As laziness is the chief source of African misery at large, so is it with the Danákil in particular. They possess that 'conceit in their misery' which induces them to despise the labours of the cultivator; and such is the characteristic want of water, that, excepting at Aussa, agriculture is unknown, even in its rudest form. A pastoral, itinerant, and belligerent people, divided into endless clans and ramifications, under divers independent chieftains, their mode of living entitles them to rank only one step in civilisation above the positive savage who depends for daily subsistence upon the chase and upon the spontaneous productions of nature.

'Born to the spear, and bred in eternal strife with his predatory neighbours, each lawless member of the straggling community inherits the untameable spirit of the descendants of Ishmaël; and it is made subservient to all the worst vices and passions inherent in the semi-barbarian. In his very attitude and bearing there is that which proclaims him in his own opinion lord of the universe, entitled to enjoy, with a thankless heart, all that he is capable of enjoying. No favour claims his gratitude—nothing demands a thought beyond the present moment. Unlike the Arab Bedouin, he is too indolent and improvident during seasons of plenty, to convert the produce of his flocks and herds into a store against the coming day of drought and famine. Gorged to repletion, the residue is suffered to go to waste; and so long as his belly is full, his licentiousness gratified, and he has leisure to lounge about in listless idleness, the measure of his happiness is complete, and the sun may rise and set without his troubling his head as to the mode in which the day has been passed, or how the next meal is to be provided.

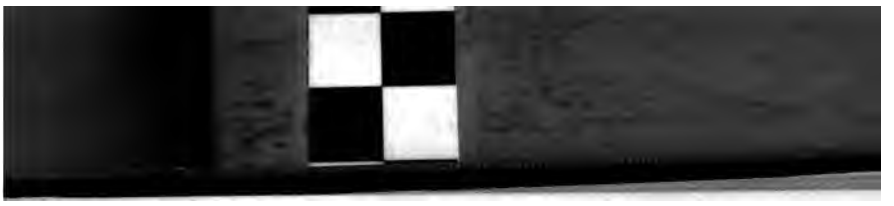
'Many of the Adaïel are extensive owners of camels, and deal largely in slaves—a trade which yields three hundred per cent. with the least

possible risk or trouble to the merchant; but when not upon the journey periodically undertaken to acquire the materials for this traffic, all lead a life of indolence and gross sensuality—eating, sleeping, and indulging in the baser passions, according to the bent of their vicious inclinations. Their delight is to be dirty and to be idle. They wear the same cloth without ablution until it fairly drops from the back; and abhorring honest labour, whether agricultural or handicraft, pass the day in drowsiness, or in the enjoyment of a quiet seat before the hamlet, where the scandal of the community is retailed. Basking in the sun, and arranging their curly locks with the point of the skewer, they here indulge in unlimited quantities of snuff, and mumble large rolls of tobacco and ashes, which are so thrust betwixt the under lip and the white teeth, as to impart the unseemly appearance of a growing wen, and if temporarily removed are invariably deposited behind the left ear. No race of men in the world stink more offensively; but whilst polluting the atmosphere with rancid tallow and putrid animal intestines, they never condescend to approach a christian without holding their own noses!

'Amongst the Danákil are to be found some of the most scowling, ill-favoured, and hideous-looking savages in the universe, but the features of the majority have an Arab cast, which supports the legend of their origin; and notwithstanding the influence exerted upon the lineaments by passions uncontrolled, the expression of many is pleasing, and even occasionally intellectual. All are muscular and active, but singularly scraggy and loosely knit, and to an easy shuffling gait is added a national addiction to standing cross-legged. Young as well as old take infinite pains to disfigure the person, and thus to render it ferocious in appearance.'—ib. 343—346.

Arrived at length at the end of their journey, the embassy was far from receiving the friendly entertainment for which they had looked. Abyssinian jealousy and suspicion detained them for several days in the market-town of Alio Amba, where they were exposed to a thousand annoyances from the impertinent curiosity of the inhabitants, and the unsuppressed hostility of the officials. Their presentation to the monarch, which took place after a sufficiently protracted probation, is thus described, and awakens no very high notion of the civilization of his majesty or of his people:

'The last peal of ordnance was rattling in broken echoes along the mountain chain, as the British embassy stepped at length over the high threshold of the reception hall. Circular in form, and destitute of the wonted Abyssinian pillar in the centre, the massive and lofty clay walls of the chamber glittered with a profusion of silver ornaments, emblazoned shields, matchlocks, and double-barrelled guns. Persian carpets and rugs of all sizes, colours, and patterns, covered the floor, and crowds of Alakas, governors, chiefs, and principal officers of the court, arrayed in their holyday attire, stood around in a posture of respect, uncovered to the girdle. Two wide alcoves receded on either side, in one of which blazed a cheerful wood fire, engrossed by indolent cats; whilst in the



other, on a flowered satin ottoman, surrounded by withered eunuchs and juvenile pages of honour, and supported by gay velvet cushions, reclined in Æthiopic state his most christian majesty Sáhela Selássie. The *dech agafari*, or state door-keeper, as master of the ceremonies, stood with a rod of green rushes to preserve the exact distance of approach to royalty, and as the British guests entered the hall and made their bows to the throne, motioned them to be seated upon chairs that had previously been sent in—which done, it was commanded that all might be covered.

'The king was attired in a siken Arab vest of green brocade, partially shrouded under the ample folds of a white cotton robe of Abyssinian manufacture, adorned with sundry broad crimson stripes and borders. Forty summers, whereof eight-and-twenty had been passed under the uneasy cares of the crown, had slightly furrowed his dark brow, and somewhat grizzled a full bushy head of hair, arranged in elaborate curls after the fashion of George the First; and although considerably disfigured by the loss of the left eye, the expression of his manly features, open, pleasing, and commanding, did not in their *tout ensemble* belie the character for impartial justice which the despot has obtained far and wide —even the Danákil comparing him to 'a fine balance of gold.'

'All those manifold salutations and inquiries which overwrought politeness here enforces, duly concluded, the letters with which the embassy had been charged—enveloped in flowered muslin and rich gold kimkhab —were presented in a sandal wood casket, minutely inlaid with ivory; and the contents having been read and expounded, the costly presents from the British government were introduced in succession, to be spread out before the glistening eyes of the court. The rich Brussels carpet which completely covered the hall, together with Cachemire shawls and embroidered Delhi scarfs of resplendent hues, attracted universal attention, and some of the choicest specimens were from time to time handed to the alcove by the chief of the eunuchs. On the introduction of each new curiosity, the surprise of the king became more and more unfeigned. Bursts of merriment followed the magic revolutions of a group of Chinese dancing figures; and when the European escort in full uniform, with the sergeant at their head, marched into the centre of the hall—faced in front of the throne, and performed the manual and platoon exercises amidst jewellery glittering on the rugs, gay shawls and silver cloths which strewed the floor, ornamented clocks chiming and musical boxes playing 'God save the Queen,' his majesty appeared quite entranced, and declared that he possessed no words to express his gratitude. But many and bright were the smiles that lighted up the royal features, as three hundred muskets, with bayonets fixed, were piled in front of the footstool. A buzz of mingled wonder and applause, which half drowned the music, arose from the crowded courtiers: and the measure of the warlike monarch's satisfaction now filled to overflowing, 'God will reward you,' he exclaimed, 'for I cannot.'

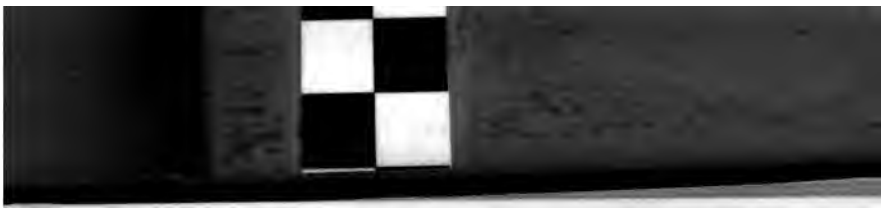
'But astonishment and admiration knew no bounds, as the populace next spread over the face of the hills to witness the artillery practice, which formed the sequel to the presentation of these princely gifts. A sheet was attached to the opposite face of the ravine. The green valley

again rung to the unwonted roar of ordnance; and as the white cloth flew in shreds to the wind, under a rapid discharge of round shot, canister, and grape, amidst the crumbling of the rock, and the rush of the falling stones, the before despised sponge staves became a theme of eulogy to the monarch as well as to the gaping peasant. A shout rose long and loud over the pealing echoes which rattled from hill to hill; and far along the serrated chain was proclaimed the arrival of foreign guests, and the royal acquisition through their means of potent engines of war.'—ib. pp. 410—413.

The crowded state of our pages must prevent our giving as extended an account as we had intended of Major Harris's description of the Abyssinian territory and people. It is no flattering tale which he relates; though unhappily the darker colourings of his picture are too well sustained by the evidence of other travellers. The form of government is barbarously despotic, and the frame-work of society bespeaks the absence of all the better elements of social life, and the presence and morbid activity of whatever tends to degrade and demoralize it. The people at large are in the lowest state of moral debasement, without the aspirations which betoken the approach of a better order of things, or even the dissatisfaction with present wretchedness which might enkindle hope. It is a melancholy reflection forced upon us by every new witness, that the farther our knowledge extends, and the more accurate it becomes, the deeper is the conviction induced of the moral degradation and social wretchedness of the various tribes which lie without the circle of civilization. The following extract will sufficiently prove the brutal habits and defective civilization of the people:

'The sceptic in Europe who still withholds his credence from Bruce's account of an Abyssinian brind feast, would have been edified by the sight now presented on the royal meadow. Crowds swarmed around each sturdy victim to the knife, and impetuously rushing in with a simultaneous yell, seized horns, and legs, and tail. A violent struggle to escape followed the assault. Each vigorous bound shook off and scattered a portion of the assailants, but the stronger and more athletic retained still their grasp, and resolutely grappling and wrestling with the prize, finally prevailed. With a loud groan of despair the bull was thrown kicking to the earth. Twenty crooked knives flashed at once from the scabbard—a tide of crimson gore proclaimed the work of death, and the hungry butchers remained seated on the quivering carcase, until the last bubbling jet had welled from the widely-severed and yawning throat.

'Rapidly from that moment advanced the work of demolition. The hide was opened in fifty places, and collop after collop of warm flesh and muscle—sliced and scooped from the bone—was borne off in triumph. Groups of feasting savages might now be seen seated on the wet grass in every direction, greedily munching and bolting the raw repast, and



pounds were with all held of light account. Entrails and offal did not escape. In a quarter of an hour nought remained of the carcass save hoofs and horns, and the disappointed vultures of the air assembling round the scene of slaughter with the village curs, found little indeed to satisfy their hunger.'—vol. ii. pp 3, 4.

The same fact was shown in the wretchedness of the dwelling appointed for the embassy, the account furnished of which is far from being suited to stimulate the curiosity, or to send thitherward the travelling sons of Europe.

'Wistful looks were exchanged as the party entered this barn-like and dreary abode, which for months, if not for years, was to form their asylum. A decent new thatch, and a neat basket-work ceiling, did indeed form a roof to the structure, but further, the crude and unfinished shell whereon they rested, could hardly claim the denomination of 'a house.' It rather resembled a den in Exeter 'Change, or an aviary upon a magnified scale; and the open hide-lashed ribs, being innocent throughout of dab or plaster to choke the interstices, wind, rain, and mountain fog considered themselves to be equally his Majesty's guests, entitled to the occupation of the uninviting interior. Oblong in form, windowless, chimneyless, and provided at either end with a lofty but narrow door, rudely fashioned of massive planks and beams, each of which, in the absence of a saw, had involved the demolition of an entire tree, the edifice yet afforded an unusually favourable specimen of Shoan architecture; and to account for its desolate and unfinished condition, it may be proper to add, that the proprietor, who had been honoured with the fair hand of a princess of the blood royal, having a few weeks previously been so unfortunate as to incur the displeasure of his despotic father-in-law, now occupied apartments in the state prison, whilst the management of his estate was, *ad interim*, considerately undertaken by the crown, without even the preliminary of a *fieri facias*.

'Inner walls divided the centre room from two narrow verandahs, intended for the reception of mules, horses, and household lumber. The floor was precisely as nature made it, depressed rather than raised, and little improved by the many recent inundations to which it had been subjected. Torrents of muddy water rushed impetuously round the trench which environed the entire structure, and occasionally bursting the banks of the dyke, oozed copiously between the palisades, to cover the soil with artificial lakes; whilst the small open area beyond, into which it disembogued—hemmed in on all sides by rank vegetation, stinging nettles, and half-ruined but noisily inhabited hovels—was, without any exaggeration, eighteen inches deep in honest mire.'—ib. pp.10,11.

The religion of the country is nominally Christian, but really a compound of the grossest superstitions, which operate, to keep down the national intellect, and to perpetuate the dominion of ignorance and immorality. The state priests—for such are of course to be found in Shoa—exercise considerable influence over the government, through the medium of a weak-minded, superstitious, and cruel monarch. The following passage will be read

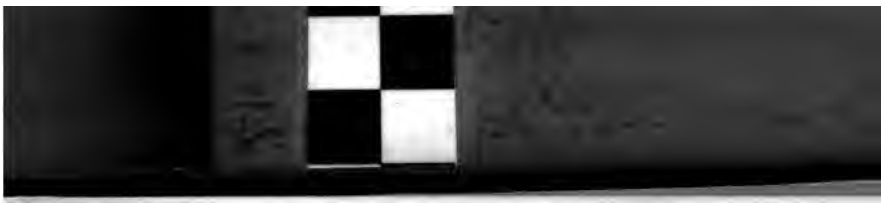
with melancholy interest, as representative of a worship which ought to be both pure and ennobling:

'Æthiopia derived her faith from the fountain of Alexandria; but how is her christianity disfigured by folly and superstition! The intolerance of the bigoted clergy, who rule with the iron hand of religious ascendancy, soon proclaimed the British worse than pagans, for the non-observance of absurd fasts and blasphemous doctrines; and the inhabitants, priest-ridden to a degree, received their cue of behaviour principally from their most despotic tyrant, the church. Unquies, the Comus or Bishop of Shoa, was the most open and undisguised in his hostilities. Beset by evil thoughts at an early age, he imitated the example set by Origines, the celebrated ecclesiastic, who lived in the third century; and so much is he respected by the monarch for his austerities and religious devotion, that his Majesty invariably speaks of him as 'the strong monk.' To him was traced a report that the embassy were to be summarily expelled the country, in consequence of the non-observance of the fasts prescribed by the Æthiopic creed, and because a great lady, whose spies they were, was on her way from the sea-coast, with a large military force, to overturn the true religion, put the king to death, and assume possession of all Abyssinia.

'On the festival of the Holy Virgin, the cemetery was thrown open wherein rest the remains of Asfa Woosen, grandsire to Sáhela Selássie. It is a building adjoining the church of St. Mary; and a message was sent soliciting the Lord Bishop's permission to visit the mausoleum. An insolent reply was returned, that since the English were in the habit of drinking coffee and smoking tobacco, both of which Mohammadan abominations are interdicted in Shoa upon religious grounds, they could not be admitted within the precincts of the hallowed edifice, as it would be polluted by the foot of a Gyptzi.

'Divine service was nevertheless attended in the less inimical of the five churches of the capital, and offerings were made according to the wont of the country. The cathedral of St. Michael, distinguished above all compeers by a sort of Chinese lantern on the apex, being invariably attended by the monarch, came first in order; and after wading through the miry kennels that form the avenues of access, the slipper was unlaced in accordance with Jewish prejudice, and the foot of the heretic European stepped upon a floor of muddy rushes. The scowling eye of the bigoted and ignorant priest sparkled with a gleam of unrepressed satisfaction at the sight of a rich altar cloth, glowing with silk and gold, which had been unfolded to his gaze; and a smile of delight played around the corners of his mouth, as the hard dollars rung in his avaricious palm.

'A strange, though degrading and humiliating sight, rewarded admittance thus gained to the circular interior of the sacred building. Coarse walls, only partially whitewashed, rose in sombre earth but a few feet overhead, and the suspended ostrich-egg—emblem of heathenish idolatry—almost touched the head of the visiters as they were ushered in succession to the seat of honour among the erudite. In a broad verandah, strewed throughout with dirty wet rushes, were crowded the blind, the



halt, and the lame—an unwashed herd of sacred drones, muffled in the skin of the *agazin;* and this group of turbaned monks and hireling beggars formed the only congregation present.

'The high priest, having proclaimed the munificence of the strangers, pronounced his solemn benediction. Then arose a burst of praise the most agonising and unearthly that ever resounded from dome dedicated to christian worship. No deep mellow chant from the chorister—no soul-inspiring roll of the organ, pealing with the cadence of the anthem, lifted the heart towards heaven. The Abyssinian cathedral rang alone to the excruciating jar of most unmitigated discord; and amid howling and screaming, each sightless orb was rolled in the socket, and every mutilated limb convulsed with disgusting vehemence. A certain revenue is attached to the performance of the duty; and for one poor measure of black barley bread, the hired lungs were taxed to the extremity; but not the slightest attempt could be detected at music or modulation, and the dissonant chink of the timbrel was ably seconded by the cracked voice of the mercenary vocalist, as his notes issued at discretion.

'No liturgy followed the cessation of these hideous screams. The service was at an end, and the *Alaka*, beckoning the visitors to follow, led the way round the edifice. The walls were adorned with a few shields, and with miserable daubs representing the Madonna, the Holy Trinity *in cælo*, the Father of Evil enveloped in flames, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. George and his green dragon, St. Demetrius vanquishing the lion, St. Tekla Haimanot, St. Balaam and his ass, the Patron Saint, and every other saint in the Abyssinian calendar. But they boasted of no sculptured monument raised to departed worth or genius—no proud banner or trophy of heroic deeds—and no marble tablet to mark the quiet rest of the soldier, the statesman, or the scholar. In the holy of holies, which may be penetrated by none save the high priest, is deposited the sacred *tabot*, or ark of the faith, consecrated at Gondar by the delegate of the Coptic patriarch; and around the veil that fell before this mysterious emblem, there hung in triumph four sporting pictures from the pencil of Alken, which had been presented to his Majesty. They represented the great Leicestershire steeple-chase; and Dick Christian, with his head in a ditch, occupied by far the most prominent niche in the boasted cathedral of St. Michael!'—ib. pp. 19—23.

The chief interest of these volumes is derived from the graphic and sometimes spirited sketches which they afford of a country seldom visited by Englishmen, and of the habits of a people but very slightly raised above unmitigated barbarism. The region and people described are without the range of ordinary travellers. None would think of journeying over their arid and dreary wastes in search of pleasure, and their connection with European commerce is too slight to supply the motive of interest. We therefore thank Major Harris for the information he has communicated; and as proof of our sincerity, counsel him to adopt a more simple and less ambitious style in his future appearances as an author. His style is overcharged, and fails consequently in strength as well as in good taste.

Art. IV. *The Teacher's Companion, designed to exhibit the Principles of Sunday School instruction and discipline. By R. N. Collins, with an introductory essay by the Rev. Daniel Moore, M.A.* Second thousand. Houlston and Stoneman.

2. *List of Lessons for* 1843, *with Notes by the Committee of the Sunday School Union.*

3. *The Sunday School Union Report for* 1833.

AMONG the favourable indications of modern times, the attention paid to Sunday-schools is one of the most hopeful. There is an evident anxiety to atone for the neglect of former ages. This is as it ought to be. Whether we look at our rapidly increasing population, especially among the manufacturing masses, where the means of moral training have been represented as most defective,—or at the time of life during which Sunday-school instruction is given we cannot but feel, that this is a kind of labour which ought to be most vigorously pursued. The day devoted to it, the parties by whom it is conducted, and the topics to which chiefly it pertains, enhance its importance. It can scarcely be over rated, or engage too much of our best attention.

That day was pregnant with hope, when Raikes first engaged a Sunday-school teacher; and, devoutly should every friend of man thank the Father of mercies, from whom all good thoughts and works proceed, that the Gloucester philanthropist was not deterred by discouragement or difficulty. We have heard something of erecting a monument to his memory, and truly he deserves it, infinitely more than Nelson or Wellington, or men whose claims to our gratitude are founded on their skill or courage in war, or even on their sagacity or success in conducting the affairs of government. We incline, however, to the opinion, that his best monument is in the institutions which received their impulse from his efforts. It may be said of Raikes, as it is said in St. Paul's, of the gifted architect of that noble edifice:

'Si monumentum quæris, circumspice.'

Some of our readers will remember the almost prophetic interest with which Horne—whose Meditations on the Psalms are so well known—spoke at the time when Raikes's effort was recent, 'Dark as is the prospect,' said that pious man in allusion to the portentous aspect of public affairs in Europe, and in this country especially, 'a ray of light has broken in upon it, and that from an unexpected quarter. An institution has been set up by a private individual, to the excellency of which every man who loves his country must rejoice to bear his testimony. From small beginnings it has increased and diffused itself in a wonder-

ful manner. The sagacity of the wisest cannot foresee how much good may in the end be done by it, and how far it may go towards saving a great people from impending ruin.' 'At the moment,' he adds, 'in which I am speaking, no less than one hundred thousand pupils are said to be training under its care. There may soon be ten times that number; and, if it finally succeed with half these, half a million honest men and virtuous women, duly mingled in the mass of the community, will make a great alteration, yea accomplish incalculable good.'

It will be enough to say in this place, that the reality has greatly exceeded the bishop's anticipations. Take only the two counties of York and Lancaster, the educational statistics of which, thanks to Mr. Edward Baines's skill and perseverance, are more completely before us than those of any other districts, the number of pupils in Sunday-schools is little short of three hundred thousand. We are told, that these counties are among the worst educated and least moral and religious parts of the country. Be it so. Morality and religion among the lower classes, are proportioned to the prevalence of Sunday-schools for their benefit. Those institutions, therefore, have risen to an importance far beyond what the most sanguine and benevolent mind could have looked for: and, when it is added, that they are extending in many parts of the continent of Europe, that they flourish in some of the Mediterranean islands; that in the West Indies vast numbers attend on their instructions; that in America, both British and confederated; at missionary stations of the Asiatic continent; in the beautiful islands of the Pacific—in Africa and Australia they are every year increasing, it will be seen, that it is impossible to speak too highly of their importance, or too intensely to congratulate the christian church on the rapid advances which they are making.

A system that has so widely and so beneficially spread itself, and that is destined to produce results which, without prophetic inspiration we can foresee must follow its universal application, ought to be as perfect as it can be made by human sagacity, sanctified by elevated piety, and guided by light from above. The design of both the publications at the head of this article is to contribute to this perfection. The 'Teacher's Companion,' is the production of an experienced man, superintendent of the Sabbath-school belonging to St. Bride's Church, London. In discussing his several topics, Mr. Collins proceeds with the care, skill, judgment, and piety of a practical instructor, while he uses the freedom of a kind and faithful companion. He is minute in detail, sometimes it may be thought inconveniently so; we can forgive this, however, when we perceive so evident a desire to be useful.

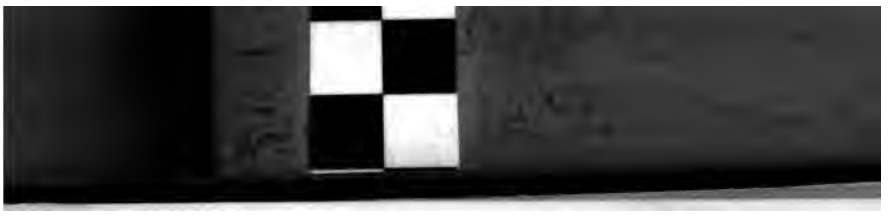
'The most distinguished feature of the book,' to adopt the language of Mr. Moore, who writes an introductory essay, is 'the exceeding minuteness of its directions, the undignified manner in which it takes cognizance of the smaller details, as if the author were utterly indifferent how far the stateliness of letter press would admit of his telling a child how to rise from his seat, or whether the dignity of literary composition would be compromised by cautions against trifling with the hands and fingers. His aim throughout appears to be, that his work should be distinguished by its *practicalness*, by its easy adaptation to various systems of external discipline, and by its provision for all those weekly recurring difficulties and drawbacks which Sunday-school *teachers* have never ceased to deplore, but which Sunday-school *writers* have seldom laid themselves out to remedy.'—pp. xviii. xix.

The business of the whole book is to propose and answer two questions,—namely, what is the best preparation for the teacher? and, what is the best system for the taught?

If readers look for an eloquent disquisition on the capabilities and benefits of Sunday-schools, or for an animating account of the triumph they are winning over ignorance and vice, these are not the pages to which to turn. Mr. Collins has selected an humbler, but at the same time a nobler object. He has considered what the diversified wants of teachers require, and devotes his labours to an exhibition of details less exciting, but more profitable, than glowing essays on the advantages of the institutions of which he writes. He especially renounces bold, ingenious, or novel speculations which might awaken temporary interest, for the recital and application of experience, as more likely to effect permanent good.

'A frequent contemplation of the glorious end,' he adds, 'may be advantageous, but an exact acquaintance with the means by which that end may be permanently secured, is of primary necessity and importance.' In this we agree with him. Still we should have been glad to meet with a clear, bold, and affectionate exhibition of the one great object of Sunday-school instruction, standing out, we mean, separately, as the motive to the adoption of the very useful practical suggestions with which his book abounds.

Mr. Collins attaches, as might be expected, great importance to mental training. The heart chiefly has to be educated, but we can only reach this for any steady permanent effect through the understanding. The truths which young persons are most likely to apprehend, and which are most adapted to captivate and impress, cannot be judiciously selected and presented without this preparatory knowledge, and it will demand a somewhat minute and extensive acquaintance with the operations of our own minds; a frequent recollection of the thoughts, feel-



ings, and actions of our own childhood and youth, to enable us to arrest and usefully guide the thoughts of those whom we seek to instruct. 'Foolishness is bound up in the heart of a child,' and many a diligent, skilful effort is necessary to subdue and eradicate it. Sunday-school teachers have often erred here. Some, on the principle that those faculties are most to be cultivated in which the mind is most defective, have neglected the imagination and fancy for the reasoning powers. Others, considering that in dealing with mind, the utmost use is to be made of those faculties which are most active, address almost exclusively the imagination. Truth is presented in scenic representation, but so much attention is paid to the scene, the several features of the picture are brought out in such bold relief, that the child is almost sure to lose the truth in the attractions of the picture.

In both cases the teacher fails; the latter, however, is the failure least to be deprecated, since fondness for pictorial representation is more easily dealt with in a learner even though it become excessive, than weariness and disgust. A teacher's aim should be gradually to develope the mental powers. Task no faculty. Cultivate none at the expence of others. Imagination, memory, reason, will all be found, under judicious training, greatly to help each other.

'The foundation of mental culture consists in the acquisition of the power of fixing and controlling the faculty of attention. To concentrate all the powers of the mind upon a given subject with ease and steadiness, is a difficult attainment; but when fully acquired, it will facilitate every intellectual process, and impart life and energy to the whole character. The formation of such mental habits as shall lead to this important result, while the memory is being cultivated, cannot fail to promote mental improvement, and to advance personal piety. But should religious teachers make no systematic exertions to call forth and to foster the faculty of attention;—should they, instead of training children to concentrate their attention upon the lessons taught, remain satisfied with a vain repetition of words which have been merely placed for the moment in the recollection of the scholars, by innumerable hasty reiterations; it is obvious that a serious and permanent injury will be inflicted. The memory will then be impaired instead of strengthened, inasmuch as its real power principally depends upon the intensity of attention; for it will be found that when the attention is not firmly fixed upon the subject in hand, the memory is not, in general, permanently impressed.

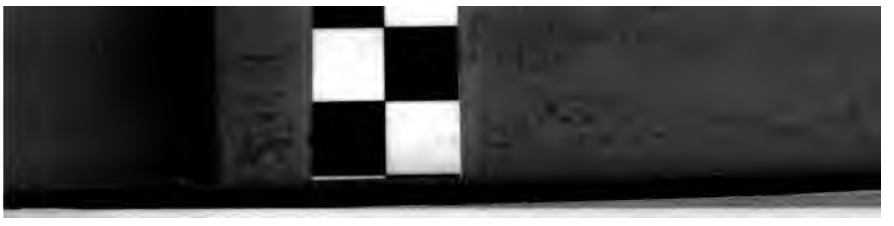
'Nor is this the only injurious result which arises from inattention to the proper order in mental training; for, by neglecting to cultivate the power of fixed attention in early life, and by substituting long repetition exercises for the requisite education, the difficulties attending self-discipline and self-improvement will be greatly increased. In after life, when systematic endeavours are made to fix the attention upon a given

point, the force of imagination which has been fostered by an early unchecked vagrancy of the mind, and the undisciplined state of the memory, induced by the miscalled instruction, will then interfere with these efforts to control the mental energies; and greatly impede, if they do not altogether prevent, the acquisition of that habit of fixed attention, which lies at the basis of intellectual discipline.'—pp. 241, 242.

These observations are philosophical and correct. They display an intimate acquaintance with mind, and are worthy of attention, not among Sunday-school teachers alone. The day is rapidly passing away, when it is fancied that children learn in proportion as the memory is clogged with words and sentences not understood. As well might it be supposed that the limbs exert themselves with facility and success according to the amount of dead weight the body may be made to bear. Teaching, from being a dull painful exercise, only adapted to weary and disgust both the instructor and the learner, is becoming a rational, healthful, and pleasant employ. Nowhere is this of such vast importance as in religious education.

The other work at the head of this article consists of a series of lessons from scripture, which the Sunday School Union deem suitable to occupy the attention of scripture classes, and of notes or heads of thought to aid teachers in communicating instruction. We are not sure that such helps ought to be needed, but if they are, we regard these as exceedingly suitable. Their design and general arrangement are admirable, and they are of a decidedly evangelical character. Topics on which real Christians differ are avoided. They aim to occupy attention with the great verities of religion, equally interesting and important to all. Such a course of instruction can scarcely fail to prepare for and bring about that expressed and visible oneness of the Christian family, which we trust is rapidly approaching.

The 'Notes,' however, are an example of the first of the two evils in cultivating the mental faculties to which we have adverted. They are too little addressed to the imagination, too much to the memory and the reason. They would burden the minds of more than half the adults in ordinary congregations. We have sometimes been inclined to think that the present is the age of homeopathy in religious instruction. Knowledge is called for in almost infinitesimal portions. In these notes it is presented in large and often well thought out masses. To many this will not render them the less valuable. We look at them, however, as specimens of the teaching for scripture classes in Sunday schools, and in this view they require improvement. We trust, if they are continued, that they will dwell far more on



the facts of the gospel narratives, persuaded as we are that a full and judicious exposition of these facts would afford opportunity of presenting the whole scheme of doctrinal and practical instruction.

Sunday-schools occupy an important place among the means of diffusing the gospel in the world. They provide for large numbers, for whom almost no other provision is made, and thus prepare for the instructions of the Christian pulpit. They should therefore be thoroughly efficient and useful. Their character as religious institutions ought to be distinctly and strongly recognised. They are emphatically the expressions of the care of the church of Christ for the young.

'We say boldly that the object of these institutions is NOT education; that is, not education in the ordinary sense in which that term is taken, as the act of storing the mind with the facts of human science, or qualifying it to sustain its part in the busy theatre of life.'—Collins, p. 14.

Instruction merely secular should form no part, or at most but a very small part of Sunday-school engagements. Writing, geography, and English grammar have been taught in Sunday-schools. To this the objections are decided, and we think insuperable. If the sacredness of the day may not be urged, the abridgment of the time for religious instruction thus occasioned is on all accounts to be deprecated. Three hours in a week for a period not averaging three years is the whole amount of Sunday-school attendance. Surely this time is little enough for religious instruction. The masses of our youthful population should have a clear and practical view of the evidences of Christianity, of its doctrines and duties, as well as of whatever else may enable them to read the word of God with intelligence and interest. No diligent teacher will find the time hanging heavily on his hands. The benefits realized during one day in seven are lessened and neutralized by artful and persevering opposition for the remaining six days. Can it be deemed surprising that against such fearful odds Sunday-schools should often fail; that failure, however, would be much more frequent if secular instruction were allowed to take the place of religious.

Every teacher, moreover, should regard himself as having done little, almost nothing, till his children are converted to God. He must not merely communicate knowledge. His business is salvation. Every feeling he cherishes, every lesson he inculcates, must be guided by a desire to bring his children to the Saviour. The due recognition of this as the one paramount object of Sunday-school instruction will show the place it should occupy in the arrangements of the churches and the kind of persons who should be employed in conducting it.

Pastors will do well to cherish Sunday-schools with unremitting care; they may not perhaps become teachers or superintendents, still they should be acquainted generally with the lessons taught, and the efficiency or otherwise with which every part of Sunday-school work is discharged. Churches have been of late mostly replenished from Sunday schools, though, as was recently observed in the Congregational Union at Leeds, it is lamentably true that not seven-tenths of the children educated in them, as they grow to manhood, attend our places of worship. It is as if, by this fact, Christ were encouraging Christian ministers to obey the beautiful direction, 'Feed my lambs.' And we believe that this result has been most witnessed in those places where pastors have regarded the young as chiefly constituting the objects of their solicitude. We remember to have heard it forcibly urged in a charge delivered to a young minister in London some years since. 'Never let your pulpit ministrations consist solely of the strong meat provided for those who are of full understanding. You have babes in your congregation—babes in your schools—let them at least have a little milk.' We wish this homely exhortation were not so often forgotten.

In addition to the care bestowed on Sunday-schools by pastors, they demand and deserve a large share of attention from officers and influential members of churches. It is not seemly; it cannot be useful, to have these institutions conducted almost exclusively by the young and inexperienced. With the highest respect for this class of persons, we cannot but think that God has placed them in the church to learn rather than to teach; while the work of instruction should chiefly be in the hands of the more advanced. Can they be employed in any nobler undertaking than in guiding the young into the way of peace.

In this particular our transatlantic brethren set us an example. Senators, judges, magistrates, persons who occupy the first places in society, deem it an honour to be employed in Sunday-school work, and, as might be expected, it occupies a place in Christian exertion second only to the divinely appointed ministration of the word of life. Sunday-schools are what they ought to be, nurseries to the church of God.

Intimately connected with this topic is another scarcely inferior to it in importance. These institutions require but little pecuniary support. Books and other requisites are cheap, and easily obtained, still we would not have this support thrown upon teachers. Schools would be much more efficiently conducted were they supported not by the few but by the many. We do not say this to ease teachers of the burden, but for the benefit of the schools themselves. Support and controul go together, and the controul of the many is greatly to be preferred

to that of the few. We have so much confidence in the expediency as well as the rectitude of the voluntary principle in support of the ministration of the gospel, that had it not been directly instituted, we should still cling to it as involving healthful responsibility on the one hand, and vigilance on the other. This, under God, is the best preservative of a pure faith and a holy practice. Creeds may be necessary where the support of religion is forced, and where its ministers are freed from popular controul, they have no place where support is spontaneous and where legitimate controul is maintained. Just so in Sunday-schools. Let the many support them, and they will be preserved as healthy and useful institutions, besides that every one will become more or less concerned in the important work of religiously training the young.

This, most emphatically, is the business of the church. The Bishop of London is reported to have said in a recent charge to his clergy in Essex, 'The young are our hope; perhaps the men and women who have gone from us cannot be reclaimed; we must look to the young, if we would replenish and strengthen our church.' Varying somewhat its application, a sentiment more impressive and true could scarcely be uttered. They who have gone into the busy walks of life too often suppose they have no time for religion, and efforts to gain them are but ill repaid. What can be done but religiously to train those who have not yet entered on these busy scenes. Their ear may be gained, and their heart won. This work must not be committed to government hirelings, nor placed under controul of the state. We want education to nourish the high born freedom which is the birthright of every man, and to contribute to a healthy exercise of private judgment. 'Liberty of education is clearly necessary to liberty of conscience.'

We would hail, therefore, and cheer on the efforts of the Sunday School Union, which for forty years past, has sought to stimulate and encourage Sunday-school teachers at home and abroad, to greater exertions in the promotion of religious education. Without pledging ourselves to support or approve of every thing in the constitution or conduct of that Union, we cannot but regard it as engaged in a most laudable work. Its labours may expect to be misconstrued, its motives will be impugned. What useful labour has not to suffer this inconvenience? In some cases, the Union may err; but, while it can report 17,000 schools in England and Wales alone, together with vast numbers in a hundred other directions, as originated or fostered by its instrumentality; while it can tell of more than a million and a half of the children of our own population, being instructed by the unpretending, but useful agency of the teachers connected

with it, proofs are given, that the blessing of God rests in no ordinary degree upon it. We have heard the Union severely censured, among other reasons, because it gives circulation to the church catechism—and with it, to the destructive dogma of baptismal regeneration; and we are not disposed to become its apologists in this matter. Indeed, with our views of that catechism, we cannot. A more meagre compendium of christian doctrine, and one more fraught with pernicious error, we do not know. Catechisms are no favourites with us, and we should rejoice if they were all dispensed with—and if the words of inspired truth were substituted in their place—still, ere the censure to which we have referred be admitted, due weight should be given to two or three considerations which are in danger of being overlooked. It should, for instance, be borne in mind that the Union gives no advantage to the church catechism, which is not enjoyed by any other compendium of religious instruction adopted by any evangelical body of Christians. The Union, moreover, is composed of many sections of the church of Christ, whose representatives associate on perfectly equal terms—none is preferred—none should be stigmatized. The Assembly's Catechism, the Baptist Catechism, and others for aught we know, are precisely on a level with the Church catechism. The Union trades in them all. And, if the Church catechism be cast out of its catalogue, such books as those we have already named, and others of like kind, cannot consistently be retained. The constitution of the society precludes it, and should, we think be altered, to give propriety and conclusiveness to some of the objections which are urged. We should be glad to find, that the Sunday School Union had resolved at once to get rid of all such works. The times demand a deep and intimate acquaintance with divine truth itself. The young should hear not 'the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but those which the Holy Ghost teacheth,' to fortify them against the errors that are abroad; and, if the present tendencies of a large part of the established church should lead dissenters to free themselves from their current, and long established errors, it will be, as many an evil has heretofore been, the means of great good. At all events, let us have nothing in our Sunday-schools that may encourage these tendencies.

Art. V. *Report of the Poor Law Commissioners on Local Taxation, with Appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty.* 1843.

TAXATION is a subject which every Englishman feels to be of the first importance. It does not need the pressure of the income tax to remind us of this indisputable fact. Through every period of our history the supply of the national exchequer has proved a matter of the greatest moment, not only on account of the pecuniary exactions which it has involved, but also for the means it has afforded of contesting political rights on the vantage ground of taxation: for it is indeed true that we have bought our liberties, not less with our money than with our blood.

But there is a branch of the subject which attracts less general notice than the rest; because, although nearly as important in a pecuniary, it is not by any means so influential in a political point of view. It is to this branch of the subject —to local, as distinguished from national, taxation—that we purpose now to direct the attention of our readers, aided by the valuable report whose title heads this article. The district rates are, in their kind, quite as worthy of the politician's consideration as the public taxes.

The local imposts referred to in the report are twenty-four in number: they are affected by an enormous mass of law, comprising 173 statutes, and innumerable judicial decisions; some of them have prevailed from time immemorial, and others have been successively added within the historic period to meet the demands of our growing civilization; they are imposed upon an amount of real property, whose annual value is estimated at £62,500,000; they realize in their united levy a sum between £8,000,000 and £9,000,000 a year; they are levied in districts which in the aggregate are almost, if not quite, co-extensive with the limits of England and Wales; they give occasion for the services of a body of officers, of whom there are fifty-four different classes, and not less than 180,000 simultaneously in office; and they are lawfully applicable to nearly 200 different purposes, of the utmost importance to the community; as, for example, the relief of the poor, the preservation of the peace, and the repair of the public roads. Besides the taxes coming immediately within the scope of the report, there are other sources of local revenue, such as light dues and turnpike tolls, which it is calculated would swell the sum collected to about £12,000,000 a year; and 'if to this were added,' observe the commissioners, 'the amounts raised and disposed of in a similar manner in

Scotland and Ireland, the amount would undoubtedly exceed that at the disposal of some of the more important sovereign states of Europe, for all the purposes both of general and of local government.'

This extensive and multifarious system, however, unfortunately abounds (as might indeed have been anticipated without any extraordinary gift of vaticination,) both with defects of law and with irregularities of practice. The Poor Law Commissioners, in accordance with instructions from the Marquis of Normanby, when secretary of state for the home department, have addressed themselves to the consideration of these defects and irregularities, and have recently submitted a report to the government, recommending certain amendments with a view to remedy such evils. We trust that the present ministry, though apparently little inclined to take any active or decisive course in more exciting matters, will at least be ready to adopt some measure of practical reform on a subject so important as this.

Instead of the four and twenty rates to which the report adverts, the commissioners propose the substitution of one general consolidated rate. The officers now empowered to make the several existing rates, are to render to an assessor, to be appointed for the purpose, estimates of the amounts required for the year; the assessor is to lay the general rate accordingly; the collector to be appointed for the purpose is then to collect the rate quarterly, and to lodge the proceeds in the hands of a treasurer, who is to disburse the money according to the orders of the several parties at present authorized to expend the rates. Thus the assessors, the collectors, the treasurers, and the expenditors, will be different persons, with distinct duties and distinct responsibilities, the expenditors remaining the same as under the existing system.

These suggestions appear to us to be of great utility. They would abolish, at one blow, the whole of the present cumbrous accumulation of separate sets of machinery for the assessment and collection of so many different taxes. Without entering into any minute examination of tedious details, it will at a glance be obvious that such a measure must, of itself, effect a most material saving of labour, and therefore of expense. Nay, more, it would not only reduce the staff of officers to a minimum, but it would prove a most desirable convenience to the payers of the rate. The visitations of the tax-gatherer, (whom the facetious author of the Comic Annual pleasantly designates 'The Great Plague of London,') have never at any time been hailed with the heartiest of welcomes; and any arrangement which serves to diminish their frequency, and to relieve the unfortunate tax-contributors from the constant apprehension of the vulture's

swoop, by enabling them at once to know and feel the worst, must be a consummation sincerely to be wished! It needs moreover but slender skill in arithmetic to calculate the advantage of a system, which exchanges the trouble, cost, and vexation of twenty-four appeals, for the inconveniences of one.

The proposed alteration would not produce any change in the actual liabilities of different persons, or of different properties, to the several local burdens; for it is a remarkable fact that, although the incidence of some of the rates would, according to the letter of the law, vary widely, yet these legal distinctions have long been neglected in practice, and the whole of the rates appear to be now imposed 'either by law, *or by usages regardless of the law*, on the same basis as the poor rate.' The commissioners express their opinion, that in thus following the model of the poor rate in defiance of the law, 'the local officers and local public' have acted at least with practical wisdom, and 'have only anticipated in an illegal manner the course which it is advisable to adopt, and to extend still further by a general enactment.' How often does legislation lag behind, when it ought to be marching in the van! Indeed, one is often inclined to think that acts of parliament are but registers of matters of fact, —of results already wrought out by the active sagacity of the people,—records of the past rather than rules for the future. At all events, the block is frequently rough hewn by the people, and does but receive its final touches from the hands of parliament.

The commissioners further propose the appointment of paid assessors to assess the rate; these officers to be appointed for districts of parishes, either by the justices at quarter sessions, or by the chairman and vice-chairman of unions; and to be removable by the poor law commissioners for incompetence or misconduct. Some of the most prominent and unconquerable difficulties of the existing system are connected with the valuation of the properties subject to the rates. There are, indeed, two classes of difficulties to be overcome, either of which would be hard enough to cope with. There is, on the one hand, the incompetency,—on the other hand, the dishonesty,—of the officers charged with the duty. A small tradesman, or a quiet farmer, whose previous experience and habits of thought have not qualified him to estimate the relative values of different descriptions of property, suddenly finds himself invested with the duties and dignities of an overseer, and called upon to appraise, for the purpose of assessment, lands of all kinds, arable, pasture, and other; houses of all sorts,—from the mansion to the cottage, from the tallest manfactory to the smallest shop,—coalmines, underwoods, and whatever else may be liable to contribute to the rate. The honest man is puzzled beyond measure, nay,

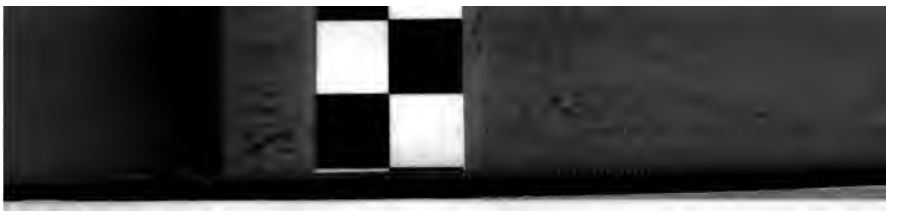
driven to his wits'-end; he begins to discover that the 'sweets of office' are not without their alloy; and, anxious to discharge his duty correctly, yet feeling himself sadly inadequate to the task, he procures such advice and assistance as he can, and makes the best guess he is able at the value of the properties; —with what success, may be easily conjectured. But even if we escape incompetency on the one hand, we shall scarcely avoid dishonesty on the other. For every parish which contributes to the hundred or county rates, has an obvious interest in undervaluing its ratable property, so that its share of contribution shall be less than the proportions of the other contributory parishes: and, alas! so powerful was this motive found, and so extensive the mischief it created, that the parochial assessment act was passed in 1836, for the especial purpose of arresting its operation. But (O most sapient legislature!) the adoption of the provisions of this statute was left to the choice of the parishes themselves,—that is to say, the very parties whose misdeeds it was intended to correct! No wonder that it has hitherto proved of very little avail. Again, the officers of the parish have an interest in keeping the assessments in troublesome cases as low as possible, in order to prevent appeals; and every active and influential individual, or class of persons, has a sinister inducement to obtain, in the particular instance, a reduced valuation, compared with the rest of the property in the neighbourhood. The appointment of a paid responsible officer, of acknowledged experience and skill, acting not for a single parish, but for a district of parishes, would certainly seem a very feasible mode of avoiding these evils.

Another series of recommendations contained in the report relates to the establishment of a cheap, accessible, and skilful tribunal for the trial of a certain class of appeals against the rate. Where the propriety of any entire branch of the consolidated rate, or the liability of any person or property to be rated, is called in question, it is proposed that the appeal shall be made to the quarter sessions, but where the amount of an individual assessment is the point in dispute, the commissioners suggest, that the matter should be decided by a special tribunal, consisting of the assessor, a valuer nominated by the appellant, and the poor law auditor; the costs of each appeal to be limited to a guinea and a-half. Who wishes not for cheap law, or rather we should say, cheap justice? And is not the judgment of expert professional men more likely to secure in the main, correct decisions upon such a complex matter of opinion, as the value of property, than the hap-hazard conjecture, (for it can be little better,) of the justices, who in such cases can only select between the conflicting opinions of adverse witnesses?

An efficient audit of accounts is manifestly the surest safeguard against abuse, whether in the collection or in the disbursement of public funds. The inadequacy of the provisions made at present for enforcing the responsibility of the officers concerned in the several rates, is truly surprising. Indeed, the report shows, that the only rate subject to any audit which can be deemed better than a mere pretence, is the poor rate; and even with regard to that fund, considerable difficulties have arisen from the conflict of authority between the justices and the auditors, as well as from other defects in the law. The commissioners recommend, (and, we think wisely,) that all persons having the collection, custody, or expenditure, of the general rate, should be made accountable to an auditor, who should be empowered to surcharge, reduce and disallow, items of account. The practical irresponsibility of the officers under the existing system, and the necessity of applying an effective audit to all the present rates or to all the objects of the consolidated rate, are illustrated by these ascertained facts that the improved system of audit under the Poor Law Amendment Act has had the effect, in numerous instances, not of abolishing altogether the illegal expenditures formerly made from the poor rates, but of casting those charges upon other rates not subjected to the like control.

We have now indicated some of the principal features of this important report. We have not space to enter on some other questions which are very ably discussed by the commissioners, with respect to the rating of mines, woods, workhouses, and tithes, and the assessment of the owners, in place of the occupiers, of small tenements. We cannot refrain from remarking, however, on the lively sensitiveness displayed by the clerical owners of tithe, when required to contribute their appropriate share towards the common charge for the relief of the poor. Several pages of the report are devoted to the examination of claims advanced by the clergy of the established church to exemption from the rate, as unfounded in justice as unauthorized by law. We certainly do not think it a duty obligatory on a clergyman, merely because he is a clergyman, to abandon any of his rights, or what he may conceive to be his rights, even in favour of the rest of the community; we would not try him by a stricter standard in this matter, than we apply to his fellow-men; but we cannot avoid a feeling of regret, and an involuntary glance at the spirit of christianity, when we behold the peculiar apprehension which the ministers of the church evince, lest they should contribute a farthing too much from their ample revenues to the support of their destitute countrymen, and the ingenious sophistries to which they resort, in their endeavours to evade the burden.

The report is accompanied by two appendices, containing an elaborate digest of the law referring to local taxes, prepared by the commissioners' assistant secretary, Mr. Coode. This digest is perhaps more remarkable than the report itself. The multiplicity of the matters crowded within its ponderous bulk; the analytical skill with which the heterogeneous and confusedly mingled elements of the statutes are made to disentangle themselves; and the clearness of the method by which they are recombined and constrained to marshal themselves in goodly order; are points of merit pleasant to contemplate, and no less distinguished by utility. The compilation is preceded by a memorandum, which explains the principles of the arrangement pursued, as regards both the matter and the mode of expression; and which suggests the adoption of similar principles in the preparation of acts of parliament. We have been much struck by the originality of the author's remarks upon this subject, and do not doubt that, if his suggestions were acted upon in the framing of our statutes, a large proportion of the sources of litigation would be at once dried up. It were hard to tell how much profitable work is made for our lawyers, by the uncouth and unwieldy phraseology in which it pleases our legislators to disguise, rather than to disclose, their meaning. A ludicrous instance of the absurdities resulting from a frequent practice in the draughting of statutes, that of jumbling together all the verbs and then all the nouns of the sentence, occurs in a note to the memorundum. 'It is proposed,' says the author, 'by a local act to pave the town of Brighton, and to manage its poor; the purpose is described to be, to manage and pave the town of Brighton, and the poor thereof; as if the poor were to be paved.' We have sometimes, in an uncharitable mood, felt prone to believe that the lawyers employed in the framing of the statutes adopt this jargon on purpose: but as it is possible that the cause may be assigned to obtuseness, in preference to obliquity, we will give them the benefit of the doubt. We strongly suspect that the appointment of an officer, for the especial purpose of draughting all statutes in something approaching an intelligible style, would effect a wonderful saving to the country, both economically, in point of expense, and morally, in regard to contention.



Art. VI. *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Principles of the Relief Church, embracing notices of the other religious denominations in Scotland.* By the Rev. Gavin Struthers, D.D. Anderston; Glasgow: A. Fullarton & Co. 1843.

The enumeration of religious sects, and the discriminating exposition of their distinguishing doctrinal tenets, are scarcely more than the raw material out of which ecclesiastical history is composed. The fabric itself is something widely different. Even the addition of the times, circumstances, and external effects of ecclesiastical discussions and divisions, may leave the *history of the church* as little explored, as the great bulk of historical productions do the *history of nations*,—occupied in the recital of the mere externals of civil and political affairs. The real business to be inquired into and known, the discovery of which alone is *history*, lies below the surface. These events are but the symbolic exponents of the thing; the signs, not the substance; the written character, not the sense. But to discern through these events the existence of conscience in man; to pourtray its operations and product in the character and practice, under the various forms of religion which men acknowledge; to detect the part which the different forms of religion have had in moulding the mind of their votaries, and in determining the form of their favoured institutions, and the tenor of their story;—this is to possess the religious history of the world. All the facts, without this *nexus*; even supposing them to be attainable, and how exactly soever ranged in the relation of time, would form an acquisition immeasurably less precious; the oracle would be dumb, or unintellibly obscure. To realize this idea of a religious history with reference to the Christian revelation, is to comprehend in the record the principal features of the life of man; to have human nature represented under its most important aspects, to learn the movements and characteristics of the spiritual faculty in men. In such a delineation, everything that is most worthy will assert a place; all the events of man's condition, personal, domestic, and political, will arrange themselves, lending their individual contribution to the truth and fulness of what is in reality *a history of the Christian religion*. Scarcely narrowing the limits of the inquiry in order to produce *a history of the church of Christ*, or of the Christian system, as it is indicated in the doctrines, worship, ritual and general practice of its votaries; or of the spiritual community or communities called the church, it would be unsatisfactory to the utmost, although the religious tenets of every sect that had ever been heard of, were described to a nicety, and even the tendency of their peculiar sentiments

philosophically and logically deduced; if these facts were not analysed, as expressive of the inner man—of the mind and soul in religion; if the real religious product were not carefully reckoned up and fairly exhibited; the true distinguished from the false, on just principles; the divine from the human; the pretending assumption from the scriptural prerogative; the earthly integument from the heavenly treasure; for only thus should we have anything truly denominated *the history of the church.*

The same general condition, of course, is essential to a history of any sect or section of the professing church of Christ. The Christian *biography* (so to speak,) which we crave in any account of the universal church, we more confidently expect, because it is more easily produced, when any sectional or constituent community belonging to the Christian church is described. We want to know more than at what time, and under what circumstances the party arose; what banner of distinguishing opinions it held up; what numbers it gathered around it; what place and proportion it bore in the confederation of sects. We want to learn its spirit and character—the tone, build and temperament of its mind; to know to what extent outward circumstances have operated to make it what it is; and to trace the oscillating process of its growth to its present estate. The advantage is obvious. We are thus studying, not these sectaries merely, but human nature, as affected by religion true or false. Through these particulars we have, brought within a convenient field of vision, general truths. By such an illuminating exposition, the accidental and essential stand distinguished. What would otherwise be inexplicable, or accounted for only in the most arbitrary way, is clearly explained by the combination circumstantially of all that directly or collaterally contributed to the result. What might have been condemned as deliberate or designed evil, we are brought to look upon as error inadvertent, ill-judged, or in the circumstances less culpable than it seemed. The fine gold is discerned and gathered up from amid the rubbish by which it is dimmed and concealed; things, not forms, are revealed to us; men, not mystic systems, of which men are only the pantomimic and mechanical apparatus. We see religion, in contact with man's active faculties, holding them, according to its asserted vocation, bound by its power; we see religion in its own element and sphere moving and controlling men, not merely floating in lip profession, or decked out in ostentatious parade.

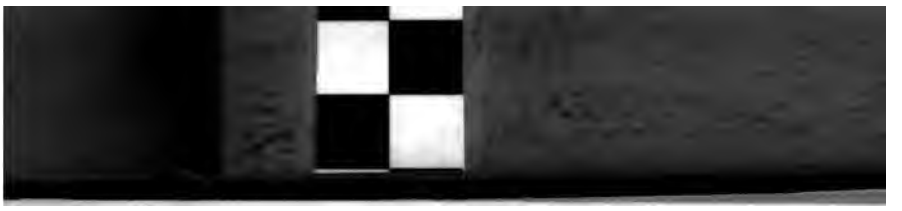
That genuine history, such as we have attempted to describe, is less easily attainable than its false substitute, is a drawback attaching to its excellence and worth. And our regret that the

few only are qualified to produce it, is compensated by the persuasion, that the many who could not come near the truth of human history, unless the materials were *framed up* in this manner for their inspection, are quite competent to appreciate the moral portrait when it is presented, and to judge with discrimination and truth of its correctness.

It would be unreasonable to expect in an account of a Christian body, of so recent origin as the Relief Church, these qualities of true history strongly displayed. The judicious author of the work before us, disclaims the pretension which his title-page for convenience bears. 'The time for producing a regular history of the Relief Church is not yet arrived.' But notwithstanding his modest designation of this able work as 'something akin to annals,' we have in a single volume a faithful record of the origin and progress of the relief church, combined with a view of ecclesiastical affairs in general (particularly Scottish) during the period. The writer is as much concerned to fill up the background of his picture according to truth and nature, as to do justice to the principal figures. Indeed, we admire this regulating principle of the recital, and the candour and discernment with which it is employed, more than the artistical execution. The law of proportion has not been duly preserved. The illustration of cognate topics tends to overlay the primary subject; the *time* to be more fully chronicled than the part which the relief church bore in it. The reader is apt, but solely from this cause, to be disappointed that on so wide an arena, as the historian sometimes describes, the part which the relief church acts is so small. This peculiarity cannot be easily altered in any subsequent edition; but the book is not the less interesting, indeed it will probably be more so to the general reader on this very account. Casting his review over a field so wide, and having to analyse the procedure of so many religious parties in transactions involving points of great delicacy, it is refreshing to meet with so much manly candour and charity combined. Dr. Struthers has feared none, flattered none, knowingly misrepresented none, yet all existing systems and parties have come under his examination. Nothing but the natural working of an honourable mind could have united such straightforward, unapologetic honesty in censure and dissent, with the gentlest brotherly kindness. Already known and admired throughout and beyond the limits of his own denomination for personal and ministerial excellencies, and for the unflinching maintenance of the civil liberties of dissenters, he will by this admirable work be more widely known and revered, and for nothing more truly than 'as a lover of good men,' whatever badge they wear. But let us glance at the history.

Monday, the 18th of May, 1752, was a field-day in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Offended ecclesiastics were convened to vindicate their insulted authority. It was the hour not of discussion, but of angry and vindictive power. An inferior court had dared to question its vassalage to the assembly. Andrew Richardson, whom the patron presented to the benefice, the people of Inverkeithing, to whom he was presented, refuse. Even the presbytery of Dumfermline, which is more to be considered, cannot find in their conscience to induct a man into the pastorate whom the people repudiate. The commission of assembly, with its plenary power, enjoins the induction of Andrew Richardson; the recusant presbytery will not obey, and even question the right of the commission, (or of the assembly, of whose substance the other was only the shadow,) to enjoin. A second decree of commission, to the same purpose, is as unsuccessful as the first. The highest censure of the church is terrifically shaken over head, but calmly braved. This marvellous presbytery, however contumacious they may seem, conceive that even a commission of assembly may have the hearts of men and of Christians. They represent and remonstrate, and are not unsuccessful; for instead of censuring, *this* commission, more tender or more politic than its predecessors, transfers to the whole synod of Fife the hateful duty of inducting Andrew Richardson; surely, among so many, *all* will not have the tender conscience of this presbytery of Dunfermline. But there was too much of the milk of human kindness in such a decision. To true churchmen, to Principal Robertson and his party—the patrons of passive obedience in presbyteries as well as people, puritanism or Brownism itself could scarcely have been more terrific. They protest, and appeal. The assembly shall undo what its shadow has done, and here are the protesters armed to the teeth, and in condition to wipe off the disgrace of a 'people-ridden' authority, as they called the presbytery of Dunfermline—here they are in the assembly on Monday, the 18th of May, 1752.

The protesters, with their 'majority behind,' have come hither to *act*, not to speak. August authority has spoken uncertainly; its thunders shall *now* dismay the presumptuous. 'Reasons of Dissent' against the fulminating decree, may not even be read. The enormity of being lenient to the tender consciences of this scrupulous presbytery must be denounced, *nemine contradicente*. And whereas *three* of the scrupulous, (a legal quorum) could not be found to obey their superiors, *five* shall be a quorum. '*Five* of you,' say their wrathful superiors, 'must put your hand to this worthy deed, and on *Thursday*, not later, must Andrew Richardson be inducted into Inver-



keithing: and on Friday, (so urgent is the business!) come you hither to render an account of your obedience.'

And now on Thursday, the bells and beadles of Inverkeithing are all in motion, for the induction of Andrew Richardson into the parochial charge. Three submissive presbyters, no longer breasting their angry lords, are there. Until last Monday they would have been, the presbytery, but the assembly have said *five*. There are even two other presbyters in Inverkeithing, but not in the church, one of them fear-ridden, would, but dare not come: the other, 'people-ridden,' could, but will not, and Andrew Richardson is not inducted.

But on Friday, six who were absent yesterday, are present in the assembly to answer for themselves: they scorn to skulk now; and with humble representation of the reasons of their conduct, they wait their sentence. Warning does not shake their adherence to this humble representation; and the sentence is issued: 'one of you shall be deposed.' Another day, every man separately is brought before the assembly. Three, by dint of ingenious explanations, are brought to exhibit some faint symptoms of possible submission. Two are meekly and calmly silent. But the sixth appears with a second humble representation; fortifying his denunciations of patronage by an appeal to one of the recent acts of assembly passed in a fit of delirious liberality, such as despotic institutions, in pressing conjunctures, sometimes fall into. The brave man's fate is sealed. He is the *one* who shall be deposed. Fifty-two have courage to vote his deposition; one hundred and two, the cowardice silently to consent to that which their lips would not speak. Then, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the power and authority committed by him to the assembly, THOMAS GILLESPIE, minister at Carnock, is deposed from the office of the holy ministry.

And for such an honour, the esteemed founder of the relief church had by a singular providence been trained and called. Twelve years before, he had completed his theological studies under the pious Doddridge, under whose shadow he had sought *relief* from the secularity of the establishment, on the one hand, and the sectarianism of the secession of that day, on the other. Ordained under the auspices of his tutor, and congregational presbyters, it is to be supposed that he was at least 'tinctured with independency,' as was alleged of him. Of this training, the first indication may be reckoned an exceptional explanation, offered by him on the occasion of his induction into the parish of Carnock, of that part of the confession of faith which speaks of the power of the civil magistrate. We consent most cordially to the opinion of our author: 'The surprise is not that the maintainer of such sentiments should have been extruded from

a church where patronage was the law, but that he should ever have been found within its pale. Strange practical inconsistencies occur in the lives of the best of men. Principles may sleep for ages. Events, and these unlooked for, will bring them into action.' To Gillespie's liberal mind and truly devout spirit lay patronage, which recent events had tended to develop in its true character must have been odious and burdensome. We have described his liberation from a system which was not worthy of him.

In the controversy which thus issued in Gillespie's deposition, another question, however, was mixed up with that of lay patronage, viz: 'whether inferior judicatories were bound, contrary to their conscience, to carry into effect the sentences of superior courts.' The party to which Gillespie belonged, held the negative of this; Robertson and his forces, the affirmative. To us, there appears, in the discussions of the parties, respectively asserting and denying this right, a strange confounding of *moral* with *conventional* right. That any judicatory whatsoever, has a Christian right to enjoin what is wrong, still more to enforce the injunction upon recusant consciences, no one surely will avow. But, on the other hand, that an acknowledged authority should be obeyed, only at discretion, is equally untenable. As the governing body, the assembly or commission had a right to see that its injunctions were complied with. They may have been unscriptural injunctions; in this instance, we believe they were so; and, along with the accompanying circumstances, unlawful by the constitution of the Scottish church;—offensively tyrannical. This gave a warrant to those whose consciences were offended, to represent their contrariety to scripture, to implore delay, or such modifications as would have admitted of their compliance; but *not* to refuse obedience, and remain in the relation of a subordinate court. The alternative was, to dissolve the connection, in virtue of which the unlawful imposition was made. Utterly abhorring the temper and conduct of the ruling party of that day, we might not have deemed it necessary thus to deny the *right* of the presbytery of Dunfermline to refuse compliance with the assembly's injunction, and withal remain a presbytery, nominally subject to the authority it was withstanding, if our author had not attached some importance to this aspect of the transaction; as if the denial of the assembly's right to enjoin upon inferior courts what was contrary to conscience, formed a more eligible footing of separation, than simple opposition to patronage. To our minds, this ingredient respecting the subordination of ecclesiastical courts, is a real blemish in the grounds of separation: the simpler ground of opposition to patronage being more secure and tenable. When

detailing the arguments by which one presbytery defended this attitude of resistance to the assembly, concluding thus :—'Every minister should be left to judge for himself, how far, in consistency with the word of God, he could yield obedience to his ecclesiastical superior,' the author observes: 'These were bold, and literally independent, rather than presbyterian, principles.' We say so too; and add, that such sentiments, with such an application of them, exceed even this extreme;—shoot beyond independency itself. For even in the administration of independency, there is authority, which could not be clogged by such an absurd restriction. In fact, this principle is the very soul of anarchy, in any organized institution, 'every man doing what is right in his own eyes.' And we do not know what to make of Dr. Struthers as a presbyterian historian, when after having described this principle, as 'independent rather than presbyterian,' he gives his approval of it, as the germ of a better platform or model of presbytery, in these words:—

'The presbytery of Dunfermline strenuously contended, along with many others, that the members of inferior church judicatories were not bound to give effect to the sentences of superior ecclesiastical courts, when they were persuaded in their own minds, that these sentences were contrary to the word of God. They pled for a state of things which left ministers a great deal of ministerial freedom, and which made church courts *rather consultative meetings than legislative and executive assemblies.* Much of this liberty belonged to the old church of Scotland, at the time she was dissociated from the state—when her assemblies and presbyteries were proscribed, and congregations supported their own ordinances, and managed their own affairs.'

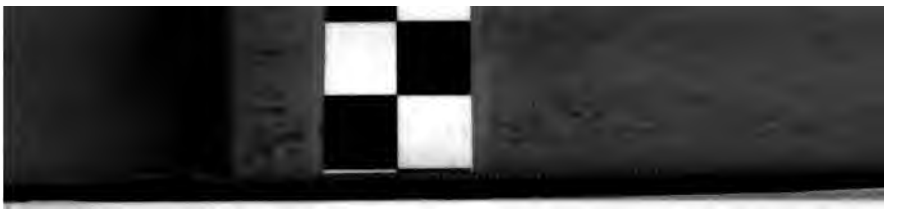
Such a reduction of presbytery, and more, is deducible from the principle contended for; but we do not find, that the party themselves ever discerned the deduction, or would have acceded to such a model of presbytery as Dr. Struthers describes. Neither do we find, that Gillespie, tinctured as he was with independency; or the relief body, at any period of its history, acknowledged such a model of presbyterian order. And viewing the matter dispassionately, we cannot believe such a model of presbyterian order to be approved by any existing party. If it be, it must be altogether esoteric, the exterior platform and procedure are all different. Could the ecclesiastical historian be persuaded that such a tenet extensively prevailed, he might imagine, he saw the uniting principles by which bodies, hitherto standing in antagonism and separation, might be incorporated. In such presbyterianism, the independent ought not to see any infringement of his independency, for there is none. And the presbyterian, if these are his sentiments, ought not to repudiate and refute independency, for he holds it. But sincerely questioning whether

Gillespie ever stated this view which Dr. Struthers attributes to him, we are spared the trouble of enquiring, when and for what causes the body which he founded, shifted the ground on which popular liberties are here represented to have been based.

But having set right this point, let us revert to the narrative. The parish church, and even the churchyard, would in terms of this sentence of deposition be polluted by the ministerial services of Gillespie; but on the waste ground behind the manse, and on the public road, there is at least liberty for the man of God: and there Gillespie, emancipated from the serf-like condition to which he had bent his soul, now gloried in conscious manhood, and while bearing his Master's cross, realized more fully the hope of an eternal crown. The weeping crowd that daily sat at their teacher's feet, and united in the outpourings of his lofty devotion, as with manifest unction from above, he drew them to himself within the sheltering wing of a faithful Redeemer, had no reason or disposition to complain of their condition, unsheltered and outcast of men. They were cast down, but not in despair. A meeting-house is prepared for him in Dunfermline, the neighbouring town, and many seek the benefit of his ministrations. He stands by, not without interest and hope for the sake of the persecuting church itself, to witness the issue of a proposal for his restoration. But not a step will he move towards its accomplishment. He seems to us to tremble more for the success of the ill-judged proposal of his friends, than to be troubled for their failure. The experience of Christian liberty had exceeded his conceptions: and the emancipated captive can not consent to return to his prison, though many enticements be held out.

It was not till more than five years after, that an associate to Gillespie was found, in Thomas Boston, the younger; who had resigned his parochial charge in the established church, on account of the violent settlement of ministers contrary to the wishes of the people; and was now ordained over a people, who preferred the minister of their choice, to the *incubus*, which besotted despotism would have fastened upon them. It was some years later, when a congregation having separated from the established church for the same cause, in Colingsburgh in Fife, the presbytery of relief was formed, consisting of the clerical and lay delegates from these three congregations. This was in 1761.

'The following are the principles embodied, evidently in the minute, as characterizing this new denomination:—1. It was to be called the Presbytery of Relief. 2. It was to be a presbyterian denomination, composed of ministers and ruling elders, with churches under their inspection. 3. It recognized 'the Lord Redeemer King and Head of his



church.' 4. Its rule was the scriptures. 5. It claimed power as a scripturally constituted presbytery, to licence and ordain others for the work of the ministry. 6. It particularly proferred assistance and relief to all oppressed christian congregations. 7. Under Christ, as Head of his Church, it appointed its own seasons and forms of worship, and, therefore, at its very first meeting appointed a day of thanksgiving in all the congregations under their inspection.'

But in many particulars which find no place in the original minute, the relief church was separated from the sect they had abandoned. Distinguished by a sacred reverence for the rights of conscience; an enlarged and enlightened charity; an emancipation from the stupifying deference to human standards of faith, by which the scriptures (as in the deposition of Gillespie) were set aside; and by freedom from the bonds of the national covenants, which even the secession had fastened on themselves, it is much to be regretted that the founders of the relief made no declaration to this purport. Had they promulged their consent in the originating and formative principles, which we have just named, a very observable influence must have been exerted upon their stability and progress as a christian sect. As it was, relief from the yoke of patronage was the sole principle by which they could be *recognized,* as a separate sect. The very simplicity and singleness of this principle was the source of troubles from which they might have been exempt. The practical and sole difference between them, and the church they had left, was reduced to this, the right of the people to choose their own minister; they came to be viewed as substantially, in all other respects, one with the establishment. The public mind laid hold of this one ground of separation only. The reasons of separation were not, even when the presbytery of relief was formed, sufficiently articulate. This retarded their progress, enfeebled their stability, checked the life of their separation. Whilst actually impregnated with the noble reasons for separation already referred to, they were viewed, and many of their people viewed themselves, as separated only in this particular, i. e. for a temporary cause; they *seemed* to be waiting 'to see what would become of the city,' as if an early return was not improbable. Their attention was withdrawn from cultivating their own resources. We know of no others who were under the same unfortunate incertitude of condition, in the same degree. Glas assailed the fabric of the establishment, the scaffoldings and props were of little moment in his eyes. Apart from all his other tenets, this gave his party a local habitation; a character in the eyes of others; a stimulus and rule to themselves. Smith and Ferrier, and the Scotch Independents with whom they may be identified, in like manner 'dwelt among their own people;' their errors and crotch-

cts have issued in their proximate extinction as a party; yet their *inner* character abides, they have indoctrinated the community, as Dr. Struthers says, to a large extent with their views; they have left their print and image upon other bodies, that do not follow their steps. Some of their tenets are at this moment, sifting and purifying, moving and moulding all sections of the religious community in Scotland. To refer to another party, that preceded the Relief Church; Erskine and his companions became a secession, and issued a large testimony. It was a distinct platform. How much soever they came behind the Relief in liberality of spirit, and freedom from covenants, now beginning to grow effete, they seem to have had an advantage in this respect, their character was defined; they knew themselves; others recognized them in their personality. Afterwards this accidental deficiency in the moral apparatus of the Relief came to be; in a great measure, supplied. Even apart from the subsequent adoption of standards, which originally they did not recognize, time and circumstances rectified the omission; from that time, the Relief Church had the requisite preparation for establishing and extending itself—a preparation which no mere formula or standard can impart. It acquired a defined individuality of character, that really separated it as a sect from other sects; turned its eyes mainly on its own resources, and liberated its faculties.

It is unnecessary to pursue our sketch of the further progress of the relief church, with the same minuteness, or much further at all. There are ample biographical materials, of which in this volume, a happy use is made, as the actors in the successive stages of the story pass in review. With the usual amount of troubles and drawbacks, and some, as has been stated, of a peculiar character, the relief church has maintained its footing, widened its extent, and increased its efficiency; until, in 1839, there are 115 congregations, many of them among the largest in Scotland. One source of trouble and division, the prevailing liberality of the denomination on the subject of communion with Christians who differ from themselves, but hold the Head, is to their everlasting honour. On the eve of brighter days, and better thoughts on the subject of Christian union, the sincere labourers in this godlike project, must have their deserved reward; and in the equitable distribution, Gillespie and his successors should have a large share. Nobly did he acquit himself, at his first sacrament, as one in whom Christian love had healed the deep wounds that in others might have rankled on: 'I hold communion with *all* that visibly hold the Head, and with such only.' The sentiments of his friend and coadjutor Boston, and of the relief church, will appear in the following extract, which may be taken as an unselected specimen of Dr. Struthers's writing.

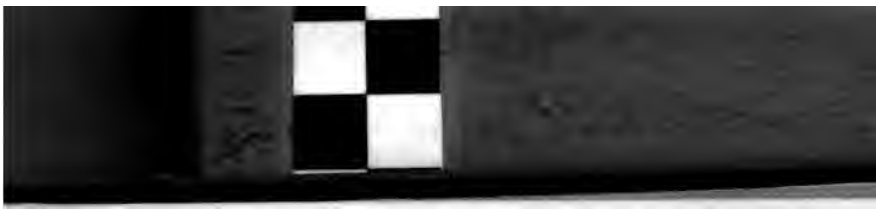
'So early as the summer of 1769 some of the elders of the Druse relief church complained to the presbytery that Mr. Monteith, their minister, had gone to assist the Rev. Mr. Murray, an independent minister of Newcastle, at the dispensation of the Lord's Supper, 'being a breach of presbyterian church government to hold communion with one who condemned synods and assemblies, and the government of God's house.' Mr. Monteith, on the other hand, argued that independents were many of them 'visible saints'—that it was a gross inconsistency 'to say that any man was a saint, and not to hold communion with him.' He also pled the words of his call which the people had given, and the presbytery had sustained. 'We invite you to be our minister, not as separatists from any of the protestant churches, nor from any of the faithful ministers or members of the established church in the land;' and certainly, said he, 'they would not maintain that a dissenting church in England was not a protestant church.' The presbytery, in a kind of extrajudicial meeting, as the cause was not very formally brought before them, heard parties, and gave a deliberative judgment on the matter. They declared 'that Mr. Monteith had done nothing wrong.' This decision was of great moment, as it brought out the relief terms of communion as to other dissenting churches; and showed that it was not merely with godly ministers in the establishment, but in other religious denominations also, that they were prepared to hold fellowship, as God gave them opportunity. The bulk of the congregation acquiesced in the decision, though some withdrew on account of such latitudinarian principles and practices.'

'This process against Mr. Monteith was the less to be expected from the Dreuse session, as Mr. Boston, at the very commencement of their church when the seceders were endeavouring to draw them away to their denomination, had by letter explained to them the terms of communion adopted by the relief presbytery. Writing to them from Jedburgh, by the authority of the presbytery, August 19, 1762, he says: 'Our terms of communion are according to the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. We bind people to no acts nor testimonies, but the acts of the apostles, and the testimonies of Jesus. We would tremble to think that our congregation should be tied up by any deed of ours to know no man but us, as if we were the only men, and wisdom would die with us. This would be a limiting of the holy one of Israel, and a most arrogant and presumptuous confinement of the influence of the Holy Spirit to a party. This proud, selfish, and most absurd conduct has, in all ages, been fatal to religion, and made it lie bleeding of wounds which it received in the house of its pretended friends. I heartily pray, therefore, that your people may be helped to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free, and not to be entangled with yokes and bonds of men's making. Meet often at a throne of grace, earnestly beg that He who leads the blind by the way that they know not may direct both you and us in this weighty affair.' This early document is of great value. It shows the catholic principles which were held by the relief presbytery when it was composed of Messrs. Gillespie, Boston, Colier, and Warden; and on what terms of communion they wished their churches to be founded. The statement of a principle, however, is often cordially as-

sented to, and yet when it is wrought out, men will be alarmed at their own work, and, under the force of ancient prejudices, condemn what they cannot but in theory approve. It was so with some of the Druse congregation, and, along with Mr. Frazer, they went back to the closer presbyterian denomination, from whence they had come. The wound was healed, but the scar was left. Mr. Monteith shortly after resigned his charge, and withdrew to Alnwick, in England.'

In 1773 the Synod, notwithstanding internal dissension, clung nobly to these views, and found not long after an able expounder and defender of all that was peculiar and precious to them, in Patrick Hutcheson, whose writings remain a monument of his ability and virtue, and whose name will long be remembered amongst them. As the advocates of religious liberty on every fit occasion and trying conjunction; as strenuous maintainers of the Roman catholic claims to relief; as honourable combatants in the agitating discussion, called the voluntary controversy, protracted during several years, with a zeal and fervour few questions can sustain; as having borne their share in the successful resistance of a despotical attempt to submerge dissent by church extension under government patronage and pay, without regard to the existence or labour of the dissenting sects; as cordial co-operators in the missionary and anti-slavery enterprise, the ministers and members of the relief church have identified themselves with what is liberal and philanthropic and christian in Scottish institutions and movements.

Considerable space in the concluding part of this history is devoted to the exposition of a litigation before the civil courts, in which the relief church was virtually a party, respecting a place of worship in Campbellton. The minister having come to desire a connexion with the established church sought, with the aid of his new friends of the establishment who displayed an unbecoming ardour in such a scheme, to wrest the place of worship from the relief body, on the plea that establishment principles were those of the old relief; and the principal part of that body having zealously asserted the voluntary principle, had thereby departed from their original faith, and forfeited the property which was acquired under their original banner. Vastly weighty interests were involved in this question. Had this plea been affirmed, the dissenting churches must have given up either their anti-establishment principles, or their places of worship. Had the separation of this renegade from the relief body, when his treacherous design was discovered, been declared null and void, and himself and his adherents adjudged to be the relief, dissenting bodies would have suffered a serious invasion of their spiritual liberties. But the separating sentence was held good *de facto*: it was a matter of which the court could take no cognizance,



their jurisdiction extending only to the conservation of the property; and their sole inquiry on this point, being whether the relief church had departed in any *essential* point from its original faith, in connexion with which the property was acquired. Such a decision of the supreme civil court was of incalculable value, as securing the liberty of dissenters. The reflections it suggests we are compelled to withhold, and can only refer our readers, who take an interest in the nice question respecting the tenure of ecclesiastical property, to give the narrative of this process their careful perusal.

To the reflective materials of the present time, no contribution could have been more appropriate than the history of a body which has borne an honourable and arduous part in eliminating the great practical truth—that Christ's kingdom is spiritual and incapable of being allied with secular governments without a taint to its purity, and an infringement of its independence. To argue this in general terms is an easy thing, and may be done by a church that is held under the most galling state-bondage; witness the perpetual protestations to this effect of the church of Scotland. But in such circumstances it is reduced to a mere speculation. It is not honoured as a truth. By those who either consent to the bondage, or who pursue a modified alliance, supposed to be, but which really is not, compatible with the full spirituality and independence of the church, this truth has yet to be discovered. At the moment that there has arisen in Scotland a new sect of uncommon magnitude, singular history, and rare promise; which is at one and the same moment wrapt in the clouds of persecution, and enjoying the sunshine of popular approbation, like a mountain which has its wintry and its summer side in contemporaneous contrast—a sect whose prospects every one is predicting, and none can correctly calculate, the history of another sect, very similar in its principles and origin, forms a most timely addition to our sources of information. Judging of the one from the other, the progress of a religious body separated from the establishment, and in which a considerable measure of vital godliness finds a place, is very hopeful. It is true that what the founders of the relief church only did not deny, the leaders of the new protestant church are officious, we will not say offensive, in avowing, viz. their attachment to an establishment, and repudiation of the voluntary principle except as an expedient for 'the present distress.' Yet it is warrantable to suspect that the recent discussion with voluntary churchmen may be operating to retard the progress and weaken the force of convictions which their own experience serves to convey; of the utter impossibility of a free, pure, christian church being in alliance with the state. But the love of

freedom is already burning strongly in their breasts, it will ere long be stronger than their love of state-patronage. The popular mind of the protesting church will drift rapidly towards an entire repudiation of the patronage and pay of the state. The clerical mind will keep pace with that of the people, and maintain its part in directing the other. Already the whole force of the new sect is prepared to assail, and unite with others in assailing the present establishment. In the eagerness of their onslaught against it, they will pass beyond their proposed limits, and find themselves arrayed against the whole order of secular forms of christianity, and against the distinguishing principle of them all. The time is therefore at hand, if it have not already come, when the voluntary controversy in Scotland must be resuscitated. Strictly speaking, it has never slept. This very movement in the Scottish church is the operation of it. These are its fruits. But the direct discussion which was rendered unnecessary and inexpedient during the recent evolution of the movements, which former discussion had originated, must now be resumed. No practical opposition to the extremest demands of voluntary churchmen will come from the new seceders, theoretically opposed though they be. Thousands who were held back from espousing these views, while members of the establishment, will now gladly avail themselves of their enlargement, and rally round the standard of truth and freedom. The other dissenters are quite prepared to renew the combat. It only requires England to rouse itself to make the engagement general. Ireland is a silent battery, whose strength on this point is understood as truly as if it were playing in full force. If England be ever to do any thing for Christian liberty, it will be on this arena—the controversy of a state church. Church rates will never collect the moral forces that are requisite and are within call. Church extensions and the national endowment of the new churches *may*, by an appeal to men's interests as well as their consciences, and by enlisting in the ranks the sordid and superficial, who will never look beyond the present pecuniary aspects of any question. But even this battle, which is as surely to be fought on British ground as that England has a hierarchy powerful, proud, exclusive, and unscrupulous—even this battle will be fought with better prospect of success when the popular mind has been indoctrinated with proofs of the utter absence of any scriptural warrant for such institutions; of their necessary and invariable corruptness; of the arrant injustice to the citizens of any nation where they have a footing; and of the blasphemous presumption of the magistrate who creates and sustains them; and when these truths are made to wing their way, claiming to be spoken aloud everywhere, and not in mutterings

or whispers—to be proclaimed and promulged—to be acknowledged as our *faith*, for which we will suffer, and of whose triumph we never for an instant despond: let christian men be men: then will there be the prospect of victory; and the hour of victory may come earlier than it is looked for. But whether or not, our link in the chain of forces shall be rivetted, and our share in the ovation of a world emancipated from the worst of thraldom—the tyranny of conscience, be secure.

We take our leave of Dr. Struthers with great satisfaction. And while scarcely venturing to hope for any material change in the style of the work, which, though occasionally rugged and often less exact than it might be, is withal natural, agreeable, and susceptible of great variety and power, we must strongly urge the removal of the not rare Scotticisms which find a place in his pages, and the erasure of several terms which are of barbarous usage, and quite beneath the dignity of historical writing.

Art. VII. '*Clement Walton.*' '*Bernard Leslie.*' '*The Siege of Lichfield.* By the Rev. W. Gresley.

'*Tales of the Village.*' 1st and 2nd Series. By the Rev. F. B. Paget.

'*Herbert Tresham,*' *a tale of the Great Rebellion.* By the Rev. J. M. Neale.

In glancing over the list of new publications which each month presents to us, the number and variety of those written expressly for the young, must, we think, strike every mind as a peculiar feature of our present day literature. Every class of juvenile readers—from the speller in words of one syllable, up to the young lady leaving school, or the young gentleman leaving college—have been addressed; and every class of writing, from the stories of impossibly clever and good little girls and boys, up to the science-made-easy dissertations of popular lecturers, have been profusely offered, all set off by the irresistible attractions of copper plates, gilt edges, and silk bindings.

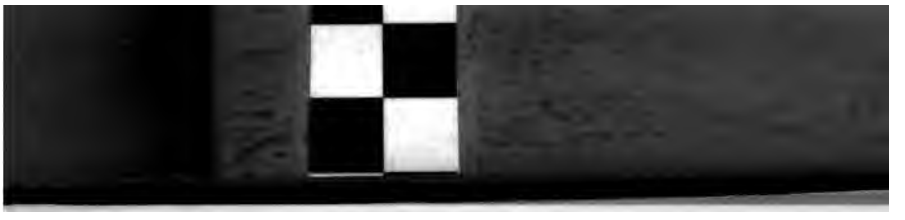
The success of these pretty little volumes has of late tempted many writers to put forth works, similar in prettiness of appearance, and not greatly dissimilar in style and character, for children of a yet larger growth, whose minds may still remain in a juvenile state; in which, by means of fictitious autobiographies, short historical *nouvelettes*, the peculiar views of the writer, moral, political, or religious, are insinuated, the hero of the story having it all his own way, and knocking down his opponent's arguments with edifying impartiality. The value and impor-

tance of works like these, to 'make the bad appear the better cause;' or to furnish a set of ready made opinions for those who like short cuts and railway speed in the moral and intellectual world, have therefore been extensively recognized, and by writers of various parties; but none more so than by that most actively mischievous one, whose watchful zeal, and persisting energy of purpose, so rebuke our faint and intermitting efforts—*The Tractarian.*

'While men slept,' we are told in Holy Writ, 'the enemy sowed tares;' and looking over, not the long list of essays, disquisitions, and sermons which this party has published, but over the yet larger list of works intended expressly for the young and uninformed,—decked out in all the elegance of modern drawing-room literature, and bearing 'taking title pages,' we may well adopt that text for our motto. While we have been answering episcopal charges, which few, even of the clergy read, or combatting those semi-papistical opinions, which few nonconformists are likely to adopt, tale after tale, insinuating the most fatal errors of tractarianism has been stealthily finding its way into the hands of many young and uninformed readers, and poetry and attractive prose have awakened in many an enthusiastic mind a favorable feeling towards opinions, which, presented in a dry essay, or a dull sermon, would have been passed by unnoticed. These writers, 'wise in their generation,' as they have indeed proved themselves, have not in this lighter warfare lost sight of their characteristic cunning. Who would imagine that the title, 'Milford Malvoisin' was that of a story showing forth the profanity of dissenters from the times of Charles the First to the present day? Who would suppose that, 'Herbert Tresham' was the name of a tale expressly intended, as its pious author informs us, to warn the present age against the atrocious wickedness of the puritans; and who would think that a series of publications bearing the clear and straightforward title of the 'Englishman's Library,' would be found to consist, not of food for thoughtful and intelligent men, but of the mawkish spoon-meat so condescendingly administered to the nurselings of the only true church in the tracts addressed '*ad populum*,' only dished up in a more attractive form, and seasoned more highly with that neverfailing condiment of tractarianism, the gall of bitterness.

In directing the notice of our readers to the numerous little volumes which the zeal of the tractarian party, and the enterprize of their bookseller, Mr. Burns, have produced, we will commence with that which forms the first volume of 'The Englishman's Library,' Clement Walton.

Of this tale little need be said—it possesses no plot, and scarcely



any incident. Mr. Clement Walton, a prosing elderly gentleman, settles with his family in a country town, and amuses his leisure by walking about, looking in upon his neighbours, and inflicting insufferably long homilies on the young incumbent, who either listens with patient endurance, or puts in an occasional remark to help out the conclusiveness of his patron's arguments. But if there be lack of incident, there is no lack of variety of disquisitions. Church government, civil government, radicalism, chartism, dissenterism, and every other *ism*, that frightens elderly country gentlemen half out of their senses, are in turn discussed most orthodoxly, as our readers must allow, when they find the conclusion on church matters to be, that 'The English church, and her numerous dependencies [?] present, as far as can be learned, the same appearance, allowing of course for difference of the times, as when they were first reared in the days of the apostles.' After this declaration we can scarcely be surprized to find, that 'the conclusion of the whole matter' is, that, 'as a nation, our first and great effort should be the restoration of our church to a state of greater efficiency, so as to offer religious instruction to our people. *We ought to insist on our legislators doing their duty in this respect at once and effectively.*' The italics are Mr. Paget's, and we should very much like to know how writers who are ever preaching up unlimited subjection to the powers that be, should always change their tone, and speak out so contumaciously when the temporalities of the church are in question. But so it has ever been. However dull the dissertations in 'Clement Walton' may have been to the youthful reader, the conclusion of the story is of a more novel-like character. That very charming young man, the incumbent, falls in love with Mr. Walton's eldest daughter, and frets himself quite pale and thin, because his inferior fortune will not allow him to offer himself to her. Good Mr. Walton meanwhile thinks the worthy young gentleman is merely practising a few wholesome austerities; and assigns to lenten fare, and wearisome vigils, what was caused by a wounded heart; and, therefore, when he rather precipitately retires to a distant part of the country, the old gentleman, armed with authorities from the Fathers, determines to seek after him and urge, that, although spare diet is a great help to religion, yet, as a man may have too much of a good thing, he may have too much even of that. Most happily, for the conclusion of the story, the reverend young gentleman comes in unexpectedly one fine morning, looking quite himself again, and acquaints his kind friend, that an amiable old uncle who had been in India many years, had amassed a fortune, and just when it was most acceptable, had kindly died and left him his heir.

This sets all things right; the rector marries the lady, preaches with such success that evangelicalism is at a discount, dissent fain to hide her head, and, in the words of the old story books, 'all of them live very happy ever after.'

The next work before us is Mr. Paget's 'Tales of the Village.' The first volume is chiefly occupied with the earnest endeavours of the hero, Mr. Warlingham, to reclaim a young Catholic lady from the faith of her fathers to that of the English church. The meek piety, and reverential and *cautious* spirit of inquiry of this young lady is contrasted in Mr. Paget's most dashing and slashing manner with the violent assertions, and silly opinions of a lady who is a sort of impersonation of an evangelical just trembling on the verge of that fatal gulph, dissent. It is amusing to observe what respect is shown to the Roman catholic, while the admirer of evening services and religious tea-drinkings is sent to the right about with very little ceremony. And the contrast is yet stronger, when we find in the second volume what a different style of argument is used towards the dissenter. Here is a specimen:

'You have attended lately a dissenting place of worship I presume.'

'Yes, latterly.'

'I suppose you heard a good deal of abuse thrown upon the church?'

'Why yes, Mr. Warlingham. Indeed at first I found it quite unpleasant.'

'And the prayer book was pretty severely criticised, no doubt.'

'The independents are no admirers of set forms of prayer, but their chief objections arose from the popery contained in it.'

'Well, well, we will discuss this matter hereafter. What I want you now to tell me is, how you were able to satisfy your mind that you were not committing a grievous sin in going to a dissenting place of worship at all.'

'I cannot say I ever found much scruple on that score. I attended because I was inclined to believe I should get more profit here than at church.'

'Had you found any thing then,' I asked, 'in the church service which you believed to be repugnant to God's word?'

'Why no,' said Mark, hesitatingly.

The worthy rector therefore proceeds to enlighten his catechumen *ex cathedra:*

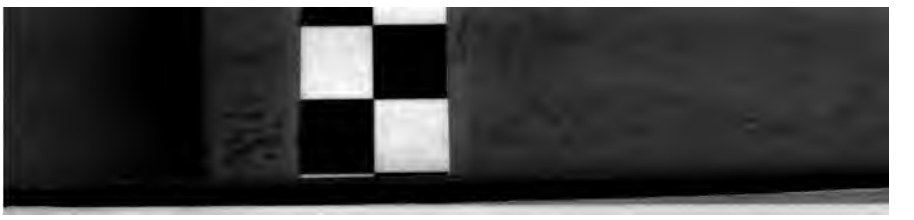
'God has forbidden you to leave the church.'

'No doubt it is a great sin to leave the church of Christ, but I only contemplated seceding from the church of England, which is a very different affair.'

'Indeed; why so?'

'Because the church of England is a mere act of parliament church.'

'By act of parliament church I suppose you mean we have a form of



religion established by law, recognised by the state, and professedly, at least, offered to the acceptance of the nation at large.'

'Exactly so;' replied Mark.

'Then pray let me undeceive you immediately.' * * *

'O, then, she does not venture to assert that she *is the* church of Christ, *the only* one?'

'She asserts unequivocally,' said I, 'that she is the church of Christ in England, and the only one.' * * *

'Do you mean, then, that every person in this country is bound to belong to the church of England?'

'To be sure I do; and to assert further, that none can leave her communion without most imminent peril to his soul.'—*Tales of the Village*, pp. 131—135.

The reason of this peril it appears is, that the visible church consists of men in the body, and the invisible church refers only to the saints in Heaven; and that therefore no person can be considered as belonging to the church universal, unless a member of *the* church on earth. 'I maintain that the Bible offers salvation in and through the church, and without a due reception of the initiatory sacrament of the church, there can be no assurance that a man is a member of Christ.' To this, and a great deal more, the young man demurs; and in spite of Mr. Warlingham's solemn warnings, casts a longing look towards the dissenting chapel. The conclusion of this volume is quite pathetic. Mark, seduced by dissenting parsons and deacons, and having in distant view the fascinations of Exeter Hall, which Mr. Paget takes care to inform us in a note 'every one who has seen during a public meeting, knows what drolleries are enacted there in the name of religion,' acquaints his lady-love with his purpose. The poor girl is horror-struck, and determinately refuses him, though with much sorrow, and Mr. Warlingham exults at so splendid an instance of self-denial. Mark joins the independents—the first step in his downward career. Then, as a matter of course, he becomes a radical, a chartist, and finally settles at Geneva as a confirmed socinian. We should have thought Mr. Paget might have found some more congenial *habitat* for a socinian than Geneva in the present day; however, there he leaves him, a warning to all young gentlemen who come up to London to attend at Exeter Hall, or get into the clutches of those 'mongrel sects,' independents, baptists, or wesleyans.'

On another publication of Mr. Paget, in which he invokes the aid of history, we shall remark in a subsequent review, and we next turn to another work of Mr. Gresley, which is well deserving attention.

'Bernard Leslie' is a more important work, as it professes to be the autobiography of a young clergyman who delineates the

changes through which his mind has passed during the last ten years. He begins with his entrance on a country curacy, and his benevolent though ineffectual efforts to do good among his parishioners. These efforts introduce him to a neighbouring clergyman, a Mr. Watts Flavel, a type of the Evangelical, as our readers may suppose. This gentleman kindly sympathises in the anxieties of his young friend, whom he recommends 'to preach faith.' 'Only believe, and thou shalt be saved.' This is the simple Christian scheme. 'I do not remember to have heard such a text,' is Bernard Leslie's reply to himself. (It is a pity he did not think aloud, that Mr. Watts Flavel might have pointed out the text to him.) 'Our church says that we are justified by faith only; but I have not heard that we are *saved* by faith only; though it is quite certain that we cannot be saved without faith.' Such are Bernard Leslie's meditations; his reply is.

'The necessity of faith in Christ,' said I, 'is unquestionably the primary doctrine of the Christian religion. But then surely there is much to come after that—holiness of life.' 'O! undoubtedly *that* will come, of course.' 'But my great affliction is, *that it does not come, of course.*' 'That only proves that faith is not genuine,' answered Mr. Flavel with great readiness. I was not at all satisfied with this explanation.'—*Bernard Leslie*, p. 41.

Vexed and uncomfortable, Bernard Leslie retired to his study, uncertain what to do, when most providentially the 'Tracts for the Times'—not the Bible—presented themselves to his notice. He read them with surprise, with interest, and, ere long, with great consolation; and then he rejoiced, exceedingly, that he had just escaped the snare about preaching faith; for 'the broad example and type of all heresy and sectarianism is to dwell on single texts or doctrines to the neglect of the church's teaching.' And day by day he read in these valuable tracts, imbibing clear views of doctrines which had hitherto been wrapped in obscurity; and discovering that he, albeit a poor curate, was a far more important personage than he had ever imagined; and armed with the resistless powers wherewith he now found mother church had supplied him, he forthwith determines to tilt, *à l'outrance*, with every dissenter in the town, strong in the might of his apostolical succession.

The following are his concluding remarks on this important subject, and we can well afford to smile at them:

'While the people in our towns look on the minister of the church as a mere rival of the dissenters, they will attend his preaching as long as he beats his competitor in elocution, and excites them more than the other; but when he fails to do that, they will straightway go to the dissenter and derive as much benefit from the one as the other. But let

them hear their parochial minister speak, and let them see him act as one to whom God has given his commission to administer his word and sacraments; let them be led through that holy round of ceremonies which the church has wisely devised for sustaining the faith of her sons; and it will wean them from the inadequate, shallow, and excited system of ultra-protestantism, and lead them in the quiet pastures, and beside the cooling stream of the church.'—*Bernard Leslie*, pp, 136-37.

'The public are requested to take notice that there is much spurious preaching offered to them by shameless impostors who mislead the unwary; they are therefore informed that the genuine article can only be obtained from the Rev. Mr. ——, and only at canonical hours, and in canonical places.' A placard printed in a good bold type, containing the above information, might, we think, be of great service in populous places, and it would save all the circumlocution of the justquoted paragraph.

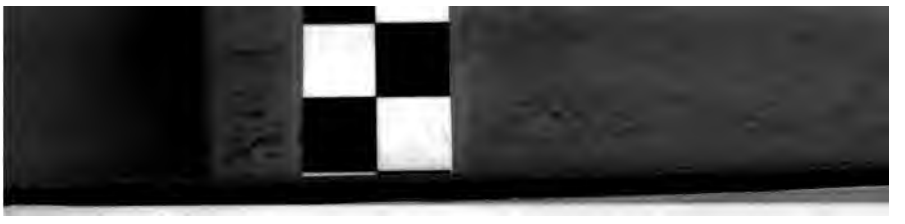
Mr.,—we beg his pardon,—the reverend Bernard Leslie, has now learnt the great secret of a successful ministry, and he hastens to lead his parishioners 'through that holy round of ceremonies which the church has wisely devised,' by informing his rector of his intention to keep all the church festivals. He receives a comforting letter from the rector on the subject, applauding his zeal, and wishing him success. 'The hand of God was in this affair,' says he. So, the Tractarian clergy can, it appears, when it suits their purpose, boast of special providences. Accordingly, on the following Sunday he gives notice, —'After the Nicene Creed, that the festival of St. James the Apostle is appointed to be kept holy.' The church doors are thrown open on the appointed day, a goodly flock are gathered together, the standing, kneeling, and bowing, are all gone through with in the most edifying manner, and the worthy curate declares that he had at length discovered the way '*to make my flock more godly.*' The italics are Mr. Gresley's, and our readers will, we are sure, agree with us, that the sentence is well worthy their emphasis.

So burning and shining a light as Bernard Leslie is not destined to be hidden under a bushel. He is therefore early summoned to take the charge of a large parish in a populous town, and here work accumulates on his hands; for chartists, infidels, and dissenters, provide him sufficient employment. One of the chief efforts of the new rector of Kirkstall is to provide a tract for dissenters, 'giving three reasons for shewing them to be in a state of great danger,' and all for want of taking his infallible specific. This tract is given at full length, the author being evidently very proud of his little *brochure*. It is very earnest, very authoritative, and distinguished by about

the average degree of originality which characterizes such productions. The novel and appropriate figures of men slumbering on the brink of a precipice, or wandering in a devious road, unconscious of danger, are introduced; and the rector puffs his grand specific, baptismal regeneration, combined with a reverential observance of fasts and festivals,—with the zeal of Rowland, setting forth the virtues of his Macassar Oil. In the concluding paragraph, Mr. Gresley, however, does the amiable toward us quite pathetically. He declares that he bears *us* no abstract hatred, but only detests our errors; and in the enlarged spirit of philanthropy farther declares, that he asks no hard thing of us, it being only that we should abjure our principles and practices, and become by re-baptism full communicants with mother church. The note appended to this chapter is so curious as to merit transcription.

'It will be observed that the argument in the foregoing tract turns on the *doubtfulness* of the validity of sacraments administered by unordained persons. That it is a doubtful point must, I think, be admitted; and being so, it appears to me most charitable to urge dissenters who have yet the power, to *make their salvation sure by receiving such baptism as is beyond all question valid.* But when a dissenter dies, and it is no longer possible that his condition could be changed, then perhaps Christian charity might authorize even one whose opinions were more strict, to allow him the benefits of the doubtfulness, and not refuse him burial in consecrated ground. If he would but have accepted our baptism, the difficulty would be removed; but when he will not, we must act as our best judgment directs us.'—pp. 245, 246.

The foregoing specimens are perhaps sufficient to show our readers how artfully Tractarian sentiments are mixed up with fictitious narrative; and how each person holding high church notions is represented as most pure, and upright, and honourable, both in public and domestic life, while all the brawlers at the beer-shop, the poachers, the swindlers, and more,—the mean and vulgar,—invariably belong to those 'who are strangers to the church and her ordinances.' Now this is so common —we had almost said so natural—that we can scarcely express our surprise at it. Fictitious characters are mere wax dolls, which the inventor may dress in what guise he pleases; and although to give our own party credit for all that is good, argues but little liberality, and still less sound judgment, we might pass it over with a smile. Far different however is the case, when men who have actually lived, and performed no unimportant part in their day, are resurrectionized by the writer of the historical tale for the sport, or scorn of his half-informed readers; or 'to point a moral' which could only have been drawn from the most one-sided view of history.



With the opinions which these writers hold, it will easily be imagined that the great struggle for freedom—the parliamentary war—would be their first theme, and we have already two tales referring to this period, and illustrating almost the same events. The first is 'The Siege of Lichfield,' also by Mr. Gresley, 'designed for instruction rather than mere amusement,' and certainly of amusement there is little. The tale opens just before the battle of Edge-hill, and shews us Dr. Arnway, one of the canons, preaching a fine church-and-king sermon in the cathedral, and describing most touchingly the great happiness the nation had so long enjoyed under those two vicegerents of heaven, King James and Charles; which is followed by a volunteer sermon, by one Jonas Mac-Rorer, a mere jumble of passages taken from Mause Headrigg's 'testimony,' and Peter Poundtext's hill-side sermon. We next have a council, then a lover's parting,—to coax the young lady readers, we suppose, not to skip over the dry dissertations. In chapter the fourth comes the tug of war; but Mr. Gresley cannot follow the great master of historical fiction through the battle-field. Soon after, we are introduced to Lord Brooke; but it is indeed a feeble sketch of one of the noblest men England ever saw, and he seems to be brought in only to be shot at. Mr. Gresley admits that 'he was a man of well-known integrity and sincerity,'—and marvels how 'an earnest minded man should so mistake the spirit of true religion,'—adding, 'but when men refuse obedience to the lawful requirements of the holy church, there is no deed of violence to which Satan will not lead them.'

Turning away from the current of his narrative, the writer next proceeds to read us a homily on the Great Rebellion, which he informs us was the especial work of the devil, who incited his followers to take up arms. 'And all for what was this unnatural strife? *It was because selfish and ambitious men would not obey their lawful sovereign, and because ungodly fanatics would not hear the mild voice of God's most holy church.*' (*!!*)

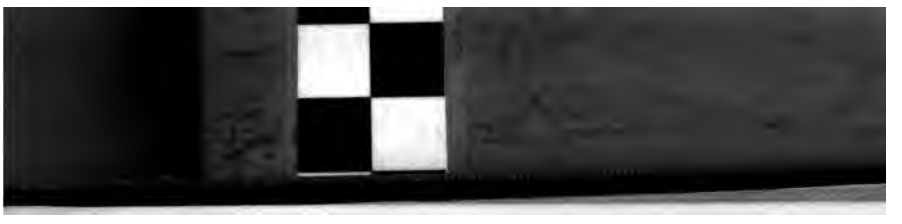
Such is the opinion of a reverend canon of Lichfield, in the present day, and carefully set forth with the emphasis of italics. 'Selfish and ambitious men would not obey their lawful sovereign.' Was refusal of parliaments nothing? Ship money and monopolies nothing? An extravagant and rapacious court nothing? 'The mild voice of God's most holy church' speaking out in the tender accents of the Star Chamber and High commission Court—whispering peace with the fetter, the scourge, and the branding iron! We fling the silly book away with contempt, and wish the Rev. Mr. Gresley a more competent

knowledge of history, and a greater regard to truth when he next sets about inditing 'Tales of the Great Rebellion.'

The last work to which we can now refer is 'Herbert Tresham;' also, a tale of the 'Great Rebellion,' and written by the reverend young gentleman who in his 'Songs and Ballads for the People' has gained a most unenviable notoriety. This tale begins just before the battle of Naseby, and represents a most amiable clergyman with two most amiable daughters, mourning over the troubles of the times, and the awful wickedness of the fanatics. Mr. Herbert Tresham is incumbent of a church containing many beautiful remains of middle-age stained glass, and sculpture, and he bends all his attention to discover means to secure them from the tender mercies of the neighbouring puritan troopers. This part of the story is very carefully written, and we scarcely could have thought that taking glass out of windows, and white-washing arches, could have made so effective a picture.

But although Herbert Tresham and his followers are actuated solely by a desire to preserve these precious relics from destruction, and although one might suppose that they knew the great Searcher of hearts was perfectly aware of their motives, the reverend gentleman, nevertheless, calls upon the whole company to join with him in deprecating the anger of heaven, for removing these consecrated things—although for their preservation! 'Let us kneel down,' says he, 'and implore the forgiveness of heaven.' Is not this very much like the heathen idolator, fearful lest his dumb idol should misapprehend his intention, and suppose he meant to destroy it, instead of conveying it to a place of safety?

The work now proceeds in silence, and awful solemnity. The stained glass is carefully removed; the pillars and arches are coated with whitewash, (we wish the Rev. Mr. Neale would just give us a rough estimate how many hundred tons of burnt lime-stone have, in the form of whitewash, been applied by clerical mandate throughout the land, not to *protect*, but to obliterate our beautiful mediaeval remains)—and the font, that awful and mysterious symbol, reverently carried away, and placed in a good church-and-king farmer's barn, where it doubtless benefitted the household, like the ark in the house of Obededom. When morning comes, the villagers not in the secret, are loud in their inquiries and lamentations. A troop of parliament soldiers having been billetted in an adjoining village, *they* are pointed out as the probable authors of the mischief, and parson and people chuckle over the trick. We think there was more occasion to offer a prayer for forgiveness on account of the falsehood, than because of the 'desecration' of stained glass, and sculptured pillars.



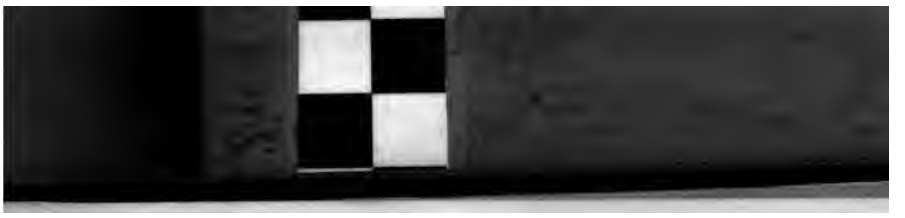
The tractarians—at least Mr. Neale—seem to have rather strange notions of morality. This Mr. Tresham has a younger son, Basil, a sad scapegrace, who has been enticed up to London by the puritans, and who becomes a sort of under clerk to speaker Lenthall. His father commands him to return; but the young man replies 'that it would be forsaking Canaan, and returning to Egypt.' Other letters are sent, and Basil at last takes counsel of 'Master Antony Case,' by whom 'he was so pressed with texts, shewing the duty of giving up all for the kingdom of heaven; of hating father and mother, for Christ's sake, and the like, that he refuses to return. 'For Christ's sake, and the like.' Does the reverend Mr. Neale know that it is scripture that he is holding up to the scoff of his readers? Or, in his deep reverence for 'mother church,' does he think that he ought to show little honour to the Bible?

Master Basil is, however, not finally a lost sheep. Mr. Speaker Lenthall's delinquencies open his eyes to his danger, and then an interview with that

> 'Sainted martyr, holy man!
> Laud, our England's Cyprian,'

confirms his wavering purpose of returning, prodigal-like, to his father, and his church. He therefore breathes not a syllable of his changed views, but goes on acting with the puritans, until being entrusted with most valuable papers, to be delivered into the hands of General Fairfax, he takes horse, proceeds to the royalist army, delivers them up, and then repairs to his father, and receives his blessing! We hope Mr. Neale will never after this treat us with anathemas on 'the awful duplicity of Cromwell.'

Herbert Tresham is turned out of his living as a 'scandalous minister;' and Mr. Neale has taken some pains to collect several passages from the pamphleteers of the day, ridiculing the Common Prayer. In this he has done good service, for many of them are very clever. We wish we could find room for the laughable exhibition of the 'cross purpose answering,' at the office for churching of women. After years of sorrow, the old gentleman at length sees brighter days, being spared to the blessed restoration of that nursing father of religion, Charles the Second. He is restored to his parish; witnesses the reinstatement of the stained glass and font, and is only kept from heaven that he may see the new and amended service book. This at length is brought to him, and the old man, raised up in his bed, listens attentively as his daughter reads. The 'new Saints' days, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas,' comfort him greatly; the general Thanksgiving proves an additional cordial; 'the office



throughout our vast empire: and puritan ardour, let it not be said, uncontradicted by two millions of dissenters, that *that* is extinct. It is not dead—it but sleepeth—wakefully, like the tried and steadfast knight of old, who, exhausted by the long combat, snatched an hour of repose, and slumbered indeed —but with head upon his shield, and with sword still grasped in his strong right hand, ready to start up at the whispered summons. So sleeps the spirit of our fathers—wakefully, watchfully, and even now with unclosing eyes, ready to start up and display the banner of the good cause, as in days of yore.

In that great contest, loud was the laughter of the gay cavalier, at the stern parliament soldier; and with scorn on their brow, and derision on their lips, Rupert's silken gallants advanced to the field; but the firm thrust of the puritan pike, and the resistless charge of the puritan troops, scattered dismay through them, and taught them that wholesome lesson, which these reverend gentlemen may, ere long, learn, that—

> 'Who would force the soul, tilts with a straw
> Against a champion cased in adamant.'

Art. VIII. 1. *Resolutions passed at a meeting of friends of Religious Freedom, held in the Town-hall Library, Leicester, December 7th,* 1843.

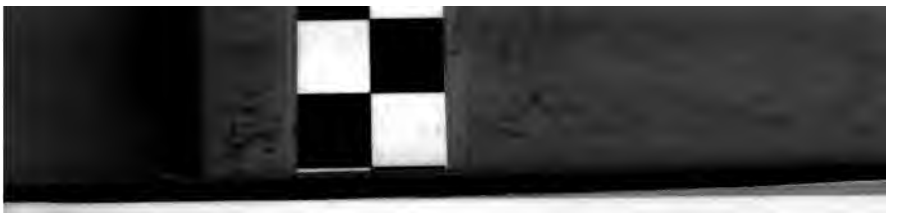
2. *Resolutions passed at meetings of friends of Religious Freedom, held in the Congregational Library, London, December 12th and 26th,* 1843.

In an article contained in our number for November, headed 'the duty of dissenters in relation to the establishment,' we took a hurried glance at a project then before the public, having for its object the commencement, by means of a conference of delegates from all denominations of nonconformists, of a bold, serious, and united movement for the emancipation of christian institutions from state control. Of this project we ventured to express our unhesitating approval. Since that time, steps have been taken to give it practical effect. It has been determined to summon such a conference. An executive committee has been appointed to make arrangements for its meeting; and all present appearances indicate that the plan will be conducted to a prosperous issue. We make no apology, therefore, for returning to the subject. In the paper to which we have adverted, we touched upon it but cursorily. We now propose to deal with it somewhat more at large.

A slight sketch of the history of this movement, will serve most appropriately to usher in the remarks which we are chiefly anxious to impress upon the minds of our readers.

The proposal to call together a fairly chosen representative body, with a view to commence an aggressive movement upon our national religious establishments, originated, as is generally known, with the *Nonconformist* newspaper. So far back as 1842, the editor of that journal having just brought to a close a series of articles illustrative of the absurdities and evils of church-and-state alliance, proceeded to discuss the mode in which, according to his judgment, they might be most successfully met, and, in several successive numbers, advocated the holding of a convnetion. Nothing, however, had then occurred to convince dissenters of the necessity of taking a decided stand upon their distinctive principles. The suggestion met with no response—awakened no echo in the public mind; and the party by whom it was thrown out, perceiving, probably, that the time was not then ripe for the project, suffered it to lie in abeyance, and directed attention for several months to the capabilities, characteristic beauties, natural and spiritual congruities, of the voluntary principle. A memorable event meanwhile occcured, to excite the fears, and to call out into exercise the energies, of the dissenting world. Sir James Graham submitted his celebrated Factories Education Bill to the notice of the legislature. The consequence of his temerity need not here be described. The great body of nonconformists awoke from slumber, and compelled a strong government, and an all but unanimous parliament, to forego their insidious purpose.

At the close of this arduous and successful struggle, the *Nonconformist* renewed its efforts for a convention. For many weeks, it laboured alone, apparently without the smallest probability of success. At length the project was taken up by a considerable body of ministers, resident in the midland counties. They drew up a memorial to their brethren in the metropolis, to which, it will be recollected, we gave insertion in our former article on this subject. It embodied a respectful request that the parties to whom it was addressed, would convene a conference, at as early a period as possible, to take measures for promoting, by all peaceable and christian means, a severance of the union between the church and the state. A copy of this memorial was forwarded to the respective secretaries of most of the dissenting bodies in London. That it was not sent to all, we happen to know, is to be ascribed to an oversight, rather than to any deliberate design. We believe that this circumstance created mistrust in some quarters, whilst the publication of the memorial in the newspapers, previously to its having been laid before the gentlemen whose co-operation was solicited, was regarded as a breach of etiquette. From the committee of the Baptist Union, an early reply was transmitted, but it was quite unfavourable to



the movement contemplated by the memorialists. We are not aware that this courtesy was vouchsafed by any of the other dissenting bodies. Two months were suffered to elapse. The excitement created by the Factories Education bill, was beginning to subside. Here and there symptoms of decided hostility to the project showed themselves. At this juncture, the leading subscribers to the midland counties' memorial, feeling themselves bound to act with promptitude and decision, called a meeting of their friends at Leicester, an account of which, abridged from the *Nonconformist*, we may here insert.

'A most important and deeply interesting meeting was held at Leicester, on Thursday, December 7th, at the Town-hall library, to take some practical steps for summoning a convention, to seek a separation of church and state. The assembly was convened by circular, and consisted chiefly of dissenting ministers and gentlemen resident in the midland counties, with the exception of Dr. Cox, of Hackney, Dr. T. Price, and Mr. E. Miall, of London. Dr. Cox, of Hackney, was unanimously called to the chair, which he consented to occupy, on the understanding that he should be held at perfect liberty to give his opinions upon any questions which might come before the meeting. At the close of his speech, the first resolution was proposed and seconded. Upon this resolution, the most animating and earnest discussion took place. On the necessity for commencing an aggressive movement upon the establishment, there existed no difference of opinion. The grounds laid in the resolution under discussion, as the basis of action resolved upon, were admitted by all—and were felt to impose upon dissenters an onerous responsibility, from which they could not consistently withdraw themselves. The principal objection to the proposed convention was, that opinion was not yet sufficiently enlightened and ripe amongst dissenters to warrant a hope of making a formidable demonstration against the union of church and state. It was strongly urged that some preparatory work was needed—that ministers must be induced to instruct their people, by lectures, tracts, &c.—and that after a year or two's unremitting exertion in this more private and noiseless way, a convention might be held, with far greater probability of producing a powerful effect. To this it was replied, that the convention was not sought with any view to produce an impression upon our rulers, or upon the minds of churchmen. It was not to be a display of strength, which, when made, would satisfy the intentions of the originators. On the contrary, it was contended for solely with a view to collect, organise, and bring to bear, such opinion as already existed. It would not set aside the more quiet machinery already alluded to, but was regarded as a main spring to put such machinery in motion. The immediate object of the convention, it was alleged, was to awaken dissenters themselves to a sense of their duty in reference to this question—clearly to expound their principles—judiciously to arrange plans for giving effect to them—and for this purpose, by means of fair representation, to call into existence an unsuspected executive body, charged with the high trust of directing the

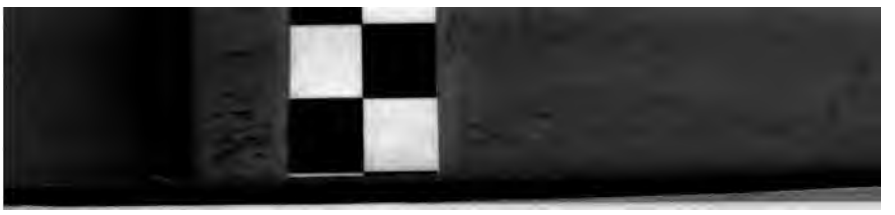
movement, and placed in a position of responsibility to a wide constituency. By this means, it was thought, dissenters would be instantly emancipated from the domination of cliques—such earnestness as already exists would be evoked from obscurity, and a sound and efficient organization would be put and kept in motion, which, by prudent, conciliatory, and at the same time uncompromising conduct, would soon command respect, and ultimately become all but irresistible. The resolution was carried unanimously.

'At the evening meeting a list of names was given in, of gentlemen whom it was deemed desirable to invite to become members of a general provisional committee. Dr. Cox was earnestly requested to take the post of provisional secretary, which with great kindness he consented to do. The list contained somewhat upwards of eighty names, and was afterwards made up to about a hundred and twenty—comprising gentlemen resident in all parts of England, in North and South Wales, in Scotland and in Ireland. A sub-committee, consisting of the Secretary, Dr. Price, and Mr. Miall, was appointed to take all the steps necessary for the completion of it. The members of the provisional committee will be in the position of directors, and will nominate a central executive committee for arranging the details necessary to the success of the proposed convention.

'Nothing could be more gratifying than the tone and spirit which pervaded this meeting. The entire absence from it of everything which could be justly characterised as personal or party ambition, the freedom and courtesy which marked the speeches, the earnestness of heart, singleness of purpose, readiness to conciliate, wherever conciliation involved no compromise, and evident willingness to sacrifice anything which stood in the way of the success of this great enterprise, were worthy of the occasion, and such as it has seldom been our lot to witness. To the exhibition of this spirit, probably, as much as to the arguments put forth, it is owing that Dr. Cox consented to identify himself with the movement. Such doubts as he had previously entertained were speedily removed; and, with a sincerity which does him honour, he joined with alacrity the ranks of men whose zeal he had never questioned, and whose prudence he could now estimate for himself. The evening meeting closed about half-past nine—not before a handsome sum had been put down for defraying immediate expenses.

The main resolution passed by the meeting was as follows:—

'That this meeting, impressed with the belief that the principle of national establishments for the maintenance of religion is essentially antichristian and unjust, derogatory to the sovereign claims of the great Head of the church, and subversive of the indefeasible rights of man—that the practical working of this principle in Great Britain and Ireland is productive of numerous and most deplorable evils, spiritual, moral, political, and social—that strenuous and systematic efforts are now being made to extend the range, and to augment the efficiency, of this principle, both at home and in our colonies—that the introduction to parliament last session of the Factories Education bill, by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, affords sufficient evidence that the ex-



isting measure of religious liberty enjoyed in this kingdom is, during the continuance of the compulsory system, unsafe; and that the present juncture of events distinctly and loudly calls upon the friends of the voluntary principle cordially to unite, and earnestly to labour, in the use of all peaceable and christian means to accomplish, as speedily as possible, a separation of the church from the state—deem it expedient that a conference of delegates be convened, representing all persons in these realms who repudiate the principle of a religious establishment, and who are of opinion that this is a suitable method of commencing a serious movement against it; and this meeting do hereby pledge themselves to use their best exertions to secure the assembling of such conference, at the place and time which may hereafter appear most nearly to accord with general convenience, and with the demand of contingent events.'

Previously to the meeting held at Leicester, circulars signed by Drs. Reed and Cox, had been issued to a few friends of religious freedom in the metropolis, inviting them to meet at the Congregational Library, London, and to confer on the then existing position of dissenting affairs. They did so on Tuesday, December 12th. At that meeting, which was but thinly attended, Drs. Cox and Price gave a statement of what had passed, a few days before, at Leicester, and laid before it the resolutions there agreed upon. Dr. Leifchild occupied the chair. After considerable discussion, the following result was *unanimously* arrived at:—

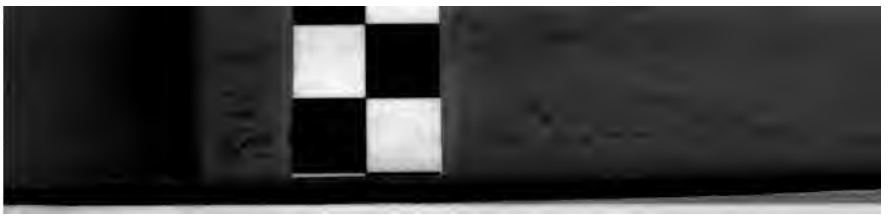
'Having maturely considered the resolutions now read, as having been passed at a meeting of gentlemen and ministers resident in the midland counties, held at Leicester, December 6th:—

'Resolved—That this meeting cordially concur in the propriety of holding, at an early period, a conference of the friends of religious freedom, for the purpose of diffusing correct views on the great question of the separation of church and state, and of devising systematic and energetic measures; and, under all the circumstances, would express their strong conviction and desire, that the above resolutions be withheld from the public for one fortnight, during which interval the meeting, as a provisional committee, will endeavour to collect and concentrate the energies of those in this metropolis who may concur in the opinion above expressed.'

The resolutions were accordingly withheld from the public. A somewhat larger meeting was convened on the 27th of the same month, and three gentlemen were appointed to co-operate with the three named by the meeting at Leicester, 'to take immediate steps for completing the list of the general provisional committee.'

The list was published on the 22nd of January, and is now before us. It contains a hundred and ninety-three names, of which forty-eight are those of lay gentlemen, and a hundred and forty-five those of ministers. They are thus apportioned:—

London, with its immediate neighbourhood, furnishes forty-four, the English provinces a hundred and thirteen, Wales eleven, Scotland thirteen, and Ireland twelve. We are unable to present our readers with a denominational analysis of the list; nor, indeed, is it desirable, even if we could. The great work must be entered upon in a spirit freed from all appearance of sectarianism, and within this sphere, all distinctions which may be observed and maintained elsewhere, must be suffered to rest in abeyance. It is gratifying to perceive that the conductors of the most important and influential organs of opinion amongst dissenters are included in this committee, thereby giving promise to the movement of efficient support from the press. Scotland, as was to have been anticipated, has placed upon the list her most honoured names—Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow; Dr. J. Brown, of Edinburgh; Dr. A. Marshall, of Kirkintillock; Dr. Young, of Perth; Dr. Russell, of Dundee; Dr. Heugh, of Glasgow; Dr. Harper, of Leith; Dr. King, of Glasgow; and Dr. A. Thomson, of Coldstream. And if England is behind the sister kingdom in this respect—if we look in vain for the names of many whose public sanction of so noble an enterprise were, unquestionably, to be coveted—there are some whose praise is in all the churches, and whose approval of the conference may be expected to produce a deep and salutary impression upon the more cautious and hesitating. Nor is it, we think, unworthy of notice, that besides several whom we might mention as having proved their devotedness to the principle involved, by taking joyfully the spoiling of their goods, the committee numbers amongst its members three who have suffered imprisonment in testimony of the truth—Mr. Childs, of Bungay; T. Russell, Esq., of Edinburgh: and Mr. W. Baines, of Leicester. Others there are whose walk has been quite apart from the ordinary range of dissenting society, but whose earnestness on the question of national religious establishments, coupled with the position they occupy in public estimation, excites the hope that beyond the recognised boundaries of nonconformity there exists a large amount of intelligent conviction and deep-seated feeling, which this movement will be the means of attracting to one common centre—we may instance such men as W. Sharman Crawford, Esq., member for Rochdale; R. B. Sanderson, Esq., nephew of, and for some time secretary to, Lord Eldon; and William Howitt, one of the most popular and successful writers of the present day. Considering the circumstances under which this project originated, the misapprehensions which prevailed respecting it, the mode adopted for securing the consent of those gentlemen whose names appear upon the list, and the necessity under which each individual was placed to act in entire ignorance of what others



might ultimately do, we regard the general provisional committee as affording sufficient evidence, that the great body of dissenters in this empire, are prepared to countenance a serious aggressive movement, having for its object the separation of the church from the state.

The next step taken was the election of the executive committee. Beyond affixing to the project under notice the seal of their approbation, and thereby adding to the probabilities of its success, the choice of the executive was the only function which the general provisional committee was instituted to perform. Both bodies were called into being for a brief time only; and at the assembling of the conference both will cease to exist. The result of the election, which was conducted upon a plan approximating closely to the ballot, was the following committee, whose special business it will be to 'make arrangements for the Anti-State-Church Conference;' to determine upon the plan for its constitution, to fix the time and place at which it shall be held, and to put all matters which may appropriately be brought before it, into a suitable shape for its deliberation—Dr. Alliott, Rev. J. Burnet, Rev. J. Carlile, Rev. R. Eckett, Dr. Jenkyn, Dr. Price, Rev. C. Stovel, Dr. Pye Smith, and Messrs. Crawford, Conder, Hare, Miall, and Pellatt, resident in the metropolis. Rev. W. Brock of Norwich, Dr. J. Brown of Edinburgh, Mr. J. Childs of Bungay, Rev. J. E. Giles of Leeds, Dr. Heugh of Glasgow, Rev. J. P. Mursell of Leicester, Dr. Payne of Exeter, and Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow—twenty one in all, to whom we must add Dr. F. A. Cox, provisional secretary. The Committee met for the first time on Thursday, February 8th, and will probably sit weekly until the conference is held. We are happy to know that their deliberations are marked by the greatest harmony, and that the most earnest zeal is displayed by all to conduct the movement to a triumphant issue. Those members resident at a distance will be duly apprised of all important steps upon which the decision of the committee must be taken, and no document will be made public without having been previously submitted to their inspection. The following address, recently published in the name of the committee will aptly close this extremely cursory review of proceedings, and will mark the stage at which they have already arrived:—

'The executive committee appointed to make arrangements for the Anti-State-Church Conference wish to acquaint the public with some of the reasons which render the contemplated movement expedient, and with the principles by which it will be regulated.

'The spirituality of the kingdom of Christ is a scriptural truth of the highest importance. The alliance of any section of the church with the civil power practically repudiates this truth. The presidence of worldly

men over the institutions of the gospel, the authoritative prescription of articles of faith by a secular legislature, and the compulsory means which have been, for many centuries, adopted and enforced for the maintenance of professedly religious worship and instruction, are so obviously hostile to the genius of Christianity, tend so directly to debase the conscience, beget in the public mind such erroneous notions of the nature of religion, and have uniformly thrown in the way of Divine truth such fearful impediments, as to render it imperative on all persons concerned for the spirituality of the church, to make known the pernicious character of that alliance; to expose the numerous evils resulting from it; and, by the earnest application of their knowledge, their influence, their energy, and of all other legitimate means, to seek its dissolution at the earliest possible period.

'The events of the times conspire to point attention to the evils of church and state alliance; to give warning of the dangers to be apprehended from its continuance; and to encourage the expectation that by united and persevering exertions, the separation of the one from the other, will, under Divine superintendence, be ultimately effected. The agitation of this question on the continent of Europe—the late disruption of the Scottish church—the anarchy of Ireland, produced mainly by its religious establishment—the Factories Education Bill of last session—the revival of high church principles—the unconstitutional demands set up by ecclesiastical authorities, and the oppressive prosecutions upon which those authorities are once more venturing—the consequent awakening amongst dissenters of a more serious regard for their principles, and a more earnest desire to see them recognised by the legislature,—all concur in pressing home the conclusion, that the day has now arrived for seeking a dissolution of the alliance between church and state, in a spirit of allegiance to the great Head of the church.

'The holding of a conference representative, as fully as circumstances will permit, of persons of every denomination who repudiate the principle of national religious establishments, is believed to be the most suitable method of commencing a serious movement for their abolition. The executive committee, however, having reason to fear that the objects of the proposed conference, have, in some quarters, been misunderstood, are anxious to state, as explicitly as possible, what they believe to be the views of those by whom they have been appointed.

'In the confident persuasion that, besides the general and more obvious exhibitions of nonconformity, there exist among dissenters, in isolated forms, much correct knowledge, strong attachment to principle, and ardent desire for co-operation,—a conference has been proposed, for the purpose of collecting these scattered elements, and thus the more effectually promoting the accomplishment of the end in view.

'The object of the conference will, therefore, be to act upon the conscience and the heart of the dissenting community, and to devise means adapted to bring them up to the level of their responsibility; in order that, at as early a period as possible, they may make their peaceful, but united and determined exertions tell upon the legislature. A solemn exposition of the unscriptural character of established churches—an emphatic exhibition of the evils which necessarily flow from them—an

avowed resolution to labour, in every legitimate way, for their abolition —and the adoption of such a plan of organisation, as may secure unity of action without endangering freedom,— will assuredly tend to enlighten the uninformed, to rouse the listless, to embolden the timid, to cheer on the energetic; and, at no distant time, so to elevate the tone of feeling, as to render advisable the agitation of the question both within and without the walls of parliament.

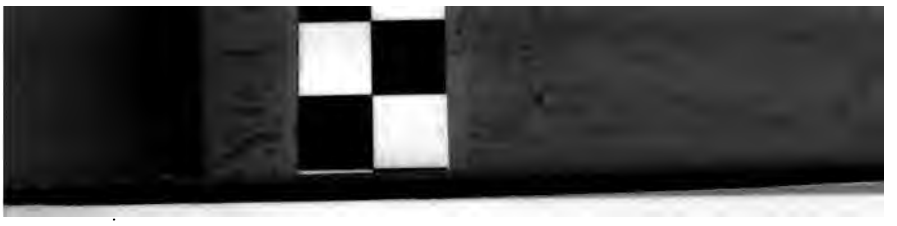
'The executive committee will cheerfully labour to prepare the business to be submitted to the conference, in such a manner as will most facilitate its deliberations; and, with this view, they will shortly publish the plan of its constitution, and the time and place at which it will be held. Meanwhile, they earnestly intreat their nonconforming brethren, of every denomination, to unite with them in this great enterprise, and to aim at making the proposed movement as efficient for the purpose it is designed to promote, as that purpose is undeniably important.'

We have thus, as briefly as we were able, set forth the history of this movement—traced its progress from its first conception up to its present state. We now pass on to a consideration of matters of far higher moment. It lies not within the range of our competency, it is true, to declare what this conference, when duly assembled, will deem it their duty to perform. We cannot anticipate its acts. We presume not to predict what may be the character of its decisions. As a deliberative body, it will, of course, exercise its free and unbiassed judgment. But we think we may, without the slightest trespass upon that deference which we acknowledge to be its due, commend to the notice of our readers some of the more prominent objects which, in our view, it is well adapted to secure. What this machinery *will* work out, we pretend not to foretell. What it *may* accomplish—what it is designed and fitted to accomplish—and what we devoutly hope to see accomplished by it, it will neither be premature nor unreasonable in us to state.

The character of the present times is remarkable. The political questions about which the public mind is stirred, are both various and important. To a superficial observer, these would appear to absorb the whole attention and affections of the several parties into which society is now divided. But it is not so. Behind these questions it is felt rather than acknowledged that there is one greater than all the rest, the settlement of which it is the business of this age to effect—the question of church establishments. There is nothing in modern history with which we are acquainted which more vividly illustrates the fact of our Lord's providential dominion, and of his power to carry forward his own designs in the face of all opposition, than the character and growth of public feeling in reference to this subject. The phenomenon differs from most others which vary the pages of

human experience. Looking back upon those changes which have hitherto broken up the monotony of this world's affairs, it would seem that *men* have been the appointed agents in bringing them about—in the present instance, the Head of the church has worked by the instrumentality of *events*. Through these he has impressed upon a passive, or, we might go farther and say, a resisting public, the stamp of his own will. Whether the question shall or shall not be taken up in our day, is not left to human choice. It comes upon us with all the power and certainty of a rising tide. Behind all modern movements there is a mind at work which asks not our consent as to the direction they shall take. Men on every side are planning one thing—and He is overruling their plans for the accomplishment of another.

Until of late, the will of all parties—of churchmen and dissenters—of believing men and infidels—has been exerted to postpone to some succeeding generation the agitation of what is felt to be interwoven with the immediate worldly interests of all. It is not that men are much divided in opinion as to the desirableness of getting rid of the anomaly. The state church, like a wen upon the body politic, is viewed by the intelligent as an incumbrance which must eventually require the knife. But no prospect of remote advantages can reconcile them to the pain of a surgical operation. The relationships which must needs be severed, the feelings which must undergo cruel laceration, the rude handling to which sensitive prejudices must submit, the shock to which the whole constitution would be exposed—these are matters from which all parties have shrunk in silent dismay—and if ever the scalpel has chanced to catch their eye, an involuntary shudder has run through the whole frame of society. As if in mockery, however, of this extreme reluctance to entertain the question with any view to its practical solution, scarcely an event of public moment has recently occurred which has not forced it upon men's attention. Every agitation, commenced with whatever object, has done its part to awaken in the public mind a sense of the evils of a national religious establishment, and to produce a conviction that the subject is one which must, ere long, be dealt with. Set out in what direction of reform men will—organic, educational, commercial, or fiscal—to this conclusion they are conducted in spite of themselves. Embark in whatever controversy they may, the current bears them down to this point. It has now become plain that it cannot be evaded. All discussions are gradually merging into this ecclesiastical one. Throughout society there is an all-pervading but hitherto unexpressed conviction that it is the destiny of this our age to go through this strangely momentous conflict. A vague sense of



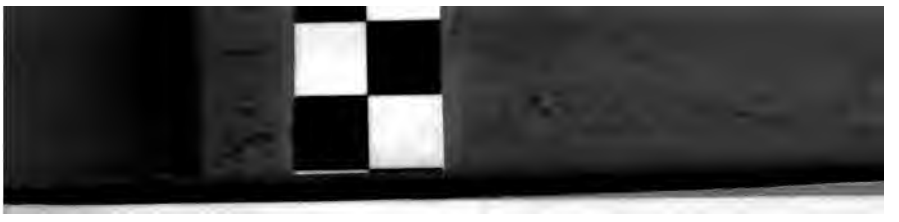
duty is stealing over the minds of dissenters, and their consciences, like an unrippled lake, begin to reflect the outline of the dark cloud which will, at no great distance of time, pass over them. At present, all is shadowy and undefined. They have resolved upon nothing—they discern nothing clearly and distinctly. But across their minds a mysterious feeling is creeping, the power of which no efforts of theirs can resist, that the time is at hand both to resolve and to act, in reference to this long adjourned question. In a word, the persuasion is taking hold of most men who reflect at all, that He who sits in the heavens is forcing on the settlement of this great controversy—and that one by one, he is setting aside the minor subjects which his own people would fain have taken in hand, and with a gentle but resistless might, is urging upon them that with which the interests of His own kingdom are more intimately associated.

This latent feeling, which is far more widely diffused than careless observers are apt to suspect, and which every passing event contributes to deepen, the proposed conference is, in our judgment, eminently adapted to concentrate and to fix. The subtle element, in its present form, is invisible, impalpable, and consequently, powerless. It can be turned to no practical account. It exerts no active energy. It has not the character of an impulse, but a dream. It resembles a saline solution before crystallization has commenced. The project to which we are pointing attention will, we have little doubt, constitute the nucleus about which this large amount of feeling will gather and become solidified. It will be as the introduction of a positive concretion into the midst of floating elements which have towards it a strong natural affinity. The vague musings of men's minds will thereupon take a definite shape—and mere opinion will settle down into a sense of duty. Already, we believe, this process is taking place. The bare knowledge that a conference has been resolved upon, and that men of known ability and earnestness are engaged in making the requisite arrangements for its meeting, has elicited a show of interest which none had been sanguine enough to anticipate, and has awakened desires, and kindled hopes, and called forth suggestions, and given a common direction to energies, which but for it would have remained in pristine quiescence. Dissenters have, for sometime past, been like a crowd which passing circumstances have worked up into community of feeling, but which nothing has yet prompted to give vocal utterance to its pervading thoughts. And as, in this latter instance, the speaker who hits upon the key note, is sure to produce a sudden and all but unanimous response—so in the former, an enterprise evidently planned with judgment, and managed with skill and temper, will bring up from the depths

of men's bosoms, where they have long dwelt in silence, those convictions which recent events have begotten, and will render them visible, active, and influential. That which is now only *in posse* will speedily develop itself *in esse*. The spiritual will pass into the practical.

If the preceding observations be correct, they may be followed up until we have caught sight of another important end which the proposed conference may be the means of attaining. It is an object of not greater moment to collect and to fix evanescent feeling, to prevent its evaporation, to reduce it to such form that one may lay his hand upon it and employ it as an instrument for working out a purpose, than it is definitely to mark out that purpose, and to see that it be in unison with the mind of the 'Master of assemblies.' Hitherto, the zeal of nonconformists has run to waste for want, chiefly, of an intelligible and worthy object upon which to expend itself. They have aimed at a variety of ends; and hence their movements have not been characterised by unity. The positions they have taken up have usually been defensive, and, as an inevitable consequence, their efforts have worn the appearance of selfishness. To guard or to extend their civil interests has been the main scope of their past agitations. Is it not, then, a matter worth attempting, to set up before them, as the one mark of all their future exertions, the great principle which, whenever realized, will remove from their midst every cause of complaint, whilst what is infinitely more to be desired, it will take out of the way of earnest christianity the greatest institutional impediment which it has ever had to encounter? To us it appears supremely important to secure for TRUTH, because it is truth, the benefit of that whole amount of now latent feeling which it is sought by means of a conference to elicit and to condense. Communities are governed by much the same laws as are individuals. As is the object pursued, so will be the conduct which is designed to reach it. Large sacrifices cannot reasonably be expected for trivial purposes. Untiring perseverance cannot be insured for any less reward than a permanent good. If we would have men exhibit an unwavering consistency—if we would brace them up to self-denial—if we believe a calm, serious, dignified, but, withal, cheerful demeanour, the best guarantee for eventual success—we must enlist their intellects and their hearts in a noble cause, and bid them serve a glorious master.

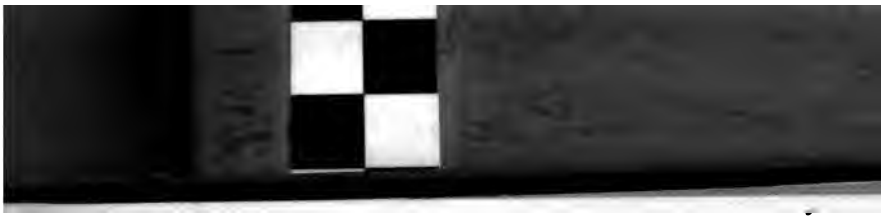
And herein we believe the conference to be well fitted to perform essential service. This, indeed, in our view, constitutes one of the prominent objects it will seek to accomplish. If it answer the ends of those who have taken the most active part in promoting its success, it will lift up to the gaze of the whole



nonconforming world, a clear and unmistakeable representation of the principle to be henceforth contended for. By a solemn assertion of the unscriptural character of national religious establishments—by an unequivocal and emphatic protest against the wrong inflicted by them upon the rights and responsibilities of man, and the affront they offer to the prerogatives of God—by a faithful and unshrinking exposure of the terrible evils, spiritual, intellectual, civil, and social, which they create and maintain—this assembly may be instrumental in impressing upon the minds of nonconformists an entirely new view of their duty, and of rousing within their hearts a new train of emotions in reference to it. It may call off dissenters from what they have too much regarded as *their* cause, and induce them to espouse what they may be taught to believe is the cause of *Christ*. It may divert attention from grievances, brooding over which they are apt to be fretted, and direct it to great religious benefits which it devolves upon them conscientiously to work out. It will elevate their motives, and greatly refine them, by exhibiting that as the duty of a christian, which has, until now, been supposed to be only the right of a citizen. The object of the movement may be so defined—the end aimed at may be so precisely marked out—and that principle, the legislative embodiment of which will constitute the *terminus* of the agitation, may be so accurately delineated—that thenceforth neither friend nor foe shall be held excused for misapprehending their drift, and all shall be compelled to see that this warfare is in the behalf of truth, not for the increase of merely secular privileges. The conference will necessarily attract towards it considerable attention—its decisions will carry with them a weight of influence which no individual, however eminent, could, under any circumstances, exert. Its acts will be referred to by many dissenters as very high, if not unquestionable authority, in this controversy. As such, it will bid fair to secure an unanimity of judgment and feeling such as all of us have deplored as being wanting in this matter; and if, with these advantages, it proceeds, as we devoutly trust it will, to mark out as the goal of all future effort, the complete emancipation of Christianity from state bondage, we cannot hesitate to expect as the result of its deliberations, a movement worthy of enlisting all the energies of enlightened patriotism and sincere piety—a movement, moreover, which the Head of the church will smile upon and bless.

But this, important as it is, is not the only topic upon which the conference may be expected to act as a luminary to the dissenting world—(we say luminary, not in an invidious sense, for we do not anticipate from it a more correct expression of principles than have already been propounded by individual

authority—but we use the term to denote our expectation that the circumstances under which it will meet, the numbers composing it, and the publicity which its proceedings will necessarily ensure, will radiate its light to a greater distance, and dispel darkness from many quarters which no individual effort has yet reached.) There is another matter upon which the promulgation of clear views is much to be desired. Take any half-dozen dissenters indiscriminately, and ask them what they understand the separation of the church from the state to involve, and you will probably discover that the notions of no two of them exactly correspond. Nothing can be more vague and misty, than prevailing opinion on this head. The unscrupulous abettors of state-church principles have not failed to profit by this defect in the knowledge of their opponents, nor grossly to misrepresent the ultimate aim of nonconformists. By some they have been denounced as seeking the extirpation of the episcopal form of church government from the land—by others, as grasping at that wealth and power which law has assigned to the now dominant sect. Sometimes their hostility has been supposed to be directed against the buildings in which the liturgy is duly read, whereupon pathetic appeals have been made to the people, to protect from destruction those houses of prayer which are said to be at once the ornament and glory of our empire. Now their object is represented to be a selfish one,—then again it is designated as malignant. Stunned by all this clamour, and having no very clear view of the practical import of the phrase 'the separation of church and state,' multitudes of dissenters turn away from the controversy as one in which they can take no religious interest. The end aimed at appears to them, solely because they have never yet gained a distinct apprehension of it, either questionable in point of morals, or impossible in point of practice—or if, abstractedly they regard it as 'a consummation devoutly to be wished,' they feel towards it as they would towards any other abstraction, no strong and irresistible affection. Surely, the gain would be no trivial one, to instruct not only uninformed dissenters, but statesmen of both houses of the legislature, clergymen of every religious and political party, and thinking men of all classes of society, in the interpretation which we put upon this phrase, and in the meaning in which we deliberately employ it. Now the proposed conference may do this with peculiar advantage. It may set forth explicitly what are those changes in the constitution and the laws of this empire which the dissolution of the union between the church and the state would involve. It may put the whole matter into so definite a shape, as that any man of common sense might understand it, and any lawyer



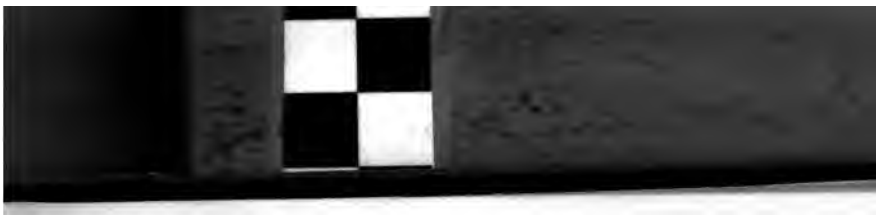
tolerably skilled in his profession, might embody it in a bill to be submitted to parliament. And this simple act will sweep away at once the rubbish which has been accumulating in the public mind for ages. We hesitate not, indeed, to declare our conviction, that a formal and authoritative statement of the practical meaning of separation, will do more to enlist the energies of the dissenting world in this cause, than myriads of lectures upon the beauty of abstract principles. But such a statement can come with due weight from none but a body fairly representative of all denominations of dissenters.

The next great object which in our view the proposed conference will be adapted to accomplish, is the organization, consolidation, and permanent direction of nonconforming strength. For want of this we have suffered various encroachments upon our liberties, and have uniformly failed to command that attention to, and respect for, our principles, which their intrinsic worth deserves. The opponents of national religious establishments have been strangely divided into petty sections, and various societies, springing up at intervals one knows not how, have appealed to them for aid, have professed to represent their interests, and, by their very multiplicity, have done little else than distract their counsels, and fritter away their exertions. We question not, indeed—we have no right to do—the motives of those with whom such societies originated; but we deplore the result to which they have conduced. Unity of purpose or of action among dissenters there is, at the present moment, none. No leaders have yet appeared upon the stage, endowed with abilities so commanding, or filled with zeal so unquestionable, as to gather about themselves the strength of the dissenting community. On this subject, and in this sphere, we have had no O'Connell—we cannot even boast of a Cobden or a Bright. It is, perhaps, as well that it should be so. Implicit faith in the competence and the integrity of leaders, would be very apt to draw off the mind from a due dependence upon Him, in whose name, and with a simple regard to whose honour, we should enter upon this arduous enterprise. Some central authority, however, is absolutely essential, to conduct it to a successful issue. No serious movement for the liberation of the church can be either planned or carried on without it. As well might a crew venture to sea without captain or helm, or an army appear on the field of battle without a commander and staff, as an aggression upon the state church be commenced without a council and officers enjoying the confidence of nonconformists.

Now we are unable to discover by what other means than by a conference, such a central executive body can be fairly constituted. It is obvious that the members of it, if at least it is

to exert any influence for good, must be selected by a wide constituency, and must be vested with an extensive representative power. Introduced under the auspices of the conference to their sphere of trust and responsibility—their functions clearly described—their powers defined—their work mapped out with accuracy to their hands—they would supersede at once and for ever, all those minor and self-constituted bodies which have divided amongst them the attention of nonconformists, and whatever, within the range of their prescribed duties, might emanate from them, whether in the shape of instruction or of appeal, would tell with peculiar power upon our various churches. We shall not pretend to enumerate the advantages which the existence of a body thus chosen would probably secure. Some of them will thrust themselves, unsought for. upon our readers' minds. The ultimate object at which we aim, will require that every step towards it be taken with the utmost caution. We must begin at the beginning. We have much ignorance even amongst dissenters to enlighten—many misconceptions to rectify —strong prejudices to remove—plausible objections to answer. The press consequently must be put into requisition. Tracts adapted to various classes of readers must be circulated. Lecturers well qualified to expound, defend, and enforce the truth at stake, must be selected and sent forth. Parliamentary constituencies must in due time be gauged and watched. And all this, and much more which we might add to this, will demand unity of counsel, unity of will, unity of effort. The work before us is one which is not likely to be accomplished in a summer's day. Years of protracted labour will, in all probability, be required to bring it to a peaceful and successful termination. Ere any serious impression will be made upon the state church, dissenters of every name must be familiar with their principles as household words, must be thoroughly disciplined, and must be ready at any given moment to act as one man. To such a state of organization, however, they can only be brought by comparatively slow degrees, and by a series of exercises adapted to their condition and their strength. Hence, the necessity for foresight—hence, the call for calm, mature, and repeated deliberation—and hence, the importance of creating a permanent machinery for regulating, controlling, and giving effect to the movement.

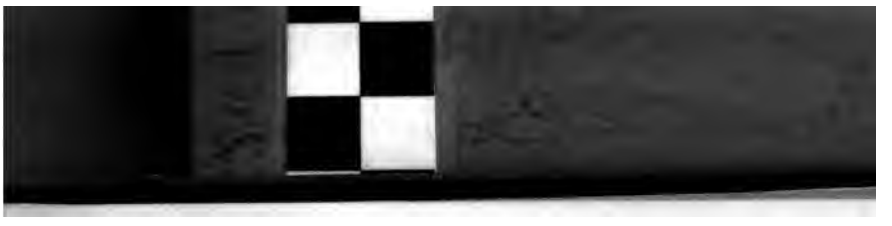
It will be seen from the foregoing observations, that we regard this project as one calculated to produce a beneficial effect chiefly upon the dissenting community—to attract their regard to their own professed principles—to impress their minds with a sense of their responsibility—and to construct a platform for united effort in the diffusion and advancement of the truths they hold. Such is the avowed object of the gentlemen who have



taken the lead in this important enterprise. We are well aware that in some quarters they have been misunderstood. Designs have been imputed to them which they never entertained, and ridiculous expectations have been called by their name, of which they were not the parents. Owing to whatever cause, whether to the source in which the idea originated, or to the uncompromising tone in which it has been enforced, or to the pertinacity with which it has been kept before the public, or to the reluctance felt in many quarters to commence an aggressive warfare which must needs demand at the hands of those who take part in it large and painful sacrifices—it has undoubtedly fallen out, that the proposed conference has provoked a great deal of censure which, to characterise it by the mildest term, is at least premature. We are not surprised at this. No great undertaking was ever entered upon, without having been subjected to this ordeal. Nevertheless, we deem it but common justice to parties labouring to attain a great public good, that they should be allowed to explain their own intentions, and that such explanations, and not the surmises of those opposed to them, should be received as the true interpretation of their conduct. If this were to have been a demonstration of strength—if it had been proposed as a means to intimidate the government, or as a *coup-de-main* for effecting the immediate overthrow of the church, we should not have ranged ourselves with its advocates. But no such wild and visionary scheme has yet appealed to public favour. They who describe the conference as such, have either been strangely remiss in seeking information, or have allowed their perceptions to be marvellously distorted by their prejudices. 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' is not, perhaps, an unnatural inquiry—but surely the answer is reasonable—'Come and see.' We feel convinced that if the real views and motives of those who have devoted themselves to the furtherance of this project be diligently inquired into, and candidly discussed, there will remain no insuperable bar in the way of any earnest-minded nonconformist which should prevent him from giving in his hearty adhesion to the cause.

For what, after all, is the gist of this proposal? What, in few words, does it aim to accomplish? To commence a serious and decided movement for the abolition of an evil, which all enlightened nonconformists admit to present the most fearful impediment to the effective promulgation of divine truth—to enter upon a course of labour and self-sacrifice, with a view to reduce the actual state of things in this country into unison with the mind of Christ—to take measures for the fulfilment of His revealed will—to concert plans for bringing the faith, love, zeal, and energies of His people to bear upon the final settlement of a ques-

tion in which the spiritual interests of millions are involved. How is it proposed to set about this truly momentous undertaking? Solemnly—as befits its appalling magnitude; calmly—as becomes the disciples of the Prince of peace; unitedly—in the full consciousness that union is strength; and with anxious deliberation, that nothing may be done inconsiderately or with temerity. What course to which this conference may be regarded as the appropriate portal is it intended to pursue? The diffusion of light—the exposition of scriptural principles—the correction of misapprehensions—the removal of prejudices—the elevation of the will of the dissenting community to the standard of their duty—the enlistment of intelligent and pious men in an arduous but honourable service—the organization and discipline of that amount of knowledge, talent, fidelity, and devotedness which already exists, or may hereafter be created—the construction, in a word, of a moral force which may be able to take advantage of the first providential opening, and go up to the vindication of Christian truth against the devices of the men of this world, and the delusions of its god. Is there aught incompatible with enlightened piety in all this? A state church—is it not an anomaly? a frightful contradiction? an affront to the benign spirit of the gospel? an impious meddling with the prerogatives of the Son of God? a fruitful cause of pharisaism and infidelity? a root of bitterness in every parish of the empire? a deceiver and a destroyer of immortal souls?—and must it stand through all ages unimpaired and unmolested? Are we to move against far distant heathenism, and upon the wings of our zeal for the welfare of man fly to the uttermost parts of the earth, and take no thought, and cherish no anxiety, and enter upon no resolve, and exert no influence, to rid the world of this monstrous desecration of 'the glorious gospel of the blessed God?' And how, if this evil is to be assailed at all—how should it be otherwise assailed than is now proposed? Where is the work to be begun if not amongst dissenters? What is there reprehensible in a systematic attempt to raise them up to a level with their responsibility in this matter, that good men should denounce it as the suggestion of misguided and fiery zealotism? Somebody, it is plain, must labour to achieve the great object—either now, or hereafter. National religious establishments are not destined to continue for ever. But whenever they are abolished, they will be abolished by human agency, either intelligently or blindly employed. Is there anything wrong in desiring that it may be done intelligently, peacefully, and by the force of Christian principle? And if not, is it unwise to act with a view to realise that desire? Is the gradual formation of a party who may religiously, and in a spirit of allegiance to their

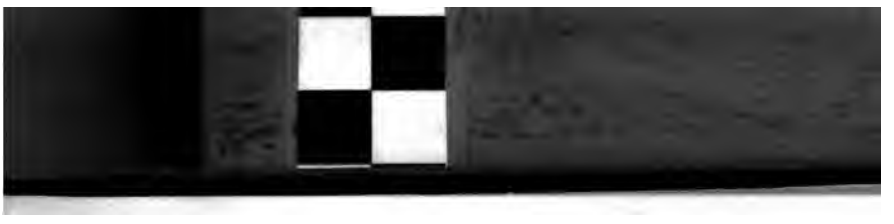


Lord, seek the removal of this obstruction to His triumphs, so wild and hair-brained a project, as to be unworthy of the consideration of prudent and godly men? Of whom will that party be composed? Of men convinced in their consciences, and impelled by a sense of duty? What are the weapons which will be put into their hands? Knowledge, reason, scripture. Through what medium will they bring their power eventually to bear? Through their rights and privileges as citizens of the realm. The representative assembly which meets to forward this design, can hardly be charged with trespassing beyond the bounds of sobriety. That which is worth doing at all is worth doing well —and surely the best guarantee for doing it wisely and well, is to do it as the result of mature deliberation, of mutual counsel, of free discussion. Now it is with a view to this that the conference is to be summoned. Its acts, it is true, may not correspond with the purposes of the conveners. Well! let us wait and see. None can give pledges for the future. It is with the present alone that we are concerned; and having respect to the present, we put it to the impartial and conscientious judgment of every nonconformist, whether he will best discharge his obligations to man and God, by discountenancing or by supporting this movement.

It may not be out of place to remind our readers that the greatest changes which have occurred in the history of this our world, have been usually brought about by seemingly insignificant agency, and have had at starting to encounter the opposition of both good and great men. If it should happen that this movement has originated in right motives—and who will venture to affirm the contrary? if the object aimed at be one which the great Head of the Church may be supposed to will—and where is the dissenter who does not believe this? and if the means resorted to be such as sincerity, guided by prudence, may properly select and employ—then, it is possible, we use no stronger term, that the projected conference may be instrumental in preparing the way for a greater and a happier revolution, than any which man has witnessed since the Reformation itself. Should it prove so—and He who sways the hearts of all men as he pleases, and presides over the government of all worlds, can make it such—it will be a source of the bitterest regret to any of his disciples to discover that unwittingly they have obstructed the progress of His designs. Such mistakes have been made before; it is not certain that they may not be made again. Many a sound Christian lived to deplore the coldness with which he received the first proposals to establish Sunday schools, or to send the Gospel to heathen nations. These benevolent schemes have now been justified by success; and the names of those who

stood prominently forth in support of them, undeterred by the sneers of their contemporaries, are embalmed in the grateful remembrance of our churches. But they were once as hopeless, to all human appearance, as is now the liberation of Christianity from state thraldom: and he who had then dared to predict for them the splendid triumphs they have since achieved, would have earned for himself the title of 'visionary.' All things, be it borne in mind, must have a beginning; and they who 'despise the day of small things' will often live to repent of irremediable folly. The project of which we have spoken may be fruitless, but it may also be honoured of God to accomplish glorious results. Whether destined for the one or the other, it is beyond the sagacity of man to foretell: but it is not so difficult to decide whether its object be a commendable one—one worth reaching after, and labouring for, and encountering in its pursuit, if need be, any amount of obloquy and scorn.

If, however, we are unable to predict what shall be, it may be permitted us to imagine what might be. We shall suppose the conference to have met, in numbers sufficient to silence the tongue of detraction, if not to awaken the fears of the interested. We shall suppose its deliberations to have been marked, not more by rigid adherence to the claims of truth, than by dignity, forbearance, and Christian moderation. We shall suppose the report of its proceedings to have gone forth to every quarter of the empire—and we shall suppose a permanent machinery, constructed under its auspices, to have been put in motion for the creation of a healthy public opinion on the question of establishments. There is nothing so extravagant in these suppositions as to forbid their very entrance into our minds and hearts. Let our readers indulge us for the moment in imagining thus much. Let them imagine the great work fairly begun—begun at this anti-state-church conference. If, now, from some, perhaps, distant point of time, it should be the pride of future generations to trace back to this small beginning a mighty change in the condition and the prospects of the church of Christ—if, as they look back in amazement at the gilded fetters she once wore, and look up in gratitude for her final emancipation, they should be able to refer to the assembly by whom the great revolution was begun—if its resolutions should be held precious in their estimation, and every document to which it gave its assent should be regarded as a relic of the fidelity of a preceding age—if, in short, success, Heaven's blessing upon feeble instrumentality, should hereafter shed a blaze of glory upon what, when passing, attracted but little notice; and the course of events should be such, as to constrain men in all coming ages to bless God that in eighteen hundred and forty-four, a little band of men met together, and so-



lemnly commenced a movement for the abolition of state-churches—would not every nonconformist of the present day wish to have been foremost amongst those who had sanctioned and supported the undertaking? But it is important to observe that no results, splendid as they may be, can alter the character of the undertaking itself, or the duty of dissenters in reference to it. Could all these things be as distinctly foreseen as we have imagined it possible they may hereafter be looked back upon, the essential features of the project would be precisely the same as now they are; the same amount of sincerity, wisdom, and adaptation to the end in view would distinguish it as now—and no more. To these, therefore, and not to the possible consequences which may flow from it, we must look to ascertain our present duty. If these satisfy our judgment, we are bound to go forward in cheerful confidence. Duty belongs to us—events to God. Employing our best faculties to ascertain and to do His will, we are certain of safety, and we *may* command success.

Brief Notices.

Tales of the Colonies; or the Adventures of an Emigrant. By Charles Rowcroft, a late Colonial Magistrate. 3 vols. Second edition. London: Saunders & Otley.

'It is with the view of describing the process of settling in a new country; of the precautions to be taken; of the foresight to be exercised; of the early difficulties to be overcome; and of the sure reward which awaits the prudent and industrious colonist, that the Editor has collected the following tales; and he may add, that he can testify to the accuracy of the descriptions which they contain from his personal experience as a resident magistrate in the colony.' Such is the object of this publication as set forth in the preface, and it is no mean praise to say that this object is completely effected in a style of narrative which, for vividness, graphic description, and sustained interest, has seldom been surpassed. Those readers who take up the volumes in expectation of meeting with dry discussions on colonial law and usages, will be agreeably surprised by the variety and exciting character of the incidents related, while others who open them in search of amusement only will be astonished at the diversified and valuable nature of the information they furnish. We have seldom been more fascinated than in their perusal. Having once begun, we were compelled, though at considerable inconvenience, to go on, and at length closed the last volume with reluctance.

The scene of the narrative is Van Dieman's Land, and the hero Mr. William Thornley, a Surrey farmer, who, in September, 1816, emigrated from the older country in hope of better providing for a somewhat numerous

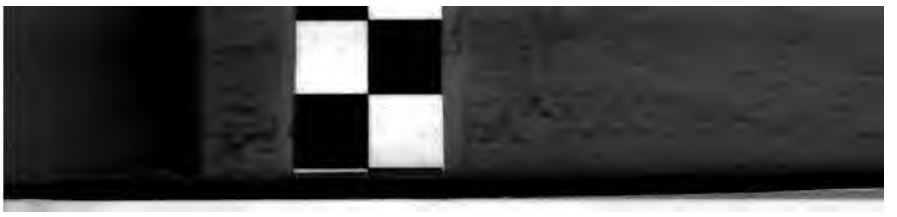
family. The colony was then in a very different condition from what it is at present; its population much less numerous, and the demands on the physical endurance of those who made it their home much more severe. Mr. Thornley was well fitted for the enterprise he had undertaken, and was admirably sustained by his wife. The history of his early difficulties, his struggles, occasional depressions, and steady progress towards success is told with inimitable skill, so that the whole scene is laid before us, and we view distinctly the several actors in the discharge of their daily vocation. It is astonishing what human foresight and diligence can do, and in the present case their results are exhibited in a form both instructive and pleasing.

Considerable skill, also, is shown in the delineation of character. To say nothing of Mr. Thornley, whose well-sustained integrity and strong sense are conspicuous throughout the work, it is impossible to be in the company of Samuel Crab, 'head ploughman to Squire Dampier,' of Dampier Hall, Shropshire, without feeling that he has been sketched from nature, and that the artist who has presented us with such a likeness is capable of no mean things.

The latter part of the work bears marks of having been wrought up for the market. It is more after the fashion of the novel, and seeks to surprise by sudden and unexpected catastrophes. The author has evidently drawn on his imagination, and by doing so, has impaired rather than strengthened the interest of his work. The earlier part of it carries along the confidence of the reader, and is in evident keeping with the probabilities of the case. There is an air of truthfulness about it which satisfies the mind, and which is greatly wanting in the latter half of the work. On the whole, we cannot hesitate to recommend these 'Tales' to our readers as amongst the most fascinating and instructive of their class. Such a publication, while it possesses all the interest of a romance, will do more to break up the mystery in which colonial life is shrouded than a dozen formal treatises.

The United Irishmen: their Lives and Times. By R. R. Madden, M.D. With numerous original portraits. Second series. 2 vols. London: Madden & Co.

We noticed the former series of Dr. Madden's work at some length, and in terms of deserved praise, and regret that the present volumes have not been earlier introduced to our readers. They are distinguished, like their predecessors, by extensive research, unwearied diligence, warm love of freedom, and enthusiastic admiration of all that is genuine and highminded in Irish patriotism. Their appearance at the present moment is specially opportune, and cannot fail of exciting a salutary, because vigorous and prudential influence over the resolutions and policy of his countrymen. The wrongs of Ireland are all but universally admitted, and its present military occupation must go far to deepen its hatred of English connexion, and to prepare even its least excitable sons to seek its dissolution. The publication at such a period of the series of memoirs contained in these volumes must be hailed by every liberal Irishman, and ought not to be regarded with disfavour by enlightened Englishmen.



The leaders of the United Irishmen suffered much under the iron despotism of Mr. Pitt. Good and bad qualities were liberally blended in their constitution, and it must be for the benefit of all—English as well as Irish—that these should be separated, so that the genuine character of the men, the nature of their enterprize, the motives which actuated them, their rashness and patriotism, their sense of national degradation, their aspirations after freedom, their want of political sagacity, and destitution in many cases of the steadying influences of moral and religious principle, should be distinctly understood. Such is the service rendered by Dr. Madden, and we thank him—Englishmen though we be—for the justice he has rendered to his misunderstood and libelled countrymen.

Guide for Writing Latin. By John Philip Krebs, Doctor of Philosophy and Principal School Director in the Duchy of Nassau. *From the German.* By Samuel H. Taylor, Principal of St. Philip's Academy, Andover and New York. Also, London: Wiley and Putnam. 1843.

We could not help auguring favourably of this production, from the very judicious introductory remarks of the American translator, on the benefits (both particular and general) of composing in the Latin language; and so far as we have been able to examine the book itself, our first impression has been confirmed. How far *any* work of this nature may be well adapted for the use of a class, it is always difficult to judge without actual trial, or without long experience in such teaching. The volume before us is so ample in the development of principles, that it may be called a Latin grammar of the higher order, almost as properly as an exercise-book: and we feel no doubt whatever that even teachers of the language would often gain greater sharpness and positiveness for their knowledge by a study of the very ample and erudite remarks which the author pours forth. Whether or not the systematic order of the exercises is precisely *that* order in which it is expedient for youthful students to learn, we decline to express an opinion, for this brings up a practical question of great difficulty. But we feel confident in asserting that a student who to a mere *elementary* Latin grammar adds the exercise-book before us, has in his hands all the grammatical materials for a very searching study of this important tongue. The index is very copious, and extremely increases the value of the book, which is printed in a plain and serviceable form, well adapted for wide circulation. We are pleased to see our American brethren sending over to us contributions which show their energy in the studies of the old world.

Considering that the translator had to transfer to the English remarks intended for the German language, we are surprised that he has generally succeeded so well. We observe, however, in p. 26, some confusion produced by calling the two tenses '*I was sitting*,' and '*He died*,' both by the same name, imperfect, which gives rise to a false contrast between the Latin and the English idiom: and in the next page *postquam* is inadvertantly rendered 'afterwards.' Perhaps other slight errors of the sort may have escaped our reading, but we are convinced that they are on the whole few.

Kühner's Elementary Greek Grammar. Elementary Grammar of the Greek Language. By Dr. Raphael Kühner, Co-rector of the Lyceum at Hanover. Translated by John Millard, St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Longman & Co. 1844.

It is not possible for us here to do more than call attention to the *shortest* of the three Greek grammars published by Dr. Kühner, whose copious work was lately translated by Mr. Jelf. Out of the numerous excellent works of this nature which have appeared in recent years, we do not presume to decide which is best, all being necessarily imperfect in many respects, and each perhaps having some advantages. The volume before us is very clear and practical in the Accidence, and in the Syntax contains much useful matter. The tone of the latter part is more philosophic than we like, especially in a book which professes to be 'elementary:' but this is a vice which cleaves to all the German grammars from Matthiæ downwards, and we must not be severe on it. One great excellence we may venture to assert, will be found in this grammar —that the diligent student will find in his after progress, that there is very little of it which he needs to *un*learn—an important excellence, not easy to obtain. Without wholly subscribing to the opinion of the translator, that this book has so decided an advantage as he imagines over others which we could name; we think that on that ground we may venture to recommend it, and wish for it that success which the reputation of the author and their own carefulness in the superintendence, may justify the respectable publishers in calculating on.

The Child's Picture and Verse Book: commonly called, Otto Speckter's Fable Book, with the original German, and with French. Translated into English by Mary Howitt. London. 1840.

Otto Speckter's Fable Book is truly described by Mrs. Howitt as a book which is loved from one end of Germany to the other. We heard such a character of it, some years ago, when living in that country, that we sent to a bookseller for it, in as great a hurry, as any child would have done. The book was, unfortunately, out of print, and we, like other children, were obliged to wait. Any deeper anxiety was, however, allayed by the assurance that a new edition must be forthcoming in a few weeks, at farthest, for Christmas was fast approaching, and all would go wrong with the little boys and girls of Germany, if there were no fable books among their Christmas gifts. The event proved the unerring sagacity of our adviser. The book appeared in due time, and in a new cover. And we well remember that that season, Christmas eve was beautifully bright, and was soon succeeded by a fall of snow, and a frost, of such endurance, as to bring into requisition every sledge that could by possibility be put into working trim. It was a merry Christmas that year, certainly;—Otto Speckter's 'Fabel-buch' within doors, and plenty of sledging without.

We wish well to Mrs. Howitt's endeavours to make these fables popular in England; for they exhibit many of the best elements of adaptation to childhood. They are simple, natural, and of a good moral tendency. Many persons would think them too simple, or that there was too little variety in their simplicity;—in other words, that there was rather too much of this one quality, for one book. We have ourselves been tempted once or twice to think the same. A little reflection, however, convinced us that every fable has its object, and will find its own admirers. No parent will think there is too much of the sort for one book, who has three or four young children. They will pretty well divide the book between them; by which we do not mean that they will tear it into so many parts, though such an event is not very improbable, and will depend, in some cases, we presume, on their general habits, but that their several favourites will pretty well exhaust the whole number of the fables. It should be borne in mind, however, that the book is intended for young children between the ages of two, and six or seven; for some of its contents may be imparted to a child, long before he can read; and that as the lessons it conveys are uniformly of a simply moral tendency, no attempt has been made to render it a vehicle for information.

It may be that before enquiries into the quality of the translation, our readers may like to see a specimen or two, illustrative of the general character of the work. The following are the twenty-ninth and thirty-ninth fables:—

THE BIRD.

I pray thee, boy, with earnest prayer,
  Touch not my little nest,
Oh! do not cast thy glances there!—
  'Tis there my young ones rest.
They'll be distressed—will cry with fear,
If thy large eyes come peeping near.

With joy he gazed upon the nest,
  Far off, with silent tongue:
The little bird, no more distressed,
  Flew down and covered her young;
And looked on him, without alarm:
'Thanks, boy, thou hast not done them harm.' (p. 59.)

PUSSY.

Child. Wherefore wash you, pussy, say,
Every half-hour through the day?

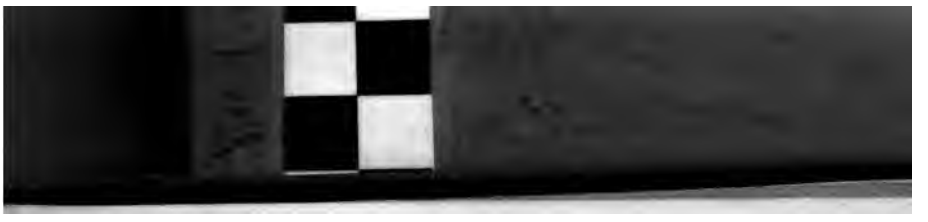
Pussy. Why?—Because 'twould look so bad
If a dirty coat I had.
Little face, and little feet,
They, too, must be always neat.

So says pussy, and I've heard
All give her a handsome word.
In the parlour she may be—
People take her on the knee.
Why all love her, I can tell;—
It is for washing herself so well. (p. 79.)

The translation has much of the characteristic excellence of Mrs. Howitt's 'Birds and Flowers.' It is full of nature and vivacity. The attempt to render these simple, but often strikingly idiomatic *morceaux*, into English, was no easy one, whatever it may seem to those who never tried any thing of the kind. It is about as easy, we suspect, as Saladin's feat of severing a down cushion with his scimitar. We must not wonder, therefore, at a few occasional failures. Some of these arise from the incautious use in English of inversions peculiar to the German, a fault into which translators will necessarily fall, if they do not take great pains to avoid it. Another fault, against which we should have thought Mrs. Howitt's taste and good sense would have proved an effectual security, is the adoption, in a few instances, of measures, which have never been naturalised, in England, and measures which, besides that they thus lie under the disadvantage of being unknown to children, have the still greater one, of not reading smoothly. A third fault, in our judgment, is, that in one or two instances (pp. 25, 51, 93.), Mrs. Howitt has rendered too closely that familiarity in speaking of the divine Author of creation, which German usage allows, but which is quite foreign to English habits and taste, and, we hope, will always remain so. We must admit, however, that the blemishes of the last class are very few in number—we have referred to *all* that we have noticed—and that those mentioned before, do not materially detract from the interest of the volume. This, for a child's book, is a very fascinating affair; for the light etchings, or whatever they are—we have not Speckter's book at hand, and speak from recollection only—with which the original is adorned, woodcuts are here substituted; and it naturally follows, that the lighter subjects will have been rendered better in the original work, and those which have more depth, and require greater effect, in its English substitute. There are, in all, a hundred illustrations, of a very pleasing character. As announced in the title-page, the original text and a French translation, are given along with Mrs. Howitt's version. The volume is so arranged, that every opening exhibits an entire fable, in the three languages, with a woodcut illustration. We are not informed who is the author of the French version.

The Great Change: a Treatise on Conversion. By George Redford, D.D., L.L.D.; with an Introduction, by the author of 'the Anxious Enquirer after Salvation, directed and encouraged.' London: the Religious Tract Society.

This little volume was written at the suggestion of the author of 'the Anxious Enquirer,' and is designed to awaken the solicitude which that work, so signally blessed by the Great Head of the Church, presupposes. It is divided into two parts. The first treats of the universal need of conversion, its possibility in the case of every individual, the means by which it is ordinarily brought about, the reasons why it may not yet have taken place, and why it should earnestly be sought for now; urging, at its close, the promise of converting grace, and enumerating the marks by which the great change may be known. In the second part, the



writer considers the particular cases of the unbeliever, the undecided, the mistaken, the self-sufficient, the worldling, the delayer, the careless, and the hopeless. The whole is earnest, devout, and to the purpose—to say which, of a treatise on such a subject, is to say all. Dr. Redford's name upon the title-page gave us a pleasant surprise. In the marshalling of an argument, or the conduct of a controversy, he has few equals; and we rejoice to receive from his hands this testimony to the paramount importance of the special and esoteric doctrines of that faith, of which he is a minister. Such a work, not overworded, nor overargued, has long been needed. May a blessing from on high, go with it, and the pre-eminent honour of those, who turn many to righteousness, gather upon its author!

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For APRIL, 1844.

Art. 1. *Lives of Eminent British Statesmen: Thomas Osborne Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds.* By the Right Hon. Thomas P. Courtenay. London: Longmans. 1838.

There are some characters in history whose fame is derived from nothing within themselves, but only from the time in which they lived, or the peculiar circumstances with which they were connected. Apart from these, we should care little about them, whilst yet so curiously identified are they with these, that their memoirs interest us exceedingly. The subject of this article, for instance, would have barely passed muster in the present day, as a junior lord of the treasury or admiralty; whilst such was his singular fortune, in having brought about a marriage which changed the dynasty of these kingdoms,—in having governed them himself for several years as prime minister to Charles the Second—and in having been amongst the principal advisers of William the Third, that we are glad to study his biography, as though he had been a personage of genuine worth and ability. The mine may look dull upon its surface, but is well worth working below.

He was the eldest son of Sir Edward Osborne, a baronet of Yorkshire, whose grandfather laid, in the reign of Elizabeth, 'the foundation of greatness by an act of bravery and humanity.' Having been apprenticed to Sir William Hewitt, a rich metropolitan merchant, who had an only child, and that a daughter, he preserved her life, at the imminent hazard of his own. Little Anne was accidentally dropped by her nurse from the window of her father's house on London Bridge: upon

which, young Osborne plunged into the river, rescued her from a watery grave, and ultimately married her. As an heiress she endowed him with estates in Yorkshire and Essex to the extent of six thousand pounds per annum. Her portion in hard cash also proved considerable; with which her husband traded so successfully, that wealth poured in upon him like water. He lived to serve the offices of sheriff and lord mayor,—sat in parliament for the city,—was knighted by the queen,—and obtained for his family an accession to one of the earliest baronetcies in England. Respecting the son of this prosperous gentleman there is no record; but his grandson proved a royalist, and a follower of Strafford. Toryism thus sprang up strong and early; and was not a little strengthened by the alliance of Sir Edward with a lady, who represented the ancient line of Neville Lord Latimer. Their son, the future minister, was born in 1631; and was kept either in the seclusion of a rural life, or sent abroad, until after the restoration of the Stuarts. According to the best contemporaneous testimony, he had enlisted himself, from the very commencement, 'among the high cavaliers.' His first appearance in public life was at the age of thirty, when in the lifetime of his father he became member for York, in that Long Parliament which met in May, 1661, and entailed so many miseries upon these nations. He soon busied himself, together with others like-minded, in brewing as much mischief as possible. Burnet assures us, that he offered the king an augmentation of revenue and power; which only means that he was ready to spend and be spent, if the royal despot might have been but permitted to trample out the life-blood of British liberty. Even Clarendon felt that he would have gone too far: and Osborne therefore learned to hate the lord chancellor, because that proud minister at least professed to be more moderate in his measures. Hyde's fresh nobility perhaps exasperated his chagrin; for Osborne already began to weigh his own claims. His father had zealously supported Charles I.; and his wife, whom he had married in 1652, was the second daughter of Lord Lindsay, who had fought for royalism in some of the stoutest struggles of the civil war.

His lot being thus cast, as it might seem for life, with those who loved oppression and despised the people, we may set down any occasional deviations from their line of conduct to pure selfishness, displayed just now and then through a love of contradiction, or perverse ambition for notoriety. We are told that one of his earliest votes was in opposition to a bill introduced at Oxford in 1665 for obliging all persons to avouch the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, or any persons commissioned by him. One swallow does not make a summer,

nor a single flight of patriotism a genuine lover of his country. His biographer, a moderate conservative, with much fairness observes, that 'if the vote was given, it must probably be ascribed to the spirit of opposition operating in a young mind.' Senators are but puppets, although our author, himself a privy councillor, 'cannot recognize *the very remarkable providence* by which, according to John Locke, the bill was 'thrown out.' We regret this sneer at a particular and overruling appointment, which beyond all doubt orders everything both in heaven and earth. The obnoxious measure would have tortured non-conformists and conscientious roundheads more than even his right honourable admirer considers necessary; and it struck a pious philosopher as sufficiently remarkable, that Sir Thomas Osborne and his brother, having that very morning introduced Mr. Peregrine Bertie, whose sister the former had married, to his new seat in parliament, these three individuals just formed the majority which turned the scale. We wholly despair of being ever able to teach our political opponents the agonies of a vexed conscience, as our favourite Sir Harry Vane used to term it. The future Earl of Danby had often to illustrate the force of that Scripture, 'Surely the wrath of man shall praise Thee; and the remainder thereof shalt Thou restrain.' His office, painful as it appears to have proved to himself, frequently was to do good against his will. In 1667 he took an active part in the proceedings against Lord Clarendon. His neighbour in Yorkshire, Sir John Reresby, assures us that he was the Buckingham of the House of Commons, with respect to the Lord Chancellor. Osborne had long foretold, his wish being perhaps father to the thought, that 'the chancellor would be accused of treason, and then if he were not hanged, he would be hanged himself!' Alas! for the unmerited destinies of these worthy candidates for the gallows. But so it was then, as now. Diamond cut diamond under the splendid auspices of rank, wealth, title, and power; a fact which posterity renders into the most sensible aphorism, that 'When rogues fall out by the way, there is a possible chance of honesty coming by its own!' The member for York hunted down his noble enemy night and day. Not Pym, nor Hampden, could have pressed upon a traitor with more energy. He threaded all the labyrinths of court and cabinet, from the purlieus of the palace to the waiting-rooms of coffee-houses, to collect evidence against the obnoxious minister. The records inform us upon what shallow evidence some of the charges in the case of Clarendon were based; as for example, about the sale of Dunkirk: 'Sir Thomas Osborne said, that *a great lord told him*, that the earl had made a bargain for that town three quarters of a year before it was

known!' Our opinion with regard to Lord Clarendon is well known: but the heart grows sick in contemplating the recklessness with which hypocrisy pursued covetousness, during those golden days, when an established church dared to return her thanks to Almighty God 'for his miraculous loving-kindness in placing that most gracious sovereign King Charles the Second on the throne of these kingdoms, thereby restoring us the free profession of true religion and worship, together with our former peace and prosperity, to the great comfort and joy of our hearts!' By what drug from the laboratory of Satan, have bishops and presbyters remained steeped in carelessness to the current moment, so as to suffer this detestable office to continue unerased from the Book of Common Prayer, for the use of episcopalians throughout England and Ireland?

Sir Thomas Osborne had been thrown, during his earlier years, into the society of his great contemporary, Sir William Temple. They had been young travellers together, and tennis players in France. They now acted in unison upon a nobler arena, in representing Clarendon as not only an enemy of Spain, but a dependant of France. Dislike of all French connexion, leanings toward Holland, and towards Spain also, as interested with Holland in the preservation of the Netherlands from France, were now the prevalent principles of the country party in England. Osborne assumed these as a political creed, just as Anthony Fire-the-Faggot, in the romance of Kenilworth, assumed his religious one, to be put on or pulled off like an easy glove, according to circumstances. He also became a violent abhorrer of popery with similar facility of profession, ready to turn this way or that, as fortune, necessity, or expediency might beckon him. Hence we find him now pleading his ultra-loyalism, at the Restoration, to obtain office under the infamous Cabal. The friend of Temple,—the ardent member of the protestant Church of England,—the antagonist of Romanism,—and the denouncer of a premier because his foreign policy had seemed to favour Louis the Fourteenth, was appointed to the treasurership of the navy in 1670. The following year beheld him sworn of that privy council, at which Clifford of Chudleigh and Lord Arlington would have bartered away the throne of their master, the religion of his people, or the liberties and welfare of the realm, for foreign gewgaws and attractive mistresses. 'It may excite surprise,' observes his temperate biographer, 'that Osborne should connect himself with such a government, by office, just at this period; but we are not to measure his consistency by 'the standard used in our days.' We presume not, indeed; but as impartial critics we must, of course, represent matters in their real light. Here is a political character, who, we are assured, 'has scarcely met with

justice either contemporaneous or posthumous,' linking himself in base and wretched servitude, under ministers whose entire plans and proceedings he had promised and professed to hold in utter detestation. Is it really true, then, that all the virtues had ranged themselves under liberalism in the seventeenth century? How striking is the contrast between the courtiers and aristocracy of the Restoration, and the soldiers and heroes of the commonwealth! Clarendon had fallen, only to make room for five favourites, whose initials constitute a political name of reproach, which will never be forgotten. Had all the witches that ever haunted the imagination of Sir Matthew Hale, or the American puritans, combined their sorcery, no compound from their infernal cauldron could have exceeded in potency of mischief that cabinet of atrocious transgressors then permitted to curse both crown and country. The six years from 1667 to 1673 were the emptying of so many vials of wrath upon a polluted land. In the teeth of the Triple Alliance his majesty was literally selling himself to Rouvigny, an agent from Paris, for just as much money as might be extorted from the Grand Monarque. At home, the three kingdoms lay drenched in profligacy and iniquity. Liberty and religion, virtue, and even decency, had to veil their faces for very shame. Prerogative and bigotry were smothering justice and toleration. Not that Charles, as he once told Lord Essex, wished to sit like a Turkish sultan, and sentence men to the bowstring; 'but he could not bear that a set of fellows should inquire into his conduct!' An illustration this of a genuine George the Fourth; and the modified slavery which even modern toryism would fain inflict upon the masses. About the period that Sir Thomas Osborne was reaping his first harvest from the powers that then were, his sovereign had arranged with Louis in secret to change the religion, by law established, from protestantism to popery; and introduce arbitrary sway. His government plunged into another Dutch war, during which immense sums were paid by France to the needy Stuart; part of the province of Zealand, when conquered, was to be handed over to England, as the wages of her perfidy; and the young prince of Orange himself had his integrity laid siege to, that he might be induced to participate in this horrible scheme of coalescing against European freedom.

Well might the British nation have looked back upon the horrors even of civil war, and sighed in the bitterness of its spirit. Valour, and wisdom, and eloquence, were then the high roads at least to fame, if not to official advancement also. But now how mortifying and disgraceful appeared the change. The helm of affairs fell into the hands of courtezans, or their imme-

diate parasites. Bishop Burnet thus describes the course of events at the time Osborne was creeping into distinction: 'This year the king declared a new mistress, and made her Duchess of Portsmouth. She had been maid of honour to his sister, and had come over with her to Dover; where the king had expressed such a regard to her, that Buckingham, who hated the Duchess of Cleveland, (the reigning harlot,) intended to put this new one on his majesty. He assured Louis the Fourteenth, that he could never reckon himself certain of the king, *but by giving him a mistress, that should be true to his interests.* It was soon agreed to. So the Duke of Buckingham sent her with a part of his equipage to Dieppe; and said, he would presently follow. But he, who was the most inconstant and forgetful of all men, never thought of her more; but went to England by the way of Calais. So Montague, then ambassador at Paris, hearing of this, sent over for a yacht for her, and sent some of his servants to wait on her, and defray her charge, till she was brought to Whitehall; and then Lord Arlington took care of her. The Duke of Buckingham thus lost the merit he might have pretended to; and brought over a mistress, whom his own strange conduct threw into the scale of his rivals. The king was presently taken with her. She studied to please and observe him in every thing; so that he passed away the rest of his life in great fondness for her. He kept her at a vast charge. And she by many fits of sickness, some pretended, some real, gained of him everything she desired. *She stuck firm to the French interest,* and was its chief support!' This incident constitutes but a single leaf in the volume of scandal, oppression, debauchery, and intrigue, which make up the reign of Charles the Second. Britain was then sacrificed without remorse, by the prince whom Osborne was about to serve, between the grossest violations of the seventh and tenth commandments. With prostitutes for his companions, and a foreign potentate for his paymaster, he mocked at the clergy who were enshrining him in their sanctuaries and prayers, every twenty-ninth of May; and robbed or insulted his subjects as opportunities offered. The court and privy purse had been accumulating debt ever since the Restoration; whilst for the maintenance of public credit, Charles had assigned over several branches of his revenue to some bankers; besides pledging his faith to them, in successive proclamations, that 'he would continue to make good all his assignments, until the whole debt should be paid, which was now growing up to £1,500,000!' But woe to those who put their trust in princes. His majesty all at once shut up his exchequer; the bankers broke; and multitudes, who had trusted their property with them, beheld ruin at their doors. His ministers could not fail

being cognizant of the royal perfidy; for Lord Shaftesbury had withdrawn his own money, and even hinted to his friends, that they should follow his example. Then ensued the attempted seizure of the Dutch Smyrna fleet, contrary to an article in the Peace of Breda, that no merchandize should be arrested on the high seas, until full six months had elapsed from the proclamation of war. In addition to such avowals of treachery and bankruptcy, the suspension of all penal laws with regard to religion was ordered: not that any rights of conscience were to be vindicated,—but only that an act of sheer naked autocracy might supersede the constitution and law of the land. Nonconformity had too much honesty to fall in, even with its own emancipation, on such terms.

Nor did Sir Thomas Osborne perceive it to be his interest to remain any longer silent. The plunder of merchants at home, or the unsuccessful efforts against those abroad, involving towards Holland, 'a breach of faith such as Mahometans and pirates would have been ashamed of,' had permitted him to remain unperturbed in his rich office at the Navy Board; but now an established church being indirectly struck at, under which he dispensed considerable patronage in Essex and Yorkshire, his voice began to be heard and listened to in the House of Commons. When parliament assembled for its tenth session, on the 4th of February, 1673, it soon appeared how completely aristocracy and prelacy understand one another. Doctor Lingard also tells us, that a system had been introduced by Clarendon, to use a certain class of courtiers, as straws thrown up to show which way the breath of public opinion might be blowing. With this view, they were sometimes instructed to conceal their sentiments, or at least act for the time being with the popular party. Accordingly, we have the Treasurer of the Navy quite prominent amongst those who addressed the crown during the month of March, against the dispensing power exercised in favour of dissenters. Together with Messrs. Meres and Powle, leading patriots of their day, he contended and conquered. The house and its sovereign endeavoured to take each other by the ears, after a fashion, which furnished interminable jokes for Hudibras; and which might have afforded Hogarth materials for a political Rake's Progress, from knavery to ruin, on an almost national scale. To the glance of an uninitiated spectator, it would have seemed as though the strange anomaly were presented of a placeman combining with an opposition, to coerce the court out of one of its favourite measures. Not that there was an identity of sentiment between the member for York and the colleagues, with whom to serve a particular purpose, he just then acted. Their desire was to withstand popery and despotism:

'his to maintain that form of protestantism only, which is in the church of England.' Upon the Test Act he concurred equally with them and his superiors in the ministry; foreseeing, with the sagacity of a rat, that the latter would drop to pieces from its operation. Upon the unsuccessful Bill, which speedily followed the Test Act, for relieving nonconformists from its pressure, 'Osborne was separated from his new associates, equally as a churchman and a cavalier.' He at once sprung back to the less liberal, which was in fact his natural side. A few imperfect notes have been preserved of his harangue against any surrender even of assent and consent to the doctrinal articles, or a renunciation of the covenant: 'Does think this most unreasonable, and cannot consent to it. It is both to the king and to this house: to the king, because we should seem to encourage the wickedness of those men; to the house, because of the vote. No man he thinks, would ever come in; and he would exclude them. It is a great scandal to bring them in by special act of parliament; the nation groans under it; and he thinks they would return into rebellion?' So far as we may infer from such moonstruck hallucinations, Sir Thomas only abhorred the pope, because he was not an Anglican archbishop of Canterbury. His speeches grew more and more frequent on behalf of government; his biographer remarks, that—

> 'On a proposal for delaying the Money Bill until the Test Act should have passed, he urged the propriety of reposing confidence in the king, and of placing our fleet on a footing with that of the Dutch, with whom England was now again at war. But the reports of the parliamentary addresses of those days do not assist us in ascertaining, whether at this early period of his career, Osborne gave proofs of that skilfulness in debate, and superior understanding, which Lord Dartmouth, who knew him later, and in the House of Lords, largely ascribes to him! The ministers were successful in passing their money Bill; and the Commons got little further than the assertion of their grievances. These consisted in England, of a convoy duty illegally imposed, and of abuses in the quartering and keeping of soldiers. The Irish grievances will show what different forms the *liberality of a faction* assumes. The prayer of the party now was, that no papist should be admitted into the army of Ireland, or to hold any judicial or municipal office, or even to reside, in a corporate town.'—p. 207.

Mr. Courtenay may have notions of his own, as to what he considers 'the liberality of a faction.' But as an impartial historian, he should be careful in brandishing such two-edged swords; lest, in making sly hits at his honest opponents, his weapon may chance to mow down a set of dishonest prejudices on the conservative side. It would have been more to the purpose, had he dwelt upon the probabilities or improbabilities of

his hero ever exhibiting either 'skilfulness in debate,' or 'superior understanding.' The subject of this paper, possessed an intellect which may be gauged, and weighed, and measured, to a nicety. Had any fond flatterer expressed his apprehensions lest such talents should be buried in a napkin, Robert Hall would have answered, that a very small pocket handkerchief might completely answer the purpose. Our author ought also to have mentioned, what he has omitted, that the House of Commons, in voting large supplies on this occasion, avoided every recognition of the Dutch war, with an implicitness which covered them with honour. They would not betray the security of our coasts, by unseasonable parsimony, but the sums were expressed as granted for 'the extraordinary occasions of his majesty.' The dissenters and patriots well enough knew that to accomplish their best objects, they must blend the wisdom of the serpent, with the endurance and harmlessness of the dove. Their sovereign was a hollow, profligate hypocrite. An almost omnipresent hierarchy sat at his feet, with more than papal adulation, ready to proclaim his divine right of reigning, if he would but attach his sceptre to their wealth, immunities, and privileges; which he was profuse in his promises of being willing to do. The peerage was a vulture, its beak ever gnawing into the vitals of the country, like the bird of torture to Prometheus! The House of Lords, says Hallam, 'contained unfortunately an invincible majority for the court, prompt to frustrate any legislative security for public liberty. Thus the Habeas Corpus Act, first sent up to that house in 1674, was lost there in several successive sessions. The Commons therefore testified their sense of public grievances, and kept alive an alarm in the nation by resolutions and addresses, which a phlegmatic reader is sometimes too apt to consider factious or unnecessary.' In the next session of the same year as that in which the Test Act passed, to which nonconformists, through evil report and good report, laudably gave their suffrages, though of course without any compromise of their genuine attachment to religious liberty, the country party succeeded in banishing Buckingham from the palace, and in intimidating Arlington into a change of policy. Sir Thomas Osborne, on the 19th of the intervening June, obtained his high appointment as Lord Treasurer of England. It was always conferred by the presentation of a white staff, and had attached to it an income of £8,000 per annum, besides immense patronage and perquisites. Bishop Burnet tells us, that his estate was become a good deal impaired at this time: which, if true, must have made such vast emolument still more agreeable to him. What his majesty valued most, was freedom from trouble and care, being a perfect Vitellius in his own way:—

umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, jacent torpentque, præterita instantia futura pari oblivione dimiserat! The new premier well knew this on the one hand, and the House of Commons also knew it on the other. Had Charles been a real politician, an able tyrant, or an ambitious warrior, he would have proved far more mischievous, than he even did as a voluptuary, towards the best interests of these kingdoms. In that case, however, Osborne would have never risen above the Navy Board. The prelate of Sarum says, that 'he was a positive undertaking man; so he gave the king great ease, by assuring him, all things would go according to his mind in the next session of parliament. And when his hopes failed him, he had always some excuse ready to put the miscarriage upon; by which means he got into the highest degree of confidence with the king, and maintained it the longest of any that ever served him.' The speech of Lord Shaftesbury, on his coming into the Exchequer to be sworn in, still remains extant, containing some flattery,—some truth,—and some characteristics of his age. 'Kings,' says he, 'are as Gods, and bestow honours, riches, and power, where they please; but in this they are men, that they can only choose, not make a person adequate to their employment.' Persons generally hoped for some improvement, now that Buckingham was gone; since anything appeared better than the Cabal; even although the rumour should be a correct one, that Osborne had agreed to pay Lord Clifford some portion of his salary on resigning. Sir Thomas was ennobled in the following August, as Viscount Latimer. In June, 1674, he was created Earl of Danby.

Charles nevertheless had evidently elevated him too soon: for Arlington, Shaftesbury, and Lauderdale had not as yet withdrawn, although their combination was scattered and broken; nor had even Buckingham himself followed the example of Clifford in going altogether off the scene. Hence the guilty mantle of those wicked conspirators descended upon the new lord treasurer's shoulders. His nomination openly announced him as participator in all the political crimes of his predecessors; more especially that hateful connection with France, which naturally and righteously soon drew upon him the jealousy and execration of the Commons. They refused the supplies, unless it should appear that Dutch obstinacy would render them absolutely necessary. This advance, in boldness of remonstrance, upon their conduct in the previous session may be accounted for, through the Duke of York having avowed himself a Roman Catholic. Lord Danby exerted his utmost efforts in secret to dispose his royal master to pacific designs. Shaftesbury had to surrender up the great seal. The remaining members of the

Cabal were soon furiously proceeded against. Louis the Fourteenth setting narrower limits to his liberality than could have been convenient to the British sovereign, the latter at length concluded an arrangement with Holland, through the Spanish ambassador, in February, 1674. Sir William Temple went forth once more to the Hague as our representative to the States; flattering himself that he had left the court at home quite upon the right tack; upon which our biographer, with all the simplicity in the world, enunciates the following sentences:

'Now that the test act was in force, peace made with the Dutch, and the connexion with France interrupted, there is nothing to object to in the policy of the administration of which Lord Danby was a member. It was equally consistent with his own, and with the public opinion. The treasury now gave relief, in what mode I am unable to say, to the sufferers, by the perfidious shutting up of the exchequer. The sum awarded is affirmed to have been £1,200,000. This was the commencement of a financial administration, which, although the subject of much controversy, most historians have lauded; since under it, the revenue was augmented, while the expenses were diminished. In these departmental matters, Danby had probably his own way; but he had by no means that dominant controul over the affairs of the King, which now belongs to a prime minister. Buckingham was finally cashiered in the spring of 1674; but Arlington remained, a mere cipher, until the 14th of the following September, when he resigned the secretaryship of state, and became lord chamberlain. He was by no means indisposed to a renewal of the connection with Louis, being very jealous of Danby, whom he envied for his easy acquisition of the white staff; and not unwilling, as it is believed, to support his rivalry by the aid of a parliamentary opposition. The two discarded ministers, Shaftesbury and Buckingham, had now become flaming patriots.'—pp. 212, 213.

Such are the notions of this very amiable and moderate memorialist in palliating political misdemeanours. If the surface of matters can be only kept smooth and polished, conservatism remains perfectly satisfied: the jealousies of courtiers, and the fluctuations of the peerage, absorbing all that attention, which is far too sublime to analyze financial measures, or expatiate upon the genuine basement of the social pyramid. It always reminds us of the old chroniclers Froissart and Monstrelet; who weep and wail over the fall of each individual knight and gentleman, throughout their battles, but dispose of the common soldiers as so many nothings, to be murdered by the dozen or score, as the case may be. We venture to conceive, that there were many things 'to object to in the policy of that administration of which Lord Danby was a member.' Besides which, it must be remembered, that he was ostensibly its leader; and so long as he preferred continuing so, with the door of retreat at any moment open to him, he must be held responsible for the iniquity of ten thou-

sand abominations, of which he was cognisant, although taking in them no personal share. He was no Simon Pure amongst knaves and jugglers; but himself the arch-conjuror, palming off upon the public his series of little base meannesses; and endeavouring to aggrandize his own special fortunes with all his might and main. His caution, prudence, and apparent respectability, as compared with his predecessors, were the mere instincts of self-preservation. Through the operation of corruption, and cajolery he reigned and revelled; until enemies more wicked, or perhaps more bold and clever than himself, plucked the stool from under him, and down he fell. He was grand master in an art, introduced from the state-craft of King James the First—that of turning to account the weapons and warfare of mercenary eloquence. An office—a sum of gold—an introduction to gilded circles—even allurements more directly immoral—produced changes, the reverse of alchemy. They hushed many an harangue—varied the side upon which many a vote was ultimately given—made hypocrisy in the two houses as common as hair powder—and frittered away the noblest germs of national prosperity. Mammon ruled the day, we had almost said, without a rival. Burnet tells us, that Danby bribed the less important members, instead of the leaders, which was not found to answer so well; but as Hallam justly remarks, it rather seems probable that he was liberal to all! The parliament itself gained the character and title of the pensioned parliament. The last cited author also observes, that 'he had virtues, as an English minister, which serve to extenuate some great errors, and *an entire want of scrupulousness in his conduct!* Zealous against the church of Rome, and the aggrandizement of France, he counteracted, whilst he seemed to yield to the prepossessions of his sovereign!' Which eulogium strikes our plain understanding as being equivalent to portraying him as one of the greatest scoundrels then about court. Both whigs and tories seem at times scarcely out of the hornbook class in politics. No man, they may depend upon it, can ever be really and truly a great man without being a good man: nor can the wealthy or potent official, who has contrived to scatter every conscientious scruple to the winds of Heaven, carry ought else than a knave's heart beneath his ermine, or under his coronet. We shall see this ere long sufficiently illustrated. Every bow he made the king, as well as every patriotic profession he uttered, was a feature in the grand farce of advancing himself at the cost of both crown and country. Until the people have their due share of power, royal ministers and privileged orders will be, like the sons of Zeruiah to David, too hard for liberalism. The comfort is that freedom is immortal; whilst oppression engenders the

very worm at its root, which is, some day or other, to lay it prostrate in the dust.

Danby now turned his thoughts, through the national fear of Romanism, to some plan of comprehension, which should embrace nonconformity and episcopalianism in one common cause. Richard Baxter went so far as to put upon paper a proposal, that ecclesiastical teachers and schoolmasters should subscribe the doctrines and sacraments of the church of England, as expressed in the thirty-nine articles, according to the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth: they were also to approve, in some general manner the homilies; and set their hands to a declaration against rebellion and sedition. 'But,' says our biographer, 'among the demands made by the nonconformists, some were such as no established church could reasonably be expected to admit. For the principle of the scheme was to leave the liturgy, sacraments, and other ordinances generally established, and in force; but to allow of great latitude in omission, alteration, or nonconformity; and this not only in private houses, but in the parish churches.' No good resulted from these negociations. All such plans indeed must, and ought to fail, wherever they involve any principle of a religious establishment. Episcopacy, swollen into prelacy, through receiving its crozier from the grant of an earthly sovereign, always deals with presbyterianism or congregationalism, on these occasions, as one possessing a *jure divino* claim to the largest slice—the lion's portion—of the secular spoils, that are to be divided. When the lord treasurer, far too dull to discern the genuine nature of the difficulties before him, achieved no reward but disappointment for his pains, he resigned himself at once to a current of universal persecution, devised by Bishops Morley and Ward, who met their brethren of the right reverend bench at Lambeth. Other choice spirits there joined them—Lauderdale, Finch, Coventry, Williamson, and above all, the holder of the white staff. The consequence of their consultation soon appeared, in the shape of an order in council, forbidding attendance at mass, reviving the old catholic disabilities, and penalties; and requiring a rigorous enforcement of the laws against conventicles. St. Paul's, moreover, was to be rebuilt, with respect to which Lord Danby professed ardent zeal; openly accusing those before him in power for having neglected it so long. Still further to conciliate the almost forgotten royalists, he erected at Charing Cross that fine equestrian statue of Charles the First, which had lain for years in concealment; but which few can even now examine without admiration at its merits, as a specimen of art. Parliament soon afterwards reassembled for its thirteenth session, after an interval of fourteen months. The son and successor of the royal martyr forth-

with illustrated that profundity of cunning which we may allow him to have inherited from his father. He boasted in his speech of what he had done to extinguish the fears and jealousies of popery; he being a disguised papist himself at that very moment! More courteously than usual of late years, he requested the loyal assistance of his subjects, to extricate his exchequer from embarrassment, by granting abundant supplies. It was neither more nor less, however, than the wolf requesting the crane to take the bone out of his throat: and who would trust their necks within such perilous jaws? Lord Russell, with Cavendish and his friends, immediately directed their blows at the new minister. 'All we give,' they exclaimed, 'is too little, when the treasury is managed to set up private men, and their heirs. The Earl of Danby has acted in a high and arbitrary manner, having disposed of the monies as he pleased: for he has publicly declared amongst his servants, that a new proclamation is better than an old law.' His dismissal from all employment was therefore moved, and quickly supported by an impeachment of seven articles. Trick, subterfuge, and deep bribery, for the present, dispersed the tempest; but already was that seed germinating, which afterwards produced the revolution. Middle classes began once more to gather together the scattered elements of an energy which had sympathized with Eliot, or supported Pym and Hampden. Defeated in their attempts to ruin Lord Danby by personal accusation, the leaders of opposition resorted to the more ordinary course of impugning the measures of his government. 'He had established, and sincerely endeavoured to maintain, the neutrality of England between France and Holland. But a body of English troops still remained in the service of the King of France, and it was the joint object of the Dutch and Spanish ministers, and of the English opposition, to procure the return of these troops.' The house of Commons, in April and May, 1675, addressed Charles to recall them, and prevent any more from going. He promised the latter, but refused the former, as inconsistent with his honour! So abused was this sacred term to the worst purposes.

It may well be demanded, what these wicked men, both sovereign and cabinet, had really to do with honour at all? Danby now introduced into that hotbed of bigotry and oppression, the House of Lords, a measure, which even his biographer admits, must be accounted the most remarkable of his administration. His brother-in-law, Lord Lindsay, had to officiate as mouth-piece on this occasion, of that principle in politics, which, having horns like a lamb, in the end thunders like a dragon. Passive obedience carries under the veil of meekness, a heart athirst for the murder of patriotism. So it was then, and so

must it be, until the close of time; whether an archbishop Laud wishes to support a Strafford; or his successors, the Puseyites of our own day, would fain prostrate liberty once more under their two swords—the civil and the ecclesiastical. We are of course alluding to the celebrated Non-resisting-test; which, although some have supposed not to have been the genuine offspring of the Lord Treasurer, as to its conception, most certainly became his, by subsequent adoption. It stood, indeed, upon the floor of the upper chamber, in such deformity and ugliness, that to claim too near a relationship, until the public mind had grown accustomed to the *prodigium horridum*, might have seemed rather perilous to the boldest statesman. All persons in council, office, parliament, or the magistracy, were to declare, upon their oaths, as follows:—'I do avow, protest, and declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretext whatsoever to take up arms against his Majesty, and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking up arms, by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commission. And I do swear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or state.' Lingard mentions some alterations afterwards made in it. But John Locke watched the court, and foresaw that it would presently work its own undoing. The debates lasted for sixteen days. Shaftesbury rested his counter-arguments 'upon general objections, and particularly upon speculative difficulties, which might, under various contingencies, be occasioned by the inaction of the test.' The whole bill, Hallam thinks, was propounded as a stone of contention and stumbling amongst the country party; in which presbyterians and parliamentarians were associated with certain disappointed cavaliers. However this might be, it never went beyond the House of Peers; the question of privilege having been purposely started, about Doctor Shirley, and Sir John Fagg, which occasioned successive prorogations. In the contest thus raised, between their lordships and the commons, as to whether the peerage constituted a supreme court of judicature, Charles and his supple minister preached up moderation, and urged on the wheels of an irresponsible yet necessitous government, as well as they could. No parliamentary session for business seems to have occurred until February, 1677. During the long interval, his majesty once more degraded himself into a base pensioner of Louis. He condescended to receive half a million of crowns, for postponing the grand council of these nations for fifteen months. In the beginning of the year 1676, the two sovereigns bound themselves by a formal treaty, of which Danby was without doubt cognizant, not to enter upon any engagements, but by mutual consent; and the Stuart promised,

for a pecuniary consideration, not to call the two houses together, or at least to prorogue and dissolve them, should any patriotic attempts be made to impose anti-gallican arrangements. Our William the Third, through Rouvigny, came afterwards to a knowledge of this traitorous and treacherous compact; on the strength of which, although Lord Danby had advised his master not to execute it, *he nevertheless pressed the French cabinet for the wages;* and no less than £200,000 sterling was actually paid! No wonder that the representatives of the people did their utmost to keep back every supply, within their reach, from such an exchequer!

Upon the clearest perceptions that neither the king nor his white staff could be trusted, even so far back as October, 1675, they had resolved that no sums should be voted for taking off anticipations from the revenue. Our pliant biographer blames them for this; since the executive could scarcely have urged any request more moderate in its character or appearance. Yet supposing they had acceded to the royal solicitations—would their grants have been ultimately anything more than just so much waste of the national property? The notorious Chiffinch, as pander to the pleasures of a wicked monarch, was ready to absorb every shilling he could lay hold of, for purposes too scandalous to sully these pages with in any length of detail. All the bounty of Louis the Fourteenth seemed insufficient to satiate and feed this filthy and abominable sponge! Was the House of Commons to manifest any particular regard for the employer of such a profligate? Instead of giving new supplies for the navy, they appropriated the customs to that service: and though they voted money for building ships, it was by a mere minute majority, that a proposition was negatived for placing the amount to be raised under the custody of the city of London. Meanwhile, Lord Danby ceased not to labour in his vocation. With wretched tools, with an extravagant prince, amidst the multifarious mismanagement inherited from his predecessors in office, he really wrought wonders. Pensions alone swallowed up £145,000 per annum, out of an income, which could not ordinarily be reckoned at more than from £1,200,000, to £1,360,000. Through curious and contemporaneous testimony, we gather, that the entire legal revenues, from 1673 to 1679, returned about £8,200,000, or £1,366,000 a year: besides which, it may be said, there were the disgraceful French subsidies; and the extraordinary supplies granted at different times; so as that for the entire twenty-four years of Charles the Second's reign, these last actually amounted to £11,443,407, or about £476,808 per annum, taking an average. Allowing, however, in the gross, £1,800,000 as the royal annual receipts, the disbursements, on

the other hand, were generally £1,387,770; and always £1,200,000; — besides the contingencies and extraordinaries of two Dutch wars; the preparations for a French one, in 1678; the interest at six per cent. paid upon the £1,200,000 compensation to the sufferers from closing the exchequer; and the refitment of the navy. The anticipations came to as much as £866,000, which may perhaps be considered as the germ of our national debt, now multiplied from thousands to millions. The earl may very likely have done his best amidst such pecuniary discouragements and perplexities; whilst we cannot refrain from smiling, at the almost obstinate reluctance, with which Mr. Courtenay admits irrefragable evidence against the integrity of his hero. It becomes thoroughly resistless, as he proceeds; until we are finally favoured with the following:—

'At last thwarted, and *wrongfully* suspected by parliament, Danby, notwithstanding his predilections against the French interests, did become a party, *unwilling, and indeed scarcely consenting*, to one of Charles's arrangements with the French court, *founded upon the policy which he entirely disapproved*. Although there is no reason to doubt, but that the stipulations of this treaty were sold to France for a renewal of Charles's pension, I cannot concur with those, who are of opinion that Danby's participation in these corrupt bargains commenced during the recess of 1676. I see no reason for doubting his own statement, which fixes, after the prorogation in April, 1677, 'the first time of his knowing any transaction about French money.' Nevertheless, the stipulations, of which *he was undoubtedly conversant, were such as cannot be defended*, in regard either to the policy of England, or the principles and professions of the minister.' '—pp. 237, 8.

In these lines the italics are ours; and we have used them to demonstrate the extraordinary bias which will affect conservative minds, when contemplating certain transgressions perpetrated in their own school of policy. The testimony against the lord treasurer having ever been a personage of common integrity is conclusive from the very commencement; yet we have him portrayed in the light very much of a persecuted statesman! As to the account given by Lord John Russell of his virtuous ancestor, our biographer has the glance of a basilisk, and detects the slightest disposition even towards the commission of an error in judgment. But here, in the case of Lord Danby, a convicted political sinner of many a session, a man who had sworn and forsworn himself until his oaths of official uprightness must have attenuated into mere cobwebs to his conscience,—we meet with a marvellously different mode of treatment. This guilty individual has been 'wrongfully suspected;'—he has been at length convicted of being a party to national treason, yet his

mind is mentioned as having been 'unwilling,' and indeed scarcely 'consenting;'—his own statement is admitted, as to when his criminality really began, as if every rogue at the Old Bailey is not just as plausible in narrowing the limits of his delinquency;—his earlier obliquities are glossed over, or leniently softened down at a somewhat later period, into 'stipulations which cannot be defended:' and yet this selfsame writer can call such a philosopher, as the author of the Essay on the Human Understanding, to account, because in 'his long and spirited narration of what passed about the non-resisting test, the party feeling is too strong to admit of justice being done to the reasons and arguments of the court and its retainers.' The opposition looked at Lord Danby and his conduct, standing closer to both than we do; and, therefore, of course not able to see the proportions of good and evil in his character, either with that clearness or calmness, which posterity alone can manifest. They daily more and more distrusted him, and had most satisfactory grounds for doing so. All his professions and assurances of zeal against France went for little or nothing. The five-and-twenty thousand troops, of as splendid soldiers as the world ever saw, raised suddenly in 1677, under pretexts that the counsels of Louis must at length be resisted, excited the worst apprehensions. We now know, from the correspondence of Barillon in Dalrymple, that Charles and his brother looked to them as useful means for consolidating the royal authority. England meanwhile prospered at home through her general tranquillity and commercial enterprise: but these very circumstances made such as doubted the lawfulness of standing armies at all, the more fearful lest the blessings of secular opulence, dependant as they must ever be upon liberty, should be placed in jeopardy. Danby was endeavouring to repress the free discussion of political topics. An old proclamation was re-issued for the extinction of coffee-houses, because there the tongues of men presumed to canvass the tyranny of government. He attempted at the same time to tamper with the Irish revenues, by farming them out upon that plan of competition, which would produce for himself the greatest advantage. Burnet informs us how 'this secret broke out:' and Lord Widdrington confessed that he made an offer of a round sum to the lord treasurer, with respect to which Halifax observed, that 'it was declined so *very mildly*,' as not to discourage further advances. Ecclesiastical appointments also quickened apprehensions in some quarters. Sancroft was nominated to succeed Sheldon, as archbishop of Canterbury; from whose peculiar principles, the puritans, remembering Laud, began to fear for their ears. When parliament met in February 1677, large ministerial majorities soon demonstrated that matters were to be

carried with a high hand. Buckingham, Salisbury, Shaftesbury, and Wharton, were committed to the Tower for impugning the legality of the Houses meeting without a dissolution, since the prorogation had extended beyond a year. Bribery, then as now, was in the mouth of everybody; and upon the solemn assurances of Courtin, who had succeeded Rouvigny, we ascertain that 'when the king received in January a portion of his annual pension from France, the whole sum was immediately devoted to the purchase of votes in the House of Commons.' In other words, Lord Danby measured and estimated others by his own long arm and itching palm. He thought, and justly thought, that it was only to pay and have!

In this session not only were supplies tardily and scantily given, but the courage of the Commons began to rise against the notorious malversations of the crown. For ships, £584,000, although voted, had to be administered under an order of appropriation, directing that an account of the expenditure should be rendered to the house. His majesty moreover was sorely pressed, upon his foreign affairs. France, Austria, and Spain, were now vying with each other, who should purchase the most effectual interest amongst our British legislators! Who can peruse these pages of our annals without blushing for very shame? Even Russell, Hollis, and the patriots, looked abroad for succour; and some defiled their hitherto fair and spotless names with the contamination of foreign gold. We can tolerate no excuse for their crimes. The views of the two noblemen just named, in their clandestine intercourse with the French ambassador, may have appeared satisfactory to themselves, namely, to detach Louis from Charles,—to countermine the intrigues of their wicked parasites,—to crush the Duke of York and his popish faction,—to procure the disbanding of a dangerous army,—the dissolution of a corrupted parliament,—the dismissal of a bad minister. All this, we admit, may have been true; but it was the policy of less honourable politicians than their great prototypes of the commonwealth: it was whiggery rather than liberalism; it was the expediency, rather than the genuine wisdom of patriotism, sporting with public honesty and individual selfishness, on the very edge of a most perilous precipice. There can be no allowed compromise between right and wrong in first-rate minds. Lord Danby, meanwhile, imitated the merest dabbler in politics, through his introducing measure after measure, to catch votes and good opinions, were that possible, from opposite sections in the senate. Most of these were little else than paper kites, which, soared into the clouds for their appointed hour or purpose, and then fell to the ground abandoned or forgotten. His correspondence with Paris and the Hague thickened rapidly in complexity and inte-

rest. He wished to please his sovereign, keep his place, govern the realm, aggrandize the church of England, check nonconformity and popery, flatter Louis, get his money, cheat him out of the fulfilment of every promise ever made or offered by Charles, and gratify the Prince of Orange. How tangled and strange appears the whole skein of affairs under the management of such a pretender! For the last three years he had cultivated the most amicable intercourse with William, upon the sagacious system of having two strings to his bow. Through Lady Temple, in May 1677, his highness confidentially transmitted a wish to the lord treasurer, that he might be permitted to court the princess Mary. This had been first suggested in 1675, when, after a reluctant consent had been extorted by the king from his brother, the offer was made by Lords Arlington and Ossory to the Prince of Orange, who then received it coolly. Affairs, however, had now altered, and Danby, to his credit, espoused the match warmly. He obtained in September an express invitation for the royal suitor to come over to England. His influence removed a number of difficulties, started in succession, both by his majesty and the Duke of York, who proposed that the marriage should be deferred until after the conclusion of peace. Happily it took place on the 4th of November, leading as it did eleven years afterwards to most important consequences. Louis the Fourteenth, who had pledged himself to pay Charles 2,000,000 livres for proroguing parliament from December to April 1678, fired at the intelligence of this auspicious union, and stopped his subsidies. Miserable chaffering and deception now ensued. Hostilities were menaced against France to secure proper terms with regard to the Netherlands. Votes of supply nevertheless passed with extreme difficulty, from the prevalence of distrust amongst all parties. Clarges made a motion and carried it, that no monies should be really appropriated, until his majesty should have satisfied the opposition with regard to religion; which so exasperated the king, that Barillon being on the spot ready to renew any pecuniary arrangements, that might buy over so profligate a potentate, he at once fell in with them, got upon his old tack of succumbing to the Grand Monarque for money, and compelled the conclusion of a treaty at Nimeguen in the autumn of that year, 1678. The lord treasurer, throughout these atrocious negotiations, bemired himself more and more deeply in political abominations. Thus, at the command of Charles, he wrote to Montague at Paris in March, as follows:—

'In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects to have six millions of livres a year for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the king of France, because it will probably be two or three

years before the parliament will be in a humour to give him any supplies, after the making of any peace with France; and the ambassador here has always agreed for that sum, though not for so long a time.' But Lord Danby, recently adorned with the Garter, the price probably of his compliances in these unconstitutional particulars, was thus working out his own overthrow. In attempting to overreach all parties he had displeased all. The popish plot also drew him into the labyrinth of its mysterious mazes. He is reported to have said on seeing Titus Oates, 'There goes one of the saviours of England, but I hope to see him hanged within a month.' That brief term, however, laid trains of intrigues with consequences far differing from the treasurer's anticipations. The exclusion of catholics from office added, indeed, another leaf to his laurels won in the way of passing test acts; but he opposed the militia bill, and started fresh measures for strengthening the prerogative, and rendering the crown finances more or less beyond the reach of being interfered with by the lower house. Yet he had touched the zenith of his premiership, and was about to be eclipsed in the political hemisphere.

Ralph Montague, to whom he had addressed that fatal communication, in March 1678, now happened to be aspiring after the office of Secretary of State, to which Danby in preference nominated his old acquaintance Sir William Temple. The disappointed agent, hateful even to the harlots and hangers-on of his royal employer, left Paris in dudgeon, obtained a seat in parliament for Northampton, boasted to Barillon that he could now ruin the lord treasurer, and that for 100,000 crowns as a gratuity to himself, as well as 100,000 livres to bribe a sufficient number of senatorial colleagues into the scheme, he would undertake to do it. Montague, it should be known, had been one of the tempters used by Charles and Louis towards Danby, to allure him into his most crooked courses: and, therefore, that he should thus turn upon him through spitefulness, mortification, and a thirst for vengeance, marvellously illustrates the times. Cabinets were then dens of thieves, often without a vestige even of that specious and probably exaggerated honour, which has occasionally been discovered amongst highwaymen. This paragon of ambassadors went to work in his project with the subterranean industry of a mole. Danby having been informed of his intentions, as also that he had intrigued with the papal nuncio at Paris, endeavoured to be beforehand with him on this ground, and ordered his papers to be seized by royal authority, acquainting the House of Commons that the interests of protestantism lay concerned in so stringent a process. Montague, in no respect daunted, rose up forthwith in his place, and stated his be-

lief that the real object in seizing his papers was to obtain possession of some letters 'of consequence, which he had to produce about the designs of a great minister!' Several members were then despatched for a particular box which he pointed out. The key had been already seized, although not applied; but the house commanding that the lock should be broken, Montague immediately presented the ill-fated letter from the lord treasurer, from which we have given an extract; and on the strength of which the Commons resolved, by a majority of 179 against 116, to impeach the delinquent without further delay. The earl then sent down two papers from Montague, explaining the intrigues of Louis with William lord Russell and other leaders of the opposition! These were read after their delivery by the Speaker, but no further notice appears to have been taken of them. Danby was charged upon six different articles: that he had traitorously encroached on legal authority by treating with foreign powers unknown to the council; that he had aimed at introducing arbitrary government; that he had impeded the assemblage of parliament for French money: that he was popishly affected, being no friend to the discoverers of the late horrid plot; that he had wasted public treasure in pensions and secret services to the extent of £231,602 in two years; and that after diverting one branch of revenue to private uses, he had obtained sundry considerable grants from the crown property to himself. He admitted that his service had been profitable to him, but averred that in six years he had not, as high treasurer, got half of what others had gained in inferior situations. Charles, however, at length dissolved this second long parliament, and summoned a fresh one. Seymour, on being re-elected speaker, was refused approval on the part of the king, there having been a quarrel between this gentleman and the earl, or, as some say, his countess. The Commons, on a respectful remonstrance, were replied to by Charles, 'Gentlemen,—all this is but loss of time, and, therefore, I command you to go back to your house, and do as I have directed you!' A compromise was ultimately effected as to the point of form: but where men hated Danby before, they despised him now. Attacks on him were renewed instantly. Even resignation only whetted their fury. The patriots moved his majesty for a committal; but Charles told them he had given his lordship, of his own accord, a pardon under the great seal; acknowledging manfully enough, that the obnoxious communications upon which his impeachment had been founded, were written by his own order. A bill of attainder then passed, to which he surrendered for his trial, but pleaded his pardon. A whirlwind of legal argumentation followed, silenced at last by a second dissolution, which left the culprit straitly shut up in

the tower, crestfallen, browbeaten, and so reduced as then, for almost the first time *not to be hated:* but only as Algernon Sidney wrote at the moment—'Never was a man less pitied than he!' He remained prisoner from April 1679 to February 1683, when he was bailed by Judge Jeffries—himself in £20,000, and four of his noble friends being also bound in £5,000 a piece, on his behalf. Charles the Second received him kindly on his enlargement, but as a statesman he took no further part in public affairs, until tories, as well as whigs, were turning their attention to the Prince of Orange. In short, a revolution had now become necessary, and so practised a placeman could hardly remain an idle spectator.

William had sent over his most confidential agent, Mr. Dyckveldt, to sound the troubled waters; and amongst others, he was to confer with Lord Danby. The latter wrote his highness a long letter in reply, committing himself as little as possible, but opening the gate very gradually for further communications. In another letter, bearing date the 27th of March, 1688, his lordship affords the first hint of suspicions, which soon became general amongst the protestants, that a supposititious heir was about to be imposed upon these kingdoms. Whether Danby entertained such apprehensions sincerely or not, seems difficult to determine. The queen was confined on the 10th of June; and, exactly three weeks afterwards, on the day of the acquittal of the bishops, he was one of the seven who signed the famous invitation. The proposer of the Non-resisting Test, as his memorialist rightly observes, was clearly convicted of gross inconsistency by his subscription to this paper; which breathes nothing, from beginning to end, but the use of forcible means for effecting certain changes in the government. The tory Lord Danby, then met the whig Lord Devonshire, at Whittington in Derbyshire; after which another conference between the same noblemen took place in Yorkshire, about the commencement of October. James now summoned him to London, since he had tendered 'offers of service,' without, however, the slightest intention of fulfilling them. We differ from Mr. Courtenay *toto cælo,* with regard to the lawfulness of such dissimulation; for meanwhile he had become actively zealous in the service of the rising sun. An aristocracy may venture to dispense with strict moral obligations: but the penalties of eternal justice will nevertheless be enacted from it in the long run. When William was advancing from Exeter towards Salisbury, Danby put himself at the head of a hundred horse, intimidated four troops of mounted militia to join them, and secured York for the revolution. The lords Lumley, Fairfax, and Willoughby, quickly attached themselves to the snowball; although it rolled onward with some trepidation, and

might often have dissolved, had not their tory leader reminded his retainers, that they were already up to their chins in treason; that the king was a monstrous coward; and, therefore, that it was only by continuing to advance, that they could hope to save their necks, or keep their heads upon their shoulders:—

'But he had recourse to artifice for keeping them in the right course. He intercepted all letters, and produced those only, which answered his purpose: and, when news came, which he could not intercept, that the king would pardon all that deserted from the prince, he caused a fabricated letter to be brought to him by express, just as he was sitting down to dinner with his friends;—It was only a letter he said, from Lord ———, and might be read at leisure. After dinner he drew the letter from under his plate and read it:—his correspondent assured him as a secret worth knowing, that the king, as soon as he could cause a disunion among them, was resolved to hang up all whom he could get into his hands. At another time, he intercepted a letter from one of the king's friends in Yorkshire, acquainting his majesty, that the adherents of the prince in those parts amounted to about 4,000 men. Those, to whom he shewed this letter, proposed that it should be stopped; but their artful chief added a cypher to the number, and thus sent to the king authentic information, that 40,000 men of Yorkshire had risen against him. Lord Danby, and his companions, became masters of Hull, Newcastle, and Berwick. Yet, decisive as these measures were, amounting beyond all doubt to high treason against the king, Danby did not join the prince, nor repair to London;—where he did not arrive in obedience to the repeated messages of William, until the evening of the 26th of December, the day after the meeting of peers, when they invited his highness to take upon him the administration of affairs, until a parliament should assemble.'—p. 325, 6.

In plain language he was doing his utmost to enhance the value of his services; and thus raise their price in this new political market. Should he obtain the white staff a second time,—which he totally failed in doing,—it was not his intention to share its emoluments with any one else; supposing it to be true, that he had ever done so before, with Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. The vaunted convention now met, and its consequences are too well known to need recapitulation in these pages. Our admiration of what then occurred is not enthusiastically fervent; our impression being, that the events of 1688-9, fastened upon us the yoke of an oligarchy; a bondage in itself so disastrous and galling, that Great Britain must have long ago shaken it off, had not just such a modicum of good been achieved, as induced her, for the sake of peace, to remain satisfied with about one quarter instead of the mighty whole, which she ought to have. Since that time also, our government has seemed to us, neither more nor less than an enormous fraud. Freedom and genuine patriotism have been cheated into acting a part in the constitutional

farce: so that the rights of conscience, equality before the law, equity in taxation, representation of the people, have all dwindled into delusive shadows,—scarcely worth the fighting for. Toryism, feudalism, and even whiggery,—by which last we mean half-heartedness in the love of liberty,—had all far too much to do with enthroning King William, not to leaven the entire lump of quackery, with their own peculiar iniquities. Lord Danby had the interests of his country about as much at heart, as selfishness ever has,—when employed in lining its nest with stolen feathers, or cooking its provisions with purloined fuel. Roguery, treachery, despotism, oppression, and prelacy, have ridden by turns on the back of the revolution! *Dum delirantur reges plectuntur Achivi!* Such are our honest and deliberate opinions. Lord Danby wanted Mary, at one moment, to have received the crown alone: but, when driven by circumstances to the wall, through feeling that the courage of a man grew necessary for the crisis, he acquiesced in the vote of vacancy, trusting that the successor to James would not last many years. The presidentship of the council was his reward; besides an advancement in the peerage,—being made Marquis of Carmarthen. His old rival Halifax, having drawn a more lucrative prize in the lottery, helped to depress him. He, and his fellow harpies, however, quickly set on foot their infamous intrigues with the exiled family. He contrived also to get himself considered the champion of the high-church party; after coalescing more closely every day with bishop Compton, and the clergy. But no longer could he enjoy his pastime as the sole ruler of affairs. Attempts were even ventured to revive the impeachment; but they dropped one after the other into oblivion.

His name will nevertheless always remain connected with certain important discussions; such as whether the House of Lords can refuse to commit upon a charge of treason sent up by the House of Commons; that a pardon from the crown can be no longer pleaded in bar for sheltering a guilty minister; and that dissolutions do not terminate impeachments. When Halifax and Shrewsbury had withdrawn from administration, Lord Carmarthen aimed at something like a revival of his former activity, and his wonted greediness. Mary appears to have little liked him. She complains to her husband, then absent in Ireland, about his being 'mighty hot' in the appointment of Russell as naval commander; as also at his wanting £8,000 for his daughter, Lady Plymouth—that sum, in the poverty of the exchequer, being thought 'too great to be spared.' Subsequently he worried the King with complaints of his colleagues; and they of him, as 'being very peevish.' The Dukedom of Leeds was conferred upon him in 1694; after which, in the ensuing session, he ad-

vised his royal master to consent to the triennial bill. Yet another impeachment remained in store for him, through his having received £5,000 from the East India Company, for his influence in passing the charter for a renewal of their privileges. Burnet says, that the proceedings were hushed up, because too many great people, perhaps on both sides, were implicated in these corrupt practices. At the close of 1697, the civil list was granted to William the Third for life; a measure quite conformable to the monarchical and arbitrary principles of his Grace. For two years more he therefore clung to office, although for a long period Shrewsbury had been re-appointed as one of the secretaries of state. Both finally retired in May, 1699. On the accession of Queen Anne, he was sworn of her privy council; and in 1703 concurred with Marlborough, Godolphin, and others, in supporting without success an act for preventing occasional conformity. In 1705, we find him resisting the attempt to bring over to England the heir presumptive to the throne; and croaking in the most approved style of conservatism against the dangers of the established church. The celebrated trial of Sacheverel produced him for the last time upon the public stage, and that, too, for no less a purpose than to condemn the revolution of 1688! It had failed to answer his expectations, or, in other and simpler phraseology, he had not got enough by it. Even to the elector of Hanover, in the teeth of his disavowal of any but hereditary right, he could express his devoted attachment. He published his collection of letters in 1710; after which nothing further is heard of him, than that he continued his attendance in the House of Lords to the end of the session in 1712. In that summer, on the 26th of July, at Easton, a seat of Lord Pomfret, in Northamptonshire, he expired in the eighty-first year of his age: about as much missed, it would seem, from the page of history, as though her Majesty had extinguished one of her wax candles in the royal drawing room!

His amiable biographer, regretting that there are no particulars extant of his dissolution, dismisses him with these neutral characteristics: 'He certainly was not a public scoffer; or distinguished in the profligate age in which he lived, for gross immorality. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may assume that he believed in the doctrines of the church, of which he was the zealous and constant advocate; nor do we see reason to believe that he, in his practice, deviated more or less than men of the world in general from the duties of morality. He was a man of unpopular manners. Of such men, the good qualities are depreciated, and the faults exaggerated. From the false position in which he was placed, as a statesman, during the most prominent part of his history, he is the idol of no section

of political writers: *in his principal views he was sound and consistent;* in his practice, as a minister, weak and wavering.' Alas, for conservatism in Mr. Courtenay; and for whiggery in Mr. Hallam, who conceives that his 'corrupt policy, although highly culpable, was not unprecedented; it was even conformable to the court standard of duty; he was rather a minister to be pulled down than a man to be severely punished: his one great and undeniable service, to the protestant and English interests, should have palliated a multitude of errors:' as if this happy accident had originated from any intrinsic virtue, ability, foresight, or disinterestedness. Neither do we wish to be unreasonably harsh or severe. The plan of this article has been, as far as possible, to let facts speak for themselves. The statesmen of those times undoubtedly were among the worst of mankind. We never revert to their annals without shuddering at the depravity of our species, both male and female. We seem to fancy ourselves thrown upon a continent which has but just emerged, say for about a generation, from some deluge of immorality and uncleanness. There is a sliminess and rankness belonging to the entire retrospect. All the reptiles are large and monstrous. The fowls of prey are on a tremendous scale—fearful in their flight, and filthy in their feeding and habits. But of the more generous savages—such as lions, elephants, or useful domestic quadrupeds, there are few or none. Society in its highest and noblest forms, based upon religion, cemented by ties of affection or sympathy, and producing mutual advantages, presents the eye with no vestiges of its existence. Potent Nimrods for ever cross the scene in the cruel act of hunting either the souls or bodies of men; like Orion in the shadowy Hades of the Odyssey,

> Θηρας ομω ειλεῦντα κατ' ασφυδελον λειμῶνα
> Τους αυτος κατεπεφνεν εν οιοπολοισιν ορεσσι,
> Χερσιν εχων ροπαλον, παγχαλκεον, αιεν 'ααγες!

There appears no love—no holiness—no quietness—no sweets of companionship. Of course all this must be understood with innumerable limitations, since we speak only of the general surface of historical description. Yet Sir Thomas Osborne, Viscount Latimer, Earl of Danby, Marquis of Carmarthen, Duke of Leeds, never seems to have possessed a single friend. The worthies of the former half of the seventeenth century tarried not long enough to do more than sow the seeds of principles, which, after lying in the soil of the middle and lower classes for ages, have their harvest as yet to come. The restoration drove such numbers from our shores of those who were the salt of the earth; and at the same time so corrupted the total atmosphere of society and government, that the Andrew Marvels of that period wandered

up and down in despair, adopting even the language of the poet too often in vain:

> Diluvio ex illo tot vasta per æquora vecti
> Dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus
> Innocuum, et cunctis undamque auramque patentem!

If Danby must be judged by the day in which he flourished, we can only admit that he was worthy of it. All we ask in conclusion is, that the school and system in which he numbers almost exclusively his admirers, may never permanently succeed in establishing an influence over us: we mean, from this time forward. His order, the aristocracy, have governed these realms long enough; we believe from 1690 to 1830. Will the House of Lords now look forward to a renewed lease of their power, under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel? We imagine not: *haud facile libertas et* DOMINI *miscentur!* We rather conceive that there is an hour rapidly approaching, when all the mummeries of religious establishments—all the oppressive privileges and prejudices of feudalism—all the hereditary legislation which has ground down our masses, and encumbered us with the largest national debt in Europe—will be buried in one sepulchre, amidst the universal triumphs of an emancipated world!

Art. II. *Endeavours after the Christian Life.* A volume of Discourses. By James Martineau. pp. 347. London: J. Green, Newgate-street.

THESE discourses, as the title imports, are practical and not controversial. Without any connexion with each other, and often without any with their texts, they treat upon various points of sentiment and duty more or less important in themselves, and in their relation to the general subject. Our readers will expect to find in them great indications of mental force and beauty. Nor will they be disappointed. They are the production of a subtle and imaginative mind. What Robert Hall said of himself, Mr. Martineau cannot say—that he never has an image but when he wants one. The just description of his style would be, not that it abounds with figures, but that it is altogether figurative. He thinks in symbols. The wonder is, that so acute and logical a mind should not keep a more severe control over its fancy, and write a book of poetry for a volume of discourses. The style is sometimes in sympathy rather with a sickly sentimentality, than with the views of life and duty, which he cherishes and teaches. We would, with all

respect, suggest to him the wisdom of infusing greater vigour and manliness into it, as none knows how, when he chooses, to clothe a sentiment with greater strength, or join to it a sharper point—and to assign to his imagination the office of providing the occasional adornment, and not the habitual vesture, of his thoughts. A little more of general severity will not make his tenderness less soft and sweet. Tears and flowers may tire.

The Christian life. It is a glorious subject. 'Endeavours' after it are the highest and worthiest of all endeavours. It is the end of all human life, of all divine religion. In nothing else do the powers and passions of the soul find full development, and exercise, and rest. We are not men till we are Christians. And what but this embodies the conception and design of religious things—of truth—of institutions—of providence? This is the building to which they are the scaffolding; the kernel, of which they are the shell; the spirit, of which they are the body. We love this subject, for its own sake. But its selection by Mr. Martineau gives it an additional interest to us of a peculiar kind. We would not conceal the fact, that we value the book spiritually, chiefly as an indication. It is not the character of the discourses, but the creed of their author that makes us notice it. To see such a work from such a quarter is something fresh. Unitarianism has been for the most part anxious to pull down rather than build up. This has arisen perhaps as much from its circumstances as its spirit, its relation to other systems as the nature of its own. Being, in heresy, a very 'Hebrew of the Hebrews'—the 'straitest sect' of schism, if schism meant what it is commonly, but foolishly, supposed to mean—'the dissidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the protestant religion'—it has had to do fierce battle both for external security and from internal conviction; its attention has been thus diverted too much from the spiritual functions of all systems. With one hand it has 'held the weapon,' but not always with the other 'wrought in the work.' It has been more concerned about the form and materials of the temple than the shekinah, even its own shekinah, *if it have a glory*. But the scene is being changed. An evident impression prevails among some of its disciples, as elsewhere, that it is a poor thing to destroy alone, even if it be error that is destroyed, but a glorious thing to create and cherish—the one 'hath no glory by reason of the glory that excelleth.' This feeling may be incidentally helped by the little success of the destructive agency hitherto employed. Nor is this disparagement. We are always learning from experience, and one way in which we learn is, that the failure of our plans leads us to question our policy. The difficulty of

success suggests the inquiry—Why seek it? *Cui bono?* But we do not ascribe to this cause any power or place that would exclude the operation of better principles. It is certain that men of nearly all systems are thirsting for more spiritualism. The most technical, and the least technical—the most orthodox, and the least orthodox—the most superstitious, and the most sceptical—are asking for something deeper, stronger, of more ethereal and warmer life than they have known. It is the origin of new classes—it is the wonderful transformation of old ones. It leads to division in some directions, to union in others, for the principle of fellowship is being changed, and old bonds will not suffice for the young spirit—the new wine must have new bottles. Hence men of Mr. Martineau's school are getting to care less for literal modes, and more for living power. They are assaying to clothe their skeleton with flesh, and to breathe into it a breath of life. We can imagine the wonder and dismay with which a Belsham or a Priestley would contemplate, in visiting the earth afresh, the system which they left, as it is now held and worked by some of their better scholars; the mixture of consternation and indignation with which they would gaze into the sepulchre where they had deposited their still faith, at 'not finding there the *body*.' They would have to read the pregnant history of time since their departure, before they could comprehend the 'signs' of the time now present. It is impossible to contemplate this position of unitarianism, at least as far as some of its abettors are concerned, without interest. It is good in itself, it is better in its promise. We confess we have more hope of unitarians from their own aspirations, than we have from doctrinal discussions. The views of the intellect and the moral conditions of the heart act and react upon each other—but it is a more effectual as well as nobler thing for the soul to require, than for the understanding to be schooled into, a scriptural faith. Who would not prefer an extension of the body which is the natural effect of growth, to that brought about upon the bed of a Procrustes? Aspirations after anything like the Christian life will not remain long apart from something like the Christian truth.

It has been already intimated, that the discourses now before us do not consist of any *systematic* representation of the elements, or efforts for the promotion, of the Christian life. 'No formal connexion,' observes the author, 'will be found among the several discourses in this volume. Prepared at different times, and in different moods of meditation, they are related to each other only by their common relation to the great ends of responsible existence. The title, indeed, expresses the spirit, rather than the matter, of the book;—which

'endeavours' to produce, rather than describe, the essential temper of the Christian life.' Still we may justly expect to find it, in the main, an exponent of the views of the author on that momentous subject, and of the methods which he supposes to be most fitting and forcible for their realization. In some way or other his conception of the thing will be suggested, and not feebly, and the relation of his principles to it will be sufficiently revealed to form a judgment. Did we not so think, the book would not answer the purpose for which we have selected it, which is to record our solemn conviction of the want both of Christian character and spiritual power in the faith which its author holds and advocates. With sundry modifications, which in so Proteus-like a system are not worthy of a mention, he is a unitarian; the points in which he may be considered as differing from many of his brethren, giving him an advantage and not a disadvantage, in connexion with our present object.

Our great complaint of unitarianism has always been its destitution of that efficacy, without which the office of a religion, and especially of a revealed religion, cannot be fulfilled. It is easy, and but too common, to represent us as bigot battlers for mere opinions, intellectual images. It requires but little talent, and less candour, to describe our view of the necessity of faith as, in any sense, involving a substitution of the ideas of the understanding, for moral principles and graces. 'The belief of the truth' is needful to salvation, just because it has a natural and living connection with all that is holy and divine. The truth (our view of it, of course) is the engine of religion and holiness. It is 'the voice' of God speaking into life 'his image.' So far from putting *mere opinions* (as if any such things could be!) in the place of other and better things, we value them only with a view to those things. Differing entirely from those who seem to think, with as little philosophy as scripture, that creeds —by which we mean not doctrines printed, but believed—respecting the gravest and most gracious matters, can be separated, either as to cause or consequence, from the deepest moralities of the soul, we value the sentiments which constitute general orthodoxy, for their position and power, in relation to the sanctities and services of godliness, and, by the same rule, we disesteem unitarianism. We do not complain simply of its negative character—that is nothing, alone. It is the nature of the things which it denies, that makes the denial important. Faith is not to be judged of arithmetically. It is not the number of its points that decides its worth. There may be strong faith in a few things, and weak faith in many. But it does not follow, as a thing of course, that it will be so, and the character of the things must be considered, before we are in a condition to say

that, in any given case, it can be so. Unitarianism does reject the things whose presence and whose power are necessary to all that constitutes the worth and glory of the christian life. Tried in whatever way, and by whatever, test it can be tried, it is found deplorably defective. The application of the spiritual stethescope only discovers the unsoundness of its most vital parts.

The christian life—*what is it?* In order to an answer, we must consult the recorded statements and sentiments of those whose work it was to teach us everything respecting CHRIST. This life has some connection with him, from whom it takes its name. It is not every life that men may call the christian life, that is the christian life. There must be not only a connection of it with Christ, but a connectionof the right kind and extent, to justify the application of the title. And to ascertain what that connection is, we must have recourse to those from whom we have received all we know respecting Christ, in any of the modes in which he may be contemplated. What, then, is the position assigned to Christ by the apostles in relation to this subject? Upon this point the information is abundant. There is no darkness, or dimness about their intimations. The fact is, that they were too full of this theme, not to dwell upon it with the utmost explicitness. Nothing is more striking in their writings, than the evident and entire absorption of their minds, by christian sentiments—by their ideas of Christ. So thoroughly occupied were they with them, that they express them constantly, not as if making out a case, or saving a point, or vindicating a pretension, but as from 'the abundance of their hearts.' They do it naturally and heartily, from spontaneous overflowing of the soul. They delight to do it. The smallest suggestion—the most incidental reference—carries them away. Rules of logic and of language, are nothing, when Christ is concerned. If they come but just in sight of him, they forego everything, or rather, they are always in sight of him—full and open sight. His lightest touch acts most magically on their hearts — the feeblest tones of his voice drown all sounds besides. So filled were they with him, that they seem never to exhaust, or scarcely to express their views; appearing not straightened, lest they should say too much, but puzzled how they should say enough respecting him. He supplies all the topics on which they would dilate. Their christian life lives only in him. He is not one thing or another thing to it, but all things. There is no principle or process of it that does not connect itself directly and fully with what he is—what he has done—his sufferings and his glory—his character and claims. He is its author and its end, its motive and its model, its rule and its reason, its soul and

its life. Such is the view which the apostles give us of Christ's relations to the life of God within us. Are these the relations which in the discourses before us, or the system which they generally represent, he sustains to it? Our objection is not that Mr. Martineau has no more verbal references to Christ. To such an objection we know what he would say; what, indeed he has said in his preface:—'The author would have introduced a larger number of discourses having direct reference, in word as well as in spirit, to the divine ministry of Christ, did he not hope to follow up the present volume by another. * * * * In the meanwhile, he trusts that those who, in devout reading of books and men, look for that rather which *is* Christian, that which *talks* of Christianity, will find in this little volume no faint impression of the religion by which he, no less than they, desires to live.' But not to say that *words* are, after all, the necessary body and shape of thoughts, and that the men who give us our ideas of Christ did not content themselves with any vague or infrequent allusions to him—we ask, is there not in Mr. Martineau's conceptions, what must always forbid *such references* as the apostles did continually make? Would his faith in Christ demand, or suggest, or permit them? Would any references to the 'divine ministry of Christ,' fulfil the meaning, realize the comprehensiveness, of apostolical statements? Or to put it in another way. If the apostles, who had the Spirit promised them to teach more fully, what Christ had taught by hints and with comparative obscurity, had held the views of Christ's relations and influence, which unitarianism in its greatest maturity embodies, would they naturally, or at all, have chosen the expressions, and uttered the descriptions, which they did? Would their forms have been the easy and genuine dictate in minds that had been Hebrew, of such sentiments as these:—Christ taught the true paternity of Providence—revealed a life immortal in words and acts—expressed a moral manifestation of God—was the living image of spiritual principles, the model man—died, that he might be denuded of his mortal relations, and be sublimated into universality? We say—not; and therefore whatever may be claimed for the life revealed in these discourses, in no way can we discern its right to be esteemed a 'christian life.' It is sheer delusion altogether to call it so. The book may be considered a juster exhibition of the actual place which Christ has in the author's views, than any other kind of book. It is one thing to be endeavouring to make out a sense which shall satisfy the exigencies of particular passages, but quite another to be speaking and acting out one's own views. Whatever may be said in reference to Christ's death and present relations by unitarians, under the pressure of

theological debate—what is it all, when applied to practical purposes? Nothing. There is no need or use for it. Paul's conception of the virtue and influence of Christ's death was one that made him ever look to it, when treating of the new nature. Mr. Martineau's one that requires no such recognition, nor any recognition at all. Christ is to him, in fact, *an example, and nothing more*, and a child might just as well expect to grow through beholding the reflection of a giant in the water, as a guilty, depraved creature, expect to become partaker of 'true holiness,' by gazing on his Christ.

This is not the only want of resemblance to the principles and modes of the Bible in the whole scope and strain of the discourses before us. Indeed thus tried, there is hardly a point in relation to which, whatever truth or beauty they may possess as far as they go, they do not leave the sense of miserable defect and contrast. The religion which they describe—for after all there is more description of it than any thing else—is little more than poetry. It is wonderfully denuded of personal relations. Man is a solemn, silent witness of things: he looks upon them with emotions of tenderness and awe, and that is all. The facts and sentiments that formed the staple of discourse to prophets and apostles, with which all their reasoning and persuasions had a living incorporation, and out of which their power entirely arose, these have no office or existence here. The whole universe and all within it is a picture, and has no influence but what a picture has. Impersonality is marked every where as far as religion is concerned. Not only is Christ an image, but there is little besides images to be found at all. God himself is scarcely more than one among many objects in the 'rayless scene', which the imagination dwells upon, and were he, by some means or other, removed from the eye, no more serious consequences would ensue than the loss of a magnificence. He is a being without a government, and without a character. Sin, seldom so called, is injustice, not disobedience; the violation of right, not rebellion against authority. Consistently enough hell is only the fruit of painful thoughts and recollection. There is anguish, but no punishment; but by what means the anguish is to be produced, how sins are to become so painful, is not explained. Prayer is any thing but what the name imports; the expression of reverence, sorrow, love, trust, but not prayer. It is 'not for a purpose, but from an emotion.' It is the utterance of what is, not the petition for what is desired to be. And men! why, never did they look such passive, purely passive beings as here. Had the effort been to treat them in a way most opposite to that of Christ and his disciples, a greater measure of success could not have been secured. There is consistency in this.

It is more the result of the belief, or rather of the want of belief, than of the natural habit of the author's mind. There are not—how could there be?—any charges made of 'desperate wickedness,' any invitations to promised blessings, any expostulations respecting sin, any warnings about perdition, any exhortations to duty. The preacher is not a preacher, though he may be a painter creating a landscape of vivid splendour or tender beauty, an anatomist exposing to our view the powers and wonders of our human nature, a lecturer displaying the mysteries of his selected science. But aught that looks like proclamation, that imports the messenger, will be sought in vain. It is all the air of the philosopher of old, not of the men that had 'a gospel' for the poor and guilty, and not the air alone, but all the matter too. The association, in thought alone, of such a system with the earnest missions of ancient or of modern ministries would be of all things the most grotesque. He could only be suspected of satire who should represent it as the impelling principle of such a work as Whitfield's, or the cause of such success as his. It is not in its nature to take that form. According to it, to urge to faith would be the greatest unbelief, and to command obedience nothing short of rebellion against the soul.

One of the most common, and not the least useful, tests of systems is their actual results. What they do, throws light on what they are. If men are not what they should be, and if moral excellence is the end of all wise efforts to do them good, we make no rash or rude demand when religious systems, claiming to have the truth or Spirit of God, are required to show their 'fruit.' This is a species of utility not to be despised by any that possess it. Tried by this rule, unitarianism is 'found wanting.' Its working shows its worthlessness. To hint at its slow progress, or rather rapid decline, might seem ungracious, yet is it not a truth, and one not insignificant? The 'great year of Providence' may afford some comfort in such a state of things, but what is to be said when the actual circumstances of the case are well considered? Allowing what is not implausible, that it is difficult to substitute a simpler for a more complex faith—that men are indisposed to yield their religious sentiments when none are offered in their stead; still are there no masses without faith at all? It may be hard to tell upon the people, who believe already in some form of Christian truth, although they have furnished ever the chief converts to unitarianism, without, so far as general observation goes, any marked improvement in their characters; but the plea will not suffice when the question concerns the influence of Christianity as restored to its simplicity, before it was corrupted by apostolical Jews, or philosophising Gentiles, upon the altogether irreligious. Yet is there 'no voice?' We

ask, not what is it in the study, or the lecture-room, but what *does* it among the degraded, the vicious, the profane? Whom does it restore? 'As it was in the beginning, is now'—its moral disciples are either the growth of other faiths, or men whose circumstances or whose constitutions would guarantee their virtue. The best test of a religious system is its power to reclaim. The history of unitarian reclamations, we fear, would be a short record. But may we ask again, what is its influence where it is? Are there signs of deep religiousness? Since Belsham and Priestley confessed the undevoutness of their sect, and the greater devoutness of others, there has been, so far as we have read and seen, no change for the better. Devoutness is not the characteristic feature of public unitarian worship, whether 'prayer is by the printing press,' or by the pen, and between the preaching services and the family there is nothing to indicate its presence. Mr. Martineau may confess, and try to comfort himself respecting the neglect of secret and spiritual exercises and habits, but we can assure him that his language describes his own denomination only—a fact to which we have been familiarized by the works of men of his own faith. It has never occasioned our astonishment, nor does it now. The following passage, which may be considered as giving in few words the whole case of the views which are contained in the work before us may well forbid astonishment.

'There is nothing vainer or more hopeless than the direct struggles of the mind to transform its own affections, to change by a fiat of volition the order of its tastes, and the intensity of its love. Self-inspiration is a contradiction: and to suspend, by upheavings of the will, the force of habitual desire, is no less impossible than, by writhings of the muscles, to annihilate our own weight. This, you will say, is a hard doctrine; that our religion demands that which our nature forbids; invites a regeneration of the heart; after which, the will may strive in vain. * * * * But if Christianity presents the perplexity, its spirit affords the solution. * * * * In Christ it furnishes us with an image of divinest beauty that we may turn our eye on *that*, not upon ourselves: and perverse, even to disease, is the temper, which, instead of being engaged with that sublimest work of the great Sculptor of Souls, whines rather over its own deformity, and seeks to cure it by unnatural contortions.'

And is that all? We thought as much. 'An image!' An image of health for the sick—of wisdom for the foolish—of comfort for the wretched! Verily, it was not by an image that strongholds were pulled down, and thoughts brought into captivity to law of old; nor will they be now.

The root of the evil, after all, is very deep. A suggestion of the danger of mental pride would probably excite a smile, yet might it not be out of place. Great reverence for truth which a man be-

lieves, a reverence which may appear to absorb his whole soul, is not incompatible with a reliance upon self both absurd and sinful. It is possible to love and advocate truth with the feeling that we give to it, rather than receive from it. To work out our own faith without help from God is a labour whose pleasure is not the sweetest to the feeblest minds. One thing is certain. Mr. Martineau believes in nothing which requires a revelation, nothing for which he needs a teacher sent from God. In vain would any seek throughout his book for sentiments not found in quite as full a form in Seneca. If his is christianity, it would be hard to know what is not. He can prove, without appeal to scripture, all the principles of his religion. He eschews the thought that christianity consists of doctrines at all. His inspiration is a thing poetical as is his religion. His arguments are not humble references to what is written; he never goes to new or old covenant for evidence. On their authority he receives nothing. Indeed, on their authority alone he cannot receive any thing. Where they happen to be right, he approves of them, of course, not making their sanction an indication of error; though for things and people Jewish, he has no overwhelming love. But beyond that they have no place or influence. They may be allowed to know just so much as he—no more. Jesus—for whom he has a great poetical respect—being an 'image' rather than a teacher, it does not matter much that he should err occasionally—how should it be otherwise, brought up a Jew? He could not reasonably be required to be exempt from the surrounding prejudices. If he appealed to his miracles in confirmation of his mission, it matters little—what was his mission is left to be determined according to our conception of his accuracy. He was not commissioned to propagate what we esteem mistakes on other grounds. We are not learners, but judges. We decide on what is to be taught, not receive the teaching. The Christ is within us, not without.

We cannot refrain from the inquiry—Is this the likely way to truth, about the infinite, the everlasting, the holy God—the world to come—the universal government? And is this really all that the paternal providence, so vaunted, has done for us? Is all that is provided a mere moral sentiment? and, is all besides so left, that there is darkness on all questions of deepest moment, yea, on the question whether God hath meant or not to teach us truth? If it were given, What is the surest mode of error? could one more fitting be suggested, than the above? The natural fruit of such a temper is revealed abundantly in these discourses. To enforce right and love by arguments, as easily appreciated by the infidel, as by the saint—to be rather giving proofs to Christianity, than receiving them from it—to set Christ's own teaching above the apostles, though

he promised them his Spirit on purpose to develope what his disciples could not bear from him—to quote the scripture, more for ornament than use—to treat its literal records as wildest myths—to explain away and misapply more passages than are interpreted aright—to furnish no evidence whose strength would suffer, if the whole book, as one from God, were proved a fable—whatever else all this may be, it is not to 'tremble at God's word;' whatever picture it may suggest, it is not the little child receiving the kingdom; whatever process it may indicate, it is not the becoming 'a fool' in order to be 'wise.'

At the same time, we must distinguish between Mr. Martineau, and the ordinary class of unitarians. He believes, doubtless, in unitarianism, as far as he believes in anything—and his rejection of the popular belief is of peculiar severity and thoroughness. He, doubtless, also means to believe in it, or 'something better.' But it would be unjust to suppose him the implicit adherent of one system, while he rejects another. He has wrought his way to views, and prepared his heart to concessions, which must stamp him as little less heretical in the opinion of his fellows, than we are in his. He would not like to be described as holding any system. Carrying out a true and beautiful sentiment to a mischievous and fanciful extreme, he values the dim rather than the distinct, and seems to hold clear apprehensions to be dangerous to true religion. Mysticism is the life of his affections, which he thinks are pious. He sees things in a 'dim religious light.' There is nothing strange, when this habit of his mind is recollected, in his perceiving a germ of excellence in many things of which he rejects the literal form; in his confessing a holy power to belong to much belief, of which he denies the truth. His sympathies are far more frequently with orthodoxy than his speech. The following reference to the incarnation is a specimen of many of his references to such like things:—

'Every fiction that has ever laid strong hold on human belief, is the mistaken image of some great truth; to which reason will direct its search, while half-reason is content with laughing at the superstition, and unreason with believing it. Thus, the doctrine of the incarnation faithfully represents the impression produced by the ministry and character of Christ. It is the dark shadow thrown across the ages of Christendom by his mortal life, as it inevitably sinks into the distance. It is but the too literal description of the real elements of his history; a mistake of the morally for the physically divine; a reference to celestial descent of that majesty of soul which, even in the eclipse of grief, seemed too great for any meaner origin. Indeed, how better could we speak of the life of Jesus, than in the language of this doctrine; as the submission of a most heavenly spirit to the severest burthen of the flesh; the voluntary immersion within the

shades of deep suffering of a godlike mind, and betraying its relation to eternity, while making the weary pilgrimage of time!'—pp. 33, 34.

Thus, though the doctrine be rejected, the myth is had in reverence. The truth is disowned as a fact, but acknowledged as a symbol. And that issue comes as much from the imaginative temperament, as the moral sentiments of Mr. Martineau, who seems to us not disinclined to something of more unction and more fulness than his present views supply. Unitarianism is, indeed, the last of all existing systems, in which a mind of poetry and pathos would seek its exercise or pleasure, or, being in it, feel at home. The water is too shallow for such a bark, the habitation too confined for such a tenant. 'The bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it; and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it.' Mr. Martineau feeds himself full often with the kernels of orthodox ideas, while he throws the shells away. He has burst the bonds of much that has been often, and may be easily, conceived a part of unitarianism from the place which it has held in the creed of its abettors. He has eschewed the cold and calculating philosophy of a school, now, thank God, almost extinct. His soul has vindicated its nature, and its high prerogatives, by spurning from it the materialism and utilitarianism of Priestley. He is with the tide, setting in strongly, of spiritualism, and if that puts the hope of his future orthodoxy further off, it will, perhaps, only do so to the view of superficial minds—he may find, that the dogmas he disbelieves, are but the shapes and clothing of a most potent virtue, a virtue that can quicken and promote a christian life, to which his own is but as death.

In reading Mr. Martineau's productions, we have been impressed with the little use that is made, comparatively, of our highest and most glorious principles. If it is wise to learn from an enemy, it is surely wise to learn from a polemical opponent; and we are convinced, that much may be learned from such men as Mr. Martineau, in reference to the ministry. It is impossible to possess any familiarity with the denomination to which he belongs, without perceiving, that he has exerted a powerful influence in promoting, if not indeed in originating, in England at least, the change to which we have already adverted. Nor, has his influence been confined to his own denomination. Nor should it be. The possession of such a genius as his may be the lot of few, but the excellencies to which we refer are not the fruits of genius only. What should prevent on the part of the orthodox, a similar development to his own of the spiritualities of the things of God, and sin, and suffering, and duty, and the soul? What is necessary, is not abandonment of our forms of

faith, but a more intense thought upon, and a more vivid sympathy with, its inward nature, its bearings on the heart. We have all that Mr. Martineau has, to allow of, and to cherish it—and far more. The very sentiments we hold which he rejects, give greater power and virtue to those he has in common with us. If we believe the rectoral character of God—believe we not his paternal, and is not that endeared thereby? Do we urge gratitude for redemption, and does this exclude disinterested love and service, or rather is not the object of it rendered far more lovely? Do we preach that God's government is one of physical force—but does this prevent its being one of moral power; is not all its physical force in order to its moral power? Do we expect that there will be penal consequences of sin—but are not these themselves the proofs and the expressions of its natural, moral, inwrought, evil? We are convinced most solemnly, that there are ways of representing our characteristic sentiments, as well as those that belong not exclusively to the orthodox, that are not used, nor dreamed of, by many who pride themselves, both on the accuracy of their creed, and on its power.

ART. III. 1. *Der Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Ephesier übersetzt und erklärt. Von F. A. Holzhausen.* Hannov: 1833. 8vo.
2. *Der Brief Pauli an die Ephesier erläutert und vertheidigt. Von L. I. Rückert.* Leipzig: 1834. 8vo.
3. *Commentar ueber den Brief Pauli an die Ephesier. Von G. C. A. Harless.* Erlang.: 1834. 8vo.
4. *Commentar ueber den Brief Pauli an die Ephesier. Von F. K. Meier.* Berlin: 1834. 8vo.
5. *Erklärung des Briefs Pauli an die Ephesier. Von C. St. Matthies.* Griefsw·: 1834. 8vo.

WITHIN these few years Germany has been prolific in commentaries on the epistle to the Ephesians. Most of them, however, are not such as will satisfy the pious or the profound theologian. The riches of the gospel are contained in this portion of the New Testament; and it is not every mind that is competent to bring them forth from the expressive words in which they are there embodied, to the faith of men. Yet all the German commentators on this epistle have not been unsuccessful. There are two distinguished exceptions. Amid a host of names we find those of Harless and Olshausen, who have been eminently skilful in expounding it. We point to them with great satisfaction, as most able and efficient in this department. Their works leave nothing to be desired. Whoever possesses them need not long

for any other exposition of the epistle. We confidently recommend them to every student of the New Testament who is master of the German language, persuaded that they will not soon be surpassed in all the leading qualities which characterise proper commentary.

In reviewing the chief topics connected with the epistle to the Ephesians, the following order will be followed:—

1. The persons to whom it was originally addressed.
2. Its genuineness and authenticity.
3. The time and place at which it was written.
4. The connexion between it and the epistle to the Colossians.
5. Its contents.

As an introduction to the discussion of the topics just mentioned, we shall inquire into the correct meaning of the phrase ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ Λαοδικείας 'the epistle from Laodicea,' which, though found in the epistle to the Colossians, (iv. 16,) has an important bearing on various points connected with that addressed to the Ephesians. Three senses have been attributed to the words in question, viz., an epistle which Paul had written to Laodicea; an epistle which the church at that place had sent to the apostle; or an epistle written and sent from the city by Paul himself.

1. The current and common interpretation of the words in question is *an epistle sent to the Laodiceans by Paul,* which the Colossians are enjoined to procure from Laodicea (ἐκ Λαοδικείας) when they communicated their own to the church in that place. In this way the words present an ellipsis; 'cause the epistle to be brought from Loadicea, *which the church has received from me.*' Such a supplement is admitted to be harsh, and the entire expression unusual. Surely πρὸς Λαοδικεῖς, or the dative case alone, would have been more natural, and more consonant with New Testament usage. From the early existence of an apocryphal epistle that goes by the name of Paul's epistle to the Laodiceans, it may be inferred, that this explanation on which the forgery is based, is very ancient.

2. More correct appears to be the interpretation, 'an epistle which the Laodicean church had sent to the apostle.' In this case also the words exhibit an ellipsis, but not so harsh as in the former. It is more facile and simple than the other. With Theodoret and Chrysostom we are inclined to adopt it. In regard to the *contents* of such a letter they cannot be known, and it is, therefore, idle to indulge in conjecture. Some have supposed that they consisted of various questions proposed by the Laodiceans to the apostle, which he answered in the epistle to the Colossians; but this may not have been the character of the letter. It is probable that the epistle to the Colossians had reference to this letter, and could not be thoroughly understood without it. If

it be asked, Why did Paul write to the Colossians what particularly concerned the Laodiceans? why did he not reply to the Laodiceans? why did he write to the former what they could not understand, and not write at all to the latter who might have understood him? it is not easy to furnish a satisfactory reply to the interrogator. We must frequently be contented with the knowledge of facts and circumstances without attempting to ascertain their causes, or to discover why they happen in a particular way. Doubtless the Spirit, under whose influence the servant of God wrote, had wise reasons for withholding him from sending an especial epistle to the Laodicean church, while He saw fit to prompt him to address the Colossians. It need not be supposed that the Colossians *were unable* to understand their own epistle, without reading that which the Laodiceans had sent to the apostle. The Laodicean letter may have led them to see in a clearer light several allusions which, but for it, they would not have apprehended so *well* or so *distinctly*. The Spirit can best determine the mode in which His purposes should be accomplished with the least expenditure as well as the simplest apparatus of means. But it is said in disparagement of this interpretation, that the epistle which the apostle had received from the Laodiceans must in this case have been sent by him to Colosse, as the christians in the latter place could not otherwise have enjoyed the privilege of reading it. And what improbability is there in believing, that Tychicus and Onesimus, who carried the Colossian epistle, were also the bearers of that which the apostle had received from the Laodiceans? or is the supposition incredible, that the Laodiceans preserved a copy of the epistle despatched to the apostle? To us neither conjecture seems absurd or improbable. The former especially commends itself to approbation.

3. The third meaning, which has been attributed to the phrase by Theophylact, needs no refutation. When Paul wrote to the Colossians, it is probable that he had not been at Laodicea.

If the second be the true meaning of the phrase, there is no ground for the supposition that an epistle from Paul to the Laodiceans has been lost. The apostle requests the Colossians to salute Nymphas who was a Laodicean (Col. iv. 15), whereas had he written to the Laodiceans in particular, he would have saluted Nymphas in that letter. The answer of Mill to this remark is of no force, viz., that Paul's object in greeting the Laodiceans in the epistle to the Colossians, was to compensate for concluding the epistle to the Laodiceans not with the words 'grace be with *you*,' but 'grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.' (Ephes. vi. 24.) Both expressions are of equivalent import, implying the approbation as well as the affection of the apostle. Neither does the right interpre-

tation of the phrase favour the idea that what is commonly called the epistle to the Ephesians, was intended *in part* for the use of the Laodiceans.

Let us now examine the external evidence which has been adduced to shew, either that the words *in Ephesus* (ἐν Ἐφέσῳ) in the first verse were originally wanting; or that they were not inserted in *some* copies; or that *in Laodicea* (ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ) stood in their place.

Basil, in his second book against Eunomius, writes thus: 'And writing to the Ephesians as truly united by knowledge to him *who is*, he called them in a peculiar sense *those who are*, saying, 'To the saints *who are*, and the faithful in Christ Jesus.' For so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies.'* It has been disputed, whether the various reading referred to by Basil consisted in the article τοῖς prefixed to οὖσιν, or in ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Mill and Kuster contend for the latter; L'Enfant and Lardner for the former. The following are L'Enfant's arguments:—'The various reading consists in the emphatical particle τοῖς, and not ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, as may appear from these several considerations, 1. St. Basil moves not the question, whether that epistle be written to the Ephesians or others. 2. At the beginning of the passage he supposeth that it was written to the Ephesians, without saying that there was any contest about it. 3. The design of Basil is to shew, that the Ephesians are justly and properly called ὄντες, 'such as are,' because of their union with him 'who is.' 4. The word ἰδιαζόντως, 'peculiarly,' must relate to the emphatical article τοῖς, which is necessary to answer to ὁ ὤν, 'him who is,' and which, according to Mill's own account, is wanting in one MS. at least. This is the point: τοῖς was wanting in the common copies, in the time of St. Basil, but he had read it in ancient MSS., and he avails himself of it to authorise his speculation. It is true, that in his quotation he does not put the words 'at Ephesus,' because that was not the thing in contest, and he had mentioned it before, and he had no occasion to mention it again. Moreover, he might be disposed to omit those words, 'at Ephesus,' the more to favour his speculation upon τοῖς οὖσι, 'such as are,' taken in an absolute sense. 5. St. Jerome, who refutes this speculation of St. Basil, makes it turn upon the particle

*Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐπιςέλλων ὡς γνησίως ἡνωμένοις τῷ ὄντι δι' ἐπιγνώσεως, ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν, εἰπών. τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι καὶ πιςοῖς ἐν Χριςῷ Ἰησοῦ. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν παραδεδώκασι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων εὑρήκαμεν.—*Adv. Eunom.* lib. ii. c. 19, vol. i. p. 254, ed. Garnier.

τοῖς, and mentions not any various reading upon the place.'* This is plausible and ingenious, but not convincing. It is true that Basil says at the beginning of the passage, the epistle was written *to the Ephesians;* but such an affirmation might be made in perfect consistency with the hypothesis that the letter was *encyclical,* intended in part for the Ephesians, and generally quoted as such in his time because the copies having *in Ephesus* had almost displaced the others. The beginning of the passage in Basil certainly shews, that he knew of no such reading as ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ; but we cannot assent to L'Enfant when he affirms that τοῖς was wanting in the common copies in the time of Basil, and that this father availed himself of the article as found in ancient copies, to authorize his speculation. Had the common copies wanted the article in Basil's days, it would now have been absent from many; and yet all MSS. hitherto examined, with the exception of one, exhibit it. Besides, the word ἰδιαζόντως, 'peculiarly,' does not so much relate *to the article by itself,* as to the participle οὖσι. The plain import of the passage is, that when Basil discovered ἐν Ἐφέσῳ to be wanting after τοῖς οὖσιν, he eagerly seized upon that circumstance as favourable to a peculiar exposition of the *participle.* He does not state in how many ancient MSS. the phrase was omitted; perhaps they were few; but he simply states the fact of its being wanting. The artificial exposition given by Basil would scarcely have been attempted on the supposition of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ immediately succeeding τοῖς οὖσι; nor is it at all probable that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ever stood in another position than the present, since no collated MS. assigns it a different place in the sentence.

Let us now turn to Jerome. His words are,—'Some are of opinion from what was said to Moses, 'thou shalt say to the children of Israel *he who is* has sent me,' Exod. iii. 14; that the saints and faithful at Ephesus were also designated by a term denoting *essence,* so that from *him who is,* they are called *those who are.* This is an over-refined speculation. Others suppose, that he wrote simply not to *those who are,* but to *those who are* saints and faithful *at Ephesus.*'† In opposition to Lardner, we must here believe, that Jerome's allusion to the two interpretations is founded on the fact that some copies had

* Bib. Choisie, vol. xvi. p. 301 seq.; and Lardner, *Credibility,* vol. iv. p. 280. London. 1827, 8vo.

† Quidam curiosius quam necesse est, putant ex eo quod Mosi dictum sit: hæc dices filiis Israel; *qui est,* misit me,—etiam eos, qui Ephesi sunt sancti et fideles, essentiæ vocabulo nuncupatos, ut.. ab eo, *qui est,* hi *qui sunt* appellentur. Alii vero simpliciter non ad eos, *qui sunt,* sed *qui Ephesi* sancti et fideles *sunt,* scriptum arbitrantur.—*Comment. in ep. ad Ephes.*

the common reading, while others wanted ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. His own opinion was, that the epistle was addressed to the Ephesians; but the forced interpretation which he censures proceeds upon the idea, that *in Ephesus* was wanting. It is most improbable, as we have said in relation to Basil, that the fanciful exposition of the words to which Jerome alludes found ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in a different position, and laid emphasis on the participle notwithstanding.

The words of Jerome imply, that two readings existed in his day—viz., τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and τοῖς οὖσιν. He himself followed the former.

Tertullian comes next to be considered. 'I pass by another epistle which *we* have inscribed to the Ephesians, but *heretics* to the Laodiceans.' Again: 'According to the true testimony of the church, we suppose that epistle to have been sent to the Ephesians. But Marcion sometimes inclined to alter the title, as if he had made a very diligent inquiry into that matter. Yet the title is of no importance, since the apostle wrote to all when he wrote to some.'* From this passage it may be inferred, that Tertullian himself believed the true testimony or tradition of the church to be, that the epistle was inscribed to the Ephesians, that Marcion and his followers called it *the epistle to the Laodiceans*, and that on some occasions Marcion wished to alter the title. It is uncertain whether Tertullian means by *title, a running title prefixed,* or *the inscription inserted in the epistle* at its commencement. The word *interpolare* favours the latter idea, and consequently the supposition that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was wanting in the first verse. But still, according to the *usus loquendi* of this father, *interpolare* is equivalent to *corrumpere*, whether by *adding* or *erasing*. *Title* probably means *running title*, though Lardner thinks otherwise. Tertullian does not find fault with Marcion for corrupting *the text*, but *the title;* and appeals to ecclesiastical tradition in proof of *the Ephesians* not the Laodiceans being addressed. Neither does this father appeal to MSS. as having ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the text, which certainly would have refuted the heretic. He only quotes the true ecclesiastical tradition in favour of the title *to the Ephesians*. It would therefore appear, that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was wanting in the copies known to Tertullian. But it is certainly not intimated that Marcion had ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ where ἐν Ἐφέσῳ is

* Epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios præscriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodicenos. Cont. Marcion v. 11.

Ecclesiæ quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodicenos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest cum ad omnes Apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam. 17.

now found. *The heretic had sometimes a mind* (gestiit aliquando) *to alter the title,* are the words of Tertullian.

Again: Cod. B. has ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the margin, though from the same hand; and 67 omits it *by emendation.*

In reviewing the external evidence relative to the inscription of the epistle which has just been adduced, it appears adverse to the opinion, that the words *in Ephesus* were wanting in *the original* copies, or that *in Laodicea* stood in place of them. It favours the idea, that the former phrase was not found in *some* ancient MSS. Taking this part of the external evidence by itself, it countenances the fact that several copies did not exhibit *in Ephesus.* It is true that Lardner and others will not allow of this; but the learned writer does not interpret the passages of the fathers which have been quoted, with fairness or impartiality.

The majority of modern critics attach much greater importance to these few patristic notices than we should be inclined to allow. They look upon them as countenancing the *circular character* of the epistle; whereas, the most that can be affirmed is, that they do not contradict that hypothesis.

Let us now adduce those internal arguments which, in connexion with the preceding testimonies, are regarded as proof that the epistle was not addressed to the Ephesians alone. Had it been intended exclusively for the community at Ephesus, it is urged, that we cannot account for the absence of special references to individual members in the church, or the want of several salutations. And yet the apostle had been three years among the Ephesians; he stood in a most intimate relation to them; and he must have been acquainted with their internal affairs and the state of their Christian knowledge. (Acts, xix. and xx.) How then can he write in such a manner as would lead to the belief, that he had merely *heard* of their faith and love: 'Wherefore I also after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and love unto all the saints.'? How can he address them as if they had arrived at the knowledge of his peculiar commission to preach to the Gentiles, and the extraordinary revelation he had received from heaven only *by report:* 'If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward; how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery.'? The Ephesian church, too, was composed not merely of Gentiles, but of Jewish Christians; whereas the epistle is directed to the former class alone. Besides, the present letter was written and sent at the same time as that to the Colossians, in which latter Timothy is joined with the author himself in the salutation, Col. i.; and as Timothy must have been well known to the Ephesians, the omission of his name at the

commencement of this epistle is inconsistent with the notion of its being intended solely for the church at Ephesus.

In order to solve these difficulties, some propose to regard the present epistle as that addressed to the Laodiceans, and mentioned in Col. iv. 16. Such, it is alleged, was the view of Marcion, as we learn from Tertullian. But it has been already shewn, that this interpretation of Col. iv. 16 is incorrect, although Pamelius's conjecture that it was the occasion of Marcion's opinion, appears to be well founded. The old Latin version translated the passage in Colossians as speaking of an epistle *to* the Laodiceans; and if Marcion used the Latin version of Paul's epistles, as we believe, it is highly probable that he was misled by it in this instance.*

The circumstance that the apostle himself did not found the church at Laodicea, would quite accord with this hypothesis. The christians in that place were personally unknown to Paul; and the passages which now appear strange, when considered as addressed to the Ephesians, comport with the relation subsisting between the apostle and the Laodiceans. But although this view be advocated by such scholars as Grotius, Hammond, Mill, Du Pin, Wall, Vitringa the younger, Wetstein, Holzhausen, and Paley, it is inadmissible. On the supposition that Paul addressed a letter both to the Laodiceans and Colossians, he would not have included the brethren in Laodicea, in a salutation inserted in the epistle to the Colossians. It is hardly probable, too, that he should have requested the Colossians to see that the epistle especially addressed to them should be read in the Laodicean church, had the latter community been favoured with an inspired letter for their own immediate edification. There is a similarity in sentiment between the two epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians; and if the latter had been sent to the Laodiceans, what need had they to read the shorter and less rich epistle, especially as it bore a striking resemblance to their own?

Another solution, which has met with general approbation, was first proposed by Ussher, viz., that the epistle to the Ephesians was a circular letter, intended for the use of several churches in Asia Minor, including those at Ephesus and Laodicea.

The most eminent critics of modern times approve of this hypothesis. Moldenhauer, Michaelis, Koppe, Ziegler, Hänlein, Justi, Eichhorn, Hug, Bertholdt, Flatt, Hemsen, Feilmoser,

* *The Epistle to the Laodiceans* has been supposed to be identical with the Epistle to the Hebrews by Baumgarten-Crusius, and Stein. Schneckenburger inclines to the same view. (Beiträge zur Einleit ins. N. T. p. 153 seq.) On a hypothesis so singular, Lücke and Kuinoel have animadverted with sufficient reason.

Schott, Schrader, Neander, Schneckenburger, Rückert, Credner, Guerike, Olshausen, and others, adopt it in the main, while differing in minor details. But notwithstanding these high names, the solution appears to us untenable; and we are content to take our position along with Whitby, Lardner, Wolf, Cramer, and Morus, who adhere to the testimony of ecclesiastical tradition. For the *encyclical* character of the epistle, the external evidence is not great, as we have already seen. Indeed there is no *direct* evidence for it. There is ground for believing that *in Ephesus* was wanting in several ancient copies; but this does not prove, that the letter was intended to be *circular*. Besides, there is an overwhelming mass of proof from MSS. versions, and ancient writers, to establish the authenticity of the phrase *in Ephesus*. This reading is unassailable, and must be regarded as the only original. As far as external evidence is concerned, it is entitled to all acceptation.

But the internal arguments already adduced, have been more insisted on than the external. Let us therefore consider the weight which they claim, and the degree of support they are entitled to give to the hypothesis of Ussher. It is said that there is no special reference to any individual member of the church at Ephesus. Not one of the saints there is saluted, though the apostle, from his three years residence among them, must have been on intimate terms with several persons. In most of his other epistles, he salutes the chief members of the community. In answer to this, Lardner states, that there is no epistle of Paul which has in it so many salutations as that to the Romans whom he had never seen. But Michaelis aptly remarks, that though the apostle might have had many friends in a place where he had never been, we must not argue, in an inverted order, that in a locality where he had spent three years, he had no friend whatever whom he deemed worthy of a salutation. Lardner subsequently gives a sufficient reply to the objection. Tychicus, who carried the epistle to the Ephesians, is required 'to make known unto them all things, and to comfort their hearts.' Nor is it the apostle's *invariable* practice to insert particular salutations to members of that community which he addresses in writing. No individuals are saluted by name in either of the epistles to the Thessalonians, or in that to the Galatians.

The statement contained in Ephes. i. 15, is of no weight in the matter for which it is adduced. It merely asserts that Paul had *heard of the continuance* of their faith and love, since he had been separated from them. In the long interval between his residence at Ephesus and the time of writing the epistle, he must have received accounts of their state and progress; and

when these were satisfactory, he gave thanks to God the Author of all good, for the steadfast walk which his converts were enabled to maintain. The apostle speaks of *the continuance* of their faith, not of the *first hearing* of it. This accords with the language of the same apostle in his epistles to Philemon and the Colossians. To the former, whose faith he knew, he writes: 'I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers, hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints.' To the latter, among whom he appears to have been, or of whose faith he had certainly been assured by Epaphras, he writes: 'We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, since we heard of your faith in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints.' These parallel expressions confirm the interpretation which the most judicious commentators attach to Ephes. i. 15.

In regard to Ephes. iii. 2, 3, 4, where it is written—'If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God which is given me to you-ward; how that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery, as I wrote afore in few words; whereby when ye read, ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ;' the particle εἴγε rendered *if*, denotes, according to Theophylact, *forasmuch as*, or *since*. It has the same signification in Ephes. iv. 20: '*Since* ye have heard him, and been taught by him as the truth is in Jesus,' and in 2 Corinths. v. 3; '*Since* being clothed we shall not be found naked.' It does not imply *doubt* or *uncertainty*, but rather serves to *confirm* an assertion.

The observation of Wetstein that the present epistle is written to *Gentiles*, whereas, the church at Ephesus consisted chiefly of *Jews*, is not founded on accurate data, so far as it assumes that Jewish converts formed the great majority of the believers in that place. The learned writer appeals to such passages as Acts xviii. 19, 21, 24, 25; xix. 9, 10, 17; xx. 21; Rev. ii. 2, 7; which, however, do not justify the opinion, that Paul's preaching at Ephesus was most successful among the Jews. It is true that he testified of Christ in the synagogue; and that various persons of the seed of Abraham who were convinced by his powerful reasoning believed. But the opposition of the Jews to him in this city is also noticed. He was compelled to depart from their synagogue, and to dispute in the school of Tyrannus. It was among the *Gentiles* that he gathered his principal fruit, 'for many of them which used curious arts, brought their books together, and burned them before all men.' An examination of Acts xix. 19—41, will sufficiently shew, that far more of the heathen than of the Jews became converts to the religion of Christ, in the idolatrous city of Ephesus.

All the churches planted by the apostle were of the same character, although individual Jews were incorporated with them. He was emphatically the apostle of the Gentiles, and naturally addressed *the mass* of the christian societies whom he had been instrumental in forming, reminding them of their former idolatry and present privileges. In the first and second chapters, the contrast is seen between heathen and Jewish christians in the use of ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς; and the transitions which the apostle makes from the one to the other, are only appropriate on the supposition, that *both* existed in the Ephesian church. But why is not Timothy's name joined in the salutation with the apostle's, since the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians were written at the same time? It is not necessary to suppose that they were written on the same day, as is here assumed. If a few days elapsed between the date of their composition, Timothy may have left the apostle to go to another place. Lardner supposes, that Timothy was at Ephesus, not Rome, when the apostle wrote to the church at the former place. Believing that the epistle to the Ephesians was written *before* that addressed to the Colossians, he accounts for the absence of Timothy's name, by supposing that the apostle's faithful companion had not then joined him in Rome. The examination of this point will come up hereafter. In the mean time it may be affirmed with the highest probability, that Timothy was *not* with the apostle when he composed his letter to the church at Ephesus, else he would have been included in the salutation.

On the whole, it seems indubitable that the Ephesians were not strangers to Paul when he wrote to them. Their condition, their trials, their enemies, their dangers, were well known to him. He had been absent from them for the space of six years, but he had heard of their steadfastness and faith. Changes doubtless had occurred among them since he had been with them; and some were dead, whom he personally knew. In those epistles which were written to churches a short time after the apostle had left them, we naturally find salutations to individuals, and greater minuteness than in the letter to the Ephesians. So is it with the epistles to the Corinthians. The *difference of time* is an important point in the account. The following passages presuppose, on the part of the writer, a good degree of acquaintance with the persons addressed: chap. i. 1—14; ii. 1, 2; iii. 13; iv. 20—24, 30; v. 8; vi. 21, 22.

The advocates of the encyclical character of the letter before us have different views of the original condition of the first verse. Olshausen thinks, either that Tychicus was furnished with several copies in which a blank was left to be filled up with the name of the town, or that copies were written out in Ephe-

sus for the use of different places; and that ἐν Ἐφέσῳ was only put into the copies intended for Ephesus and its vicinity. The present reading came to be general because Ephesus was the principal city of Asia Minor. Michaelis imagines that Paul inserted each name before he sent off the copies. Hemsen conjectures that Paul wrote out at first several copies, in one of which he wrote *in Ephesus*, in another, *in Laodicea*, and in others left a vacant space to be filled up by Tychicus as occasion might require. In this manner does he account for all the readings in the first verse, which, on his hypothesis, are equally original. There is room for a thousand other conjectures of the same kind.

There is much truth in the remark of Schneckenburger, that the entire hypothesis has a *modern* appearance. Singular indeed would it have been if Paul had desired the epistle to the Colossians to be read in the church of the Laodiceans, when he had sent an especial epistle to the Laodicean community. Singular too would it have been if the circle of churches for which the letter was destined, had not been mentioned by the epistle, and if copies with the blank unfilled were in circulation so late as the fourth century. In other *encyclical* epistles, as in those of Peter and James, there is no such blank; while at the commencement of the epistle to the Galatians, which was designed for the use of several churches, the *country* is specified.

Moved by the force of these considerations, Schneckenburger, who thinks that the original reading was τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν, believes that the letter was not meant to circulate among a definite number of churches in Asia Minor, but that it was written for *all Christians*. So also Credner. The former interprets the commencement of the first verse: 'Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, *to the saints who are really such*,' &c. Credner gives a different explanation more refined and unnatural. Both are unsupported by the usage of the apostle at the commencement of other epistles. Τοῖς ἁγίοις signifies *really saints, without the addition of the participle*; and the epistle itself contains sentiments analogous to those addressed to τοῖς ἁγίοις *without the participle*, in other scriptures.

Authenticity and genuineness.

The unanimous voice of antiquity assigns the epistle to St. Paul, and attests its uncorruptness. Polycarp alludes to it in his epistle to the Philippians, chapter i.: 'Knowing that ye are saved by grace, not by works,' (Ephes. ii. 8); and chapter xii.: 'As it is expressed in these Scriptures, 'Be ye angry and sin not,' and, 'let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'' (Ephes.

iv. 26). Ignatius, in a letter to the Ephesians written at Smyrna says, 'Ye are the companions in the mysteries of the gospel of Paul, the sanctified, the highly-commended, deservedly most happy, at whose feet may I be found when I shall attain to God; who in all his epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus.' Irenæus writes, 'Even as the blessed Paul says in his epistle to the Ephesians, that we are members of his, body of his flesh,' &c. Clement of Alexandria says, "Therefore the blessed Paul affirms, 'I testify in the Lord,' &c. (Ephes. iv. 17); and again in his *Stromata*, 'Therefore also he writes in the epistle to the Ephesians,' &c. (Ephes. v. 21). The testimony of Tertullian has been already adduced. The epistle is also contained in Marcion's Canon, and in the list of books given by Eusebius as universally received by Christians. The Valentinians, as we learn from Irenæus, adduced in their favour such passages as i. 10; iii. 21; v. 32; Ptolemy quoted Ephes. ii. 15; and Theodotus appealed to iv. 24, 30. All succeeding writers acknowledge the epistle as an authentic production of the apostle, addressed to the Ephesians. Thus external evidence is irresistibly strong in establishing the genuineness of the letter before us. Nor is the internal less decisive or unambiguous. The structure and unusual length of the periods; the richness, variety, and elevated tone of the expressions, many of which are characteristic of the apostle; the depth of religious feeling; the warmth of heart exhibited by the writer; the outpouring of the most sublime sentiments in the most emphatic words, all refer to the great apostle of the Gentiles. It is unnecessary to allude to the doubts advanced by De Wette. They proceed from a want of sympathy with the spirit of the letter. They are the *subjective feelings* of the writer himself, rather than *objective realities*. He admits that they are not sufficient to invalidate the authenticity.

Time and place at which it was written.

At whatever time and place this epistle was composed, it is not difficult to discover that those addressed to the Colossians, and Philemon, and probably that to the Philippians, belong to the same period and locality. The four letters were written during one of the author's imprisonments. This is shown by such passages as Ephes. iii. 1, 13; iv. 1; vi. 19; Philip. i. 7, 12, 14; ii. 17; Col. i. 24; iv. 3, 7; Philemon 9. These places direct us at once to the two occasions on which the author was confined at Rome and at Cæsarea. How then can it be ascertained whether they were written at the former or latter city? Or is there any ground for concluding that some of them

should be dated from the one, some from the other? They cannot be divided between the two captivities, because they all represent the apostle as surrounded with the same persons. These are Timothy, Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Jesus Justus, Demas, Luke, Tychicus, and Onesimus. (See Philip. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philemon 1; Col. i. 7; iv. 12; Philemon 23; Col. iv. 10, 14; Philemon 24; Ephes. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7; Col. iv. 9; Philemon 10.) It may be objected, that no mention of Timothy is made in the epistle to the Ephesians. But this circumstance can form no valid ground for concluding that the Ephesian letter should not be assigned to the same period as the other three. Harless conjectures that Timothy was a stranger to the readers of that epistle, and is not therefore noticed. The probability, however, is that he was acquainted with the Ephesian Christians, because he had accompanied the apostle through Asia (Acts xx. 4). We believe that he was absent when Paul wrote this letter. Lardner, as has been already mentioned, thinks he was at Ephesus.

Are we then to decide in favour of his captivity at Cæsarea or at Rome—the former noticed in Acts xxiii. 23—26, the latter in Acts xxviii. 30? The prevailing opinion has always fixed upon the latter. But Schulz, followed by Böttger and Schott, contends that Cæsarea was the place of his imprisonment during their composition. Wiggers inclines to the same opinion. On the other hand, Graul, in a separate dissertation on the point, Neander, Olshausen, and Guerike adhere to the ancient and prevailing hypothesis.* We shall allude to the evidence on both sides.

The apostle's close confinement at Cæsarea rendered it impossible for him to procure intelligence from the Christian churches abroad, and therefore he was scarcely prepared to write epistles to them. It is true that his acquaintance were not forbidden 'to minister or come unto him;' but such license did not extend to preaching or disputations, or to the bearing of news from him and to him. The Jews were vigilant and violent against him; the Roman governor strict; and all that his friends were permitted to do was to supply his necessities, and minister to his bodily health.

Besides, the mention of *Cæsar's house*, and *the palace*, (Philip.

* See Schulz in the Theologische Studien und Kritiken, 1829, Hft. 3 p. 612 seq. Böttger's Beiträge, Theil. II. p. 47 seq. Schott's Isagoge, p. 272. Wiggers in the Theologische Stud. und Kritik, 1841, II, p. 436 seq. Graul de Schulzii et Schottii sententia, &c. Leips. 1836, 8vo. Neander's history of the planting and training of the Christian Church, (English translation,) vol. i. p. 373 seq. Olshausen in the Einleit. to his Commentar ueber Ephes. § 3, p. 131. Guerike, Historisch-Kritische Einleit. p. 370 seq.

i. 13; iv. 22), points to Rome rather than Cæsarea. These particulars, indeed, are found in the epistle to the Philippians alone, and go to prove no more than its composition in Italy; but other considerations derived from the three remaining epistles, favour their Roman origin. Paul had an opportunity of preaching the gospel, though he was a prisoner, (Ephes. vi. 19, 20), which he cannot be supposed to have enjoyed at Cæsarea. In the Acts of the Apostles we find that both Aristarchus and Luke were at Rome (xxvii. 2), while in Col. iv. 10, and Philemon 24, they are represented as with the apostle. It is exceedingly doubtful whether they were with him in Cæsarea. It is also more probable that Onesimus, a slave who had run away from his master Philemon, should have repaired to Rome than Cæsarea. The former place presented greater inducements and protection to such a person.

Much weight cannot be attached to the arguments in favour of Cæsarea; we shall therefore allude to them very briefly. In Acts xxvii. 2, it is related, that Aristarchus alone accompanied Paul and Luke from Cæsarea. In the second epistle to Timothy, which is generally acknowledged to have been written from Rome, Luke only is mentioned as with the apostle. On the contrary, we gather from Acts xx. 4, that Aristarchus, Timothy, and Trophimus were with him at Cæsarea. From these passages, and the supposed improbability of so many individuals being with the apostle at Rome, it has been inferred that he was in Cæsarea, where it was much easier for them to assemble. We object to the conclusion founded upon Acts xx. 4, that Aristarchus, Timothy, and Trophimus were at Cæsarea with the apostle, is neither certain nor probable that they visited that locality at the same time. De Wette himself allows that all the friends already enumerated might gather round Paul at Rome as well as Cæsarea; and the passages adduced to prove that only some of them were along with him at the former place, are at least as cogent as those advanced to prove that some (not all) of them were with him at the latter. The *argumentum e silentio* is precarious and uncertain. The closeness of his incarceration at Cæsarea militates against the supposition that these individuals were allowed free intercourse with the illustrious prisoner in Palestine.

It is farther alleged that Onesimus was with Paul πρὸς ὥραν (Philemon 15), *very soon* after leaving his master at Colosse, a circumstance better suited to Cæsarea than Rome. But this is a wrong interpretation of the phrase πρὸς ὥραν. It should be taken in connection with the verb ἐχωρίσθη, denoting that he was separated from his master *for a season*, not *that he arrived soon at the abode of Paul* after fleeing from Colosse.

The distance of the churches in Asia Minor from Rome has also been insisted on in connexion with the difficulty of procuring intelligence respecting them at so remote a locality. But surely some of the apostle's friends were employed by him on missions to these and other communities. His solicitude for the cause of Christ naturally led him to procure information as to the state of religion in the churches he had founded or visited; and the ardent companions, who evinced towards him feelings of the strongest attachment, were ready to undertake any journey for the sake of promoting Christianity.

It has also been supposed, that Paul's request to Philemon (22) to prepare a lodging at Colosse, as he trusted soon to be liberated, and to proceed to that place, is inconsistent with Rom. xv. 24, in which he avows his purpose to visit Spain, rather than return to Asia. But this determination was expressed some years before his captivity; and circumstances appear to have altered it. There is no evidence that he went into Spain.

That Cæsarea was probably the place whence the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were sent forth, has been farther inferred from the fact, that Onesimus, the companion of Tychicus, who carried both, is not mentioned in the former epistle (Ephes. vi. 22), whereas he is introduced into the latter (Coloss. iv. 8, 9). Setting out from Cæsarea, they would reach Colosse first; and there Onesimus would remain. Hence, because he was not to proceed to Ephesus, he is not commended to the church at that place. This is more ingenious than solid. Granting its correctness, it has but a feeble bearing on the question. Again, it is stated by Wiggers, that the expressions 'whom I have sent unto you, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts,' introduced into both epistles (Ephes. vi. 22, and Col. iv. 8), intimate, that it was a matter of indifference whether Tychicus proceeded to Ephesus or Colosse first, as would be true, if he set out from Cæsarea, but not from Rome, because in the latter case, he must pass through Ephesus to Colosse.* In reply to these considerations we affirm, that there was nothing improper or unnatural in the journeying of Tychicus and his companion to Ephesus, and thence to Colosse, as would probably happen, if they started from Rome. It is true that Onesimus is not mentioned in the epistle to the Ephesians, but it was not necessary to specify him when he went with the bearer of an epistle from Paul. Having such a friend and

* This argument presupposes that the reading of Ephes. vi. 22, and Col. iv. 8, is the same. They differ in the received text. Scholz and Lachmann in their editions exhibit the text of Col. iv. 8, as the same with the corresponding text of the epistle to the Ephesians; but Griesbach, Knapp, and Tischendorf retain the received reading.

associate, he needed no introduction. The expressions which have been quoted from both epistles, do not imply, that it was a matter of indifference whether Tychicus proceeded to Ephesus or Colosse first. The bearer of the epistles probably went both to Ephesus and Colosse, delivering them in succession. On the whole, no weight can be attached to these new arguments of Wiggers. Taken separately, they are weak and inconclusive;—considered together, they are obviously irreconcilable. They neutralise each other,

Böttger has endeavoured to shew, that the expressions *the palace* (Phil. i. 13), and *Cæsar's house*, (iv. 22), might be applied to Herod's palace at Cesarea. But it is certainly doubtful, whether the residence of Herod, to whom belonged no higher title than king (*βασιλεὺς*), could be called *the house of Cæsar*. In view of all the arguments advanced on both sides, looking at those of Schulz and Böttger on the one hand, with Graul's observations on the other, we adhere to the opinion, that the four epistles were composed during the apostle's first captivity at Rome. The considerations in favour of this hypothesis are indeed not so decisive as to overwhelm the other, neither are they so convincing as to silence all inquiry in another direction. Yet they are much more plausible than those stated in support of Cæsarea. Let the reader attend to Ephes. vi. 19, 20, comparing these words of the apostle with Acts xxviii. 16—30, and he will probably infer, that the Roman imprisonment is meant. Besides, it is wholly uncertain, as has been already remarked, whether Aristarchus and Luke were with Paul in Cæsarea; while it is manifest that they were with him at Rome. (Acts xxvii. 2). Both are mentioned in Coloss. iv. 10, and Philem. 24. And after all that Böttger has advanced, it will be difficult to convince the unprejudiced reader, that *οἰκία Καίσαρος* has any other meaning than the imperial palace at Rome. It is freely granted that many circumstances stated in favour of the ancient opinion have little weight or worth. Yet to those mentioned, importance must be attached, especially as none of the considerations urged by Schulz and his followers, possess equal value.

Schneckenburger endeavours to steer a middle course between the traditional and modern view, by supposing that the epistle to the Ephesians was written at Cæsarea, the others at Rome. An answer to this is supplied by the preceding observations.

We come to consider the *order* in which the four epistles were written. This point cannot be precisely ascertained. Were it determined by the authority of names, the greater number are in favour of the priority of the epistle to the Ephesians to that directed to the Colossians. The apostle is thought to have written to the Ephesians first, by Theodoret, Flacius, Baro-

nius, Petavius, Ussher, Heidegger, Lightfoot, Pearson, Mill, Hammond, Hottinger, Michaelis, Schmid, Hug, Eichhorn, Feilmoser, Schott, Koehler, Schrader, Lardner, Credner, and Guerike; while the contrary is maintained by L. Capelle, J. J. Lange, De Wette, Neander, Harless, Olshausen, Steiger, and Wiggers.

The arguments for the latter view are few, and may be briefly stated. On comparing Ephes. vi. 21 with Col. iv. 7, we find in the former text the conjunction καί, thus distinguishing it from what is stated in the epistle to the Colossians: 'But that ye *also* may know my affairs, what I am doing, Tychicus, &c. The term *also* refers to the Colossians, to whom he wrote the same words. In this case he must have taken it for granted that the Ephesians were acquainted with the contents of the letter addressed to the Colossians, or at least with the circumstance that such had been sent to the christians at Colosse.

Again: the epistle to Philemon was written at the same time as that to the Colossians, because Onesimus, who carried the former to his old master, went with Tychicus from Rome to Colosse; and we know that both were charged with the letter to the Colossians. But we also learn from Ephes. vi. 21, 22, that Tychicus was the bearer of the letter to the Ephesian church, so that it must have been written very shortly, perhaps a few days after those to the Colossians and Philemon. It is not at all probable, considering the distance, and difficulty of travelling, that Tychicus undertook two separate journies from Rome, the one with Onesimus to Colosse and Philemon, the other to Ephesus. In addition to these arguments, it is stated by Neander, that in the epistle to the Colossians, the apostle's thoughts exhibit themselves in their original formation and connection, as they were called forth by his opposition to that sect whose sentiments and practices he combats. The similarity of the epistles, as indicating the mind of the writer to have been occupied with the same thoughts, seem also to refer their composition to the same time.

On the other hand it has been maintained, that the epistle to the Ephesians was composed first, because Paul has not prefixed the name of Timothy to it, after his own, as he has in all the epistles he wrote when that faithful friend was at his side. Timothy was called to the capital by the fate of his master, and shared that fate with him till his liberation. (Heb. xiii. 23.)

There are also in it 'no expressions, denoting hopes of enlargement, as there are in the epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon. Nor does he here take notice of any successes obtained at Rome, or give any intimations of converts made by him there, as he does in Philip. i. 12, 13, 14; iv. 22. He does not intimate any advantages obtained as yet. Nor does he, at

the end of this epistle, send such salutations as at the end of the epistles to the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon. All which must lead us to think, that the circumstances of the apostle at writing this epistle were different from his circumstances at writing those epistles; when his captivity, as is allowed, was near its period.'*

Another argument is derived from the second chapter of the epistle to the Colossians, where the worshipping of angels, and other matters, are introduced; whence it is concluded, that he received intelligence from those parts which he did not possess when he wrote the epistle to the Ephesians. There are also a few *a priori* considerations, which, in Lardner's opinion, *might* induce the apostle to write to the Ephesians shortly after his arrival at Rome; but they are of no weight or importance.

The preponderance of argument appears to be in favour of the priority of the epistle to the Colossians. As to the want of expressions denoting hopes of enlargement, in the epistle to the Ephesians, the same is equally apparent in that to the Colossians. Notices of success or of converts are also absent from both. It is true that while there is a considerable resemblance between them, there is also a marked difference. The apostle, writing to different communities, referred to different circumstances. Errors had developed themselves at the one place, which had not appeared at the other; and unless it could be shown that the same false teaching had corrupted both places at the same time, the variety of statements does not prove an interval of time to allow of the writer receiving new intelligence. It is natural to suppose, that the errors described in the epistle to the Colossians had appeared among them earlier than among the Ephesian community. The want of salutations at the conclusion of the epistle to the Ephesians is not conclusive against the opinion that the two epistles were written at the same time. The *argumentum e silentio*, as has been already remarked, is an uncertain foundation for any hypothesis, not to mention, that Tychicus would supply, in person, the want of such salutations.

But it has been thought, that the epistle to Philemon, which was written and sent along with that to the Colossians, shows that the apostle was then expecting his immediate release, because it is said in the 22nd verse: 'I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.' Here, however, the word *shortly* is wanting; while in Philipp. ii. 24, it is written, 'I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come *shortly*.'

By far the strongest argument for the priority of the epistle to the Ephesians is drawn from the want of Timothy's name at the beginning. Lardner thinks it quite *demonstrative*; and Hug

* Lardner.

relies upon it with equal confidence. Eichhorn's explanation, which resolves the dissimilarity into Timothy's not being the amanuensis in the one as he was in the other, is far-fetched and visionary. Another amanuensis would have named Timothy as readily as himself, had the apostle so dictated, and the Spirit willed accordingly.

Macknight supposes that Timothy had left Rome on some necessary business before the epistle to the Ephesians was begun; 'For the apostle in his letter to the Philippians promised to send Timothy to them soon, chap. ii. 19. And in his epistle to the Hebrews, which was written after his release, he informed them that Timothy was sent away, Heb. xiii. 23.' This solution is unsatisfactory, because it proceeds on the supposition that the epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, were written previously to that addressed to the Ephesians; whereas it seems to us that the epistle to the Philippians, in which Timothy's name occurs, was composed *after* that to the Ephesians.

In the brief interval between the composition of the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, we suppose Timothy not to have been present with the writer. The absence of his name from the latter leads to this conjecture, though it is now impossible to *prove* its truth, or to ascertain where he was during the short space referred to.

The epistle to the Philippians was probably written towards the conclusion of the apostle's captivity at Rome. This may be inferred from Phil. i. 12, 26, and ii. 26, &c., which presuppose the lapse of a considerable time at Rome, during which the apostle saw the good effects of his ministry. In ii. 24 he also expresses his confident hope that he should see the Philippians *shortly* face to face. If the first three epistles were written in 62, as Guerike supposes, the fourth should be assigned to 63.

The connexion between the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians.

The similarity between the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians is apparent from the following parallel paragraphs:—

Ephes. i. 4—12, 19—23 . . . . . = Col. i. 13—20, 24 etc.
Ephes. ii. 1—12 . . . . . = Col. i. 21 etc.
Ephes. ii. 14—22, iii. 6, 9—12. iv. 15 etc = Col. ii. 9—15.
Ephes. iv. 22 etc. . . . . = Col. iii. 9, 10.
Ephes. iv. 29 . . . . . = Col. iv. 5, 6.
Ephes. v. 18 etc. . . . . = Col. iii. 16 etc.
Ephes. v. 21—33. vi. 1—9 . . . . = Col. iii. 18—25. iv. 1.
Ephes. vi. 18 etc. . . . . = Col. iv. 2 etc.
Ephes. vi. 21 etc. . . . . = Col. iv. 7 etc.*

* See De Wette's Einleit. in die Bücher des N. T. dritte Auflage, p. 224, Schott's Isagoge, § 62.—Harless's Commentar, p. lxix.

From this analogy, conclusions prejudicial to both have been often drawn. Thus De Wette asserts, that the epistle to the Ephesians is nothing more than a 'verbose enlargement' of the other, without definite object or specific references; while Mayerhoff* decides that it was the original from which the Colossian letter was imitated and copied. The former is therefore disposed to question the authenticity of the Ephesian, the latter, that of the Colossian epistle. Both are in error. It should be carefully noted, that while these compositions contain analogous expressions and sentiments, they exhibit dissimilarities which give to each a character of its own.

In the epistle to the Colossians there is an avowedly polemical tendency. A heresy, which had spread through different parts of Asia Minor, is depicted in its main features, and confronted with the exhibitions of eternal truth. A system of theosophic Jewish christianity had obtained currency at Colosse, which the apostle not only describes but combats as opposed to the genuine gospel of Christ. But the letter before us bears no such controversial aspect. When closely examined it will be found to consist of living truth, exhibited with all the freshness of originality to serve for confirmation in the faith, for promoting unity and steadfastness in the hope of the gospel. In various places the Ephesians are warned against errors; but this occurs in almost all the epistles of Paul. In those passages where he so vividly shews that under the gospel both Jews and Gentiles are one—that Christ broke down the middle wall of partition between them by his cross, so that the Gentiles are freely admitted to all the privileges of the kingdom of God, there is an intimation that Judaising teachers might hereafter endeavour to disunite them, and to inculcate the necessity of the law of Moses under the spiritual economy. The apostle foresaw that the Ephesians would be exposed to the corrupt teachings of errorists similar to those who had disturbed the Galatian churches. But his language presupposes no more than the *probable* dissemination of such erroneous tenets. He inculcates truths sufficient to preserve the Ephesian believers from deserting the simplicity of the faith, not in the form of controversy but of preceptive affirmation. The great facts of christianity are brought forth in their quickening energy from the gushing fulness of his own heart, where they had been implanted by the Divine Spirit. With apostolic fidelity he endeavours to persuade his readers to abide in the belief of one Lord, one faith, one baptism which they already professed, without being tossed to and

* Der Brief an die Kolosser mit vornehmlicher Berücksichtigung der drei Pastoralschreiben geprüft, 105 seq.—Berlin, 1838, 8vo.

fro by every wind of doctrine, and to grow up in living conformity to the Head of the church, by bringing out into exercise all the virtues that do not less adorn than indicate the character of the believer. Thus he refutes error by emphatically teaching the truth, while he appears rather to view the existence of doctrinal errors as *probable* than as *already developed.*

Contents of the Epistle.

Like most of the Pauline epistles the present is divided into two parts, a *doctrinal* and a *practical*; the former embracing the first three chapters, the latter the remaining three. *Three* paragraphs in the doctrinal portion may be distinctly traced.

I. (*a*). i. 1—15. After the salutation, the apostle praises God the Father for the spiritual blessings bestowed upon the Ephesians and all other saints, in consequence of their eternal election in Christ.

(*b*). i. 15—ii. 10. The writer then gives special thanks to God for the faith and love manifested by the Ephesian believers, and states that his unceasing prayer on their behalf was, that God would bestow on them a higher measure of knowledge and understanding, by which they might learn the greatness of the power exerted in quickening them together with Christ, though they had formerly been dead in trespasses and sins; and be enabled, after their new creation, to bring forth fruit to the praise of that grace which abounded in the entire work of salvation.

(*c*). ii. 10—iii. 21. The apostle contrasts their former condition as heathens, with their present state after conversion, making special allusion to the fact, that the separation between Jew and Gentile was done away by Christ; so that both were joined together in him, as one spiritual body. In this united state the apostle compares them to a temple of God built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets. He is then led to speak of his own mission to the Gentiles, the object of which was to make them sharers of the promised blessings, in intimate fellowship with the Jews; so that the church consisting of Jew and Gentile might exhibit the manifold wisdom of God, according to his eternal purpose. He exhorts them not to be weary in their Christian course, and prays that they may be replenished with strength, faith, love, and knowledge, to the full measure of their capacity.

In the *practical* part, *four* paragraphs may be distinguished.

II. (*a*). iv. 1—16. The apostle beseeches them to keep the unity of the faith and to avoid divisions, informing them that all the different offices and stations in the church were intended

to promote the edification, unity, and perfection of the entire body.

(*b*). iv. 16—v. 21. He exhorts them no longer to walk after the manner of the heathen, but to put off the old man, and to be renewed in the spirit of their minds; annexing a series of moral precepts appropriate to Christians in all circumstances.

(*c*). v. 21—vi. 9. From general, the apostle passes to special relations, treating *first* of the duties belonging to wives and husbands, and representing the conjugal connexion as similar to that subsisting between Christ and his church; *secondly*, of the reciprocal duties of parents and children; and *thirdly*, of the duties arising out of the relation between master and servant.

(*d*). vi. 9—24. His language again becomes general. Believers are described as soldiers fighting for truth and righteousness against a host of enemies, and the spiritual armour they need in so great a conflict is minutely stated. In conclusion, the apostle requests an interest in the prayers of the Ephesian Christians, refers them to Tychicus the bearer of the epistle, who should inform them of his personal circumstances, and closes with the customary benediction.

Art IV. *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review. By Francis Jeffrey, now one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland.* 4 vols. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

THE publication of the Edinburgh Review, which commenced in 1802, constitutes an important era in our literature. The distinguished ability of its projectors, the fearlessness with which they addressed themselves to their calling, the manly tone which they assumed, the enlarged sphere and freshness of their criticisms, and the general impartiality of their verdict, raised the character and gave an impulse to periodical literature, which greatly raised it above its former level. In addition to this, it must in justice be mentioned, that the liberal tone of its political disquisitions, and its unsparing exposure of tory profligacy, scattered the seeds of many political reforms subsequently realised, and did more, probably, than any other agency to break up the quietude and slothfulness of the public mind. In all these respects, a large debt of gratitude is due to the conductors of this journal, which we are the more concerned to acknowledge as truth compels us to add that, in one department of their labours, and that the most important, they egregiously

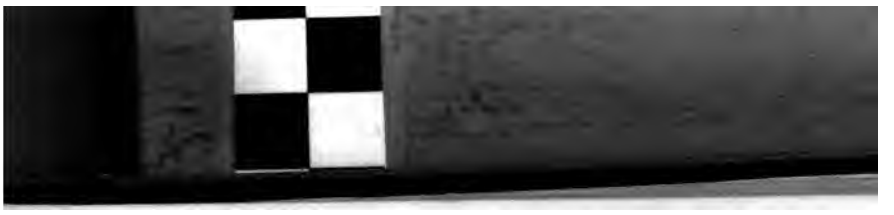
erred, and did fatal service against the highest interests of their species. The irreligion and infidelity conspicuous in various forms throughout the earlier volumes of the work, was matter of deep regret to many who sympathised with the politics, and admired the talent and scholarship of the journal. In this respect, however, the Edinburgh Review did but reflect the then state of our literature. An unnatural conjunction had been formed, between infidelity on the one hand, and literature and science on the other; so that the guardianship of pursuits, which ought to have enfranchised the human mind from prejudice, elevated its aspirations, and purified its hopes, was entrusted to the keeping of a frivolous and unholy spirit, which laughed at all seriousness, and turned religion to scorn. The most melancholy feature of the case, so far as it concerned the Edinburgh Review, was the fact, which soon became notorious, that its most objectionable articles,—those which gave deepest pain to the most sincere friends of religion, were supplied by a clergyman of the English church, whose official position ought at least to have imposed some sense of decency on his prurient pen. We have no pleasure in dwelling on this theme, and should not have referred to it, had we not felt that its omission would have involved our own faithfulness in doubt. For some time past, a marked improvement has been perceptible, not only in the absence of what is positively pernicious, but in the distinct recognition of the paramount authority and special character of the christian revelation. Papers are from time to time admitted which would scarcely have passed muster in former days. Serious things are treated with respect, homage is done to the supremacy of religious truth, and approximations are not unfrequently made to a more formal exhibition of the distinctive attributes of the christian character and system. In the memoirs of Mr. Horner, reviewed in our journal for May last, several interesting notices occur of the early history of the Review. Its projectors were Mr Horner, the Rev. Sydney Smith and the author of the volumes now before us, who soon united with themselves several other young men of corresponding views and of eminent talents. The sequel is well known, and the public have long been familiar with the results of their labours.

'The Edinburgh Review,' Lord Jeffrey remarks in his preface to this publication, 'it is well known, aimed high from the beginning:—And, refusing to confine itself to the humble task of pronouncing on the mere literary merits of the works that came before it, professed to go deeply into *the principles* on which its judgments were to be rested; as well as to take large and original views of all the important questions to which those works might relate. And, on the whole, I think it is now pretty generally admitted that it attained the end it aimed at. Many

errors there were, of course—and some considerable blunders; abundance of indiscretions, especially in the earlier numbers; and far too many excesses, both of party zeal, overweening confidence, and intemperate blame. But with all these drawbacks, I think it must be allowed to have substantially succeeded—in familiarising the public mind (that is, the minds of very many individuals) with higher speculations, and sounder and larger views of the great objects of human pursuit, than had ever before been brought as effectually home to their apprehensions; and also, in permanently raising the standard, and increasing the influence of all such occasional writings; not only in this country, but over the greater part of Europe, and the free States of America: while it proportionally enlarged the capacity, and improved the relish of the growing multitudes to whom such writings were addressed, for 'stronger meats,' which were then first provided for their digestion.'—p. ix.

Mr. Jeffrey wrote the first article in the first number of the Review, and his last contribution appeared in October, 1840. He was sole editor from 1803 till 1829, when, in consequence of being elected Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, he honourably resigned the appointment. His present judicial position naturally enough disinclined him—to say nothing of other considerations,—to concur in a republication of papers written during a period of nearly forty years, many of them probably in haste, and some, under the impulse of other influences than those which ought to sway the judgment of an upright critic. 'No reasonable man,' he remarks, 'could contemplate without alarm a project for reprinting, with his name, a long series of miscellaneous papers—written hastily in the intervals of graver occupations, and published anonymously, during the long course of forty preceding years!—especially if before such a suggestion was made, he had come to be placed in a situation which made any recurrence to past indiscretions or rash judgments peculiarly unbecoming. I expect, therefore, to be very readily believed when I say, that the project of this publication did not originate, and never would have originated with me; and that I have been induced to consent to it, only after great hesitation, and not without misgivings, which have not yet been entirely got over.' We shall be glad to find that the encouragement afforded to such reprints, induces other leading contributors to our periodical literature, to disinter some of their writings from the mass amidst which they at present lie buried. The examples of Christopher North, the Rev. Sidney Smith, Mr. Macauley, and Lord Jeffrey, constitute an authority, under which other critics may, without presumption, seek to rescue a portion of their lucubrations from the oblivion into which they must otherwise pass.

His assent to the publication, under the sanction of his name,



was at length ceded to the earnest solicitations of the publishers of the Review, and whilst we readily admit the force of the scruples which he entertained, we rejoice at the conclusion to which he ultimately came. The papers selected constitute less than one-third of those contributed by their author, and have been preferred on a principle which will be best explained in his own words: —'I have honestly endeavoured to select from that great mass, *not* those articles which I might think most likely to attract notice by boldness of view, severity of remark, or diversity of expression, but those much rather which, by enforcing what appear to me just principles, and useful opinions, I really thought had a tendency to make men happier and better.'

Such is, in brief, the history of this publication, which, with others of a similar nature, is indicative of a change now passing over our literature. Whatever that change may bode, we believe it on the whole to be an omen of good. We receive these *contributions* with pleasure, and rejoice in the accessible form in which they are now placed before the public.

It is not our design to attempt anything in the way of criticism on the contents of these volumes. We shall neither search after blemishes, nor analyze the manifold beauties by which they are distinguished. Other brethren of the craft are free to attempt this, but we at once frankly acknowledge that it does not consist with our notions of propriety, or come within our projected scope at present. We shall therefore—approving as we do in general, both the critical judgments, and the moral tone of the papers before us—attempt little more than to inform our readers of their general character, and to supply them with such specimens as will enable them to judge for themselves of the value and attractions of the publication. The public have been too long familiar with Lord Jeffrey's style as a reviewer, and its verdict is, on the whole, so favourable, that we need not detain our readers by any attempt to analyze it. Mr. Horner correctly described both its defects and its excellences so early as November, 1802. Speaking of the first number of the Review, he says—'Jeffrey is the person who will derive most honour from this publication, as his articles in this number are generally known, and are incomparably the best. I have received the greater pleasure from this circumstance, because the genius of that little man has remained almost unknown to all but his most intimate acquaintances. His manner is not, at first, pleasing. What is worse, it is of that cast which almost irresistably impresses upon strangers the idea of levity, and superficial talents. Yet there is not any man whose real character is so much the reverse. He has indeed a very sportive and playful

fancy, but it is accompanied with very extensive and varied information, with a readiness of apprehension almost intuitive, with judicious and calm discernment, with a profound and penetrating understanding. Indeed, both in point of candour and of vigour in the reasoning powers, I have never personally known a finer intellect than Jeffrey's, unless I were to except Allen's.'*

The papers are arranged under seven divisions, the titles of which are as follows:—1. General Literature, and Literary Biography; 2. History, and Historical Memoirs; 3. Poetry; 4. Philosophy of the mind, Metaphysics, and Jurisprudence; 5. Prose works of Fiction; 6. General Politics; 7. Miscellaneous.

One of the most favourable indications of our recent literature, is the disposition, growingly prevalent, to look back beyond the wits of Queen Anne's reign, to the more masculine and profound intellects which shed their glory on an earlier period of our history. Whatever advantage has accrued to our native tongue, in the way of refinement and polish, from the labours of the former class, has been purchased by the sacrifice of higher qualities, which were nobly exhibited by the latter. These qualities may yet be recognised in the writings of Shakspere, Spencer, Bacon, Milton, and Taylor. They survive to reproach a degenerate age,—the monuments of an intellectual greatness, in comparison with which, we are dwarfs. The idolatry paid to their feeble though elegant successors, has at length, we trust, found its limits, and will give place to a sounder and more healthful direction of the public mind. A better service cannot be rendered to our youths than that they should be led back from Addison, Dryden, and Pope, whatever were their excellencies—and we are not insensible to them—to the nobler spirits who first provoked the English intellect, stirred the depths of its emotions, and led on its generous enthusiasm to the profoundest speculations, or the most manly pastimes. Lord Jeffrey's reference in 1811 to these writers, is couched in terms which, though impassioned, are not beyond their merit.

'The æra to which they belong, indeed, has always appeared to us by far the brightest in the history of English literature,—or indeed of human intellect and capacity. There never was, anywhere, anything like the sixty or seventy years that elapsed from the middle of Elizabeth's reign to the period of the Restoration. In point of real force and originality of genius, neither the age of Pericles, nor the age of Augustus, nor the times of Leo. X., nor of Louis XIV., can come at all into comparison: For, in that short period, we shall find the names of almost all the very great men that this nation has ever produced,—the names of

* Horner's Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 205.

Shakspeare, and Bacon, and Spenser, and Sydney,—and Hooker, and Taylor, and Barrow, and Raleigh,—and Napier, and Milton, and Cudworth, and Hobbes, and many others;—men, all of them, not merely of great talents and accomplishments, but of vast compass and reach of understanding, and of minds truly creative and original;—not perfecting art by the delicacy of their taste, or digesting knowledge by the justness of their reasonings; but making vast and substantial additions to the materials upon which taste and reason must hereafter be employed,—and enlarging, to an incredible and unparalleled extent, both the stores and the resources of the human faculties.

'Whether the brisk concussion which was given to men's minds by the force of the reformation had much effect in producing this sudden development of British genius, we cannot undertake to determine. For our own part, we should be rather inclined to hold, that the reformation itself was but one symptom or effect of that great spirit of progression and improvement which had been set in operation by deeper and more general causes; and which afterwards blossomed out into this splendid harvest of authorship. But whatever may have been the causes that determined the appearance of those great works, the fact is certain, not only that they appeared together in great numbers, but that they possessed a common character, which, in spite of the great diversity of their subjects and designs, would have made them be classed together as the works of the same order or description of men, even if they had appeared at the most distant intervals of time. They are the works of giants, in short—and of giants of one nation and family;—and their characteristics are, great force, boldness, and originality; together with a certain raciness of English peculiarity, which distinguishes them from all those performances that have since been produced among ourselves, upon a more vague and general idea of European excellence. Their sudden appearance, indeed, in all this splendour of native luxuriance, can only be compared to what happens on the breaking up of a virgin soil, where all indigenous plants spring up at once with a rank and irrepressible fertility, and display whatever is peculiar or excellent in their nature, on a scale the most conspicuous and magnificent. The crops are not indeed so clean, as where a more exhausted mould has been stimulated by systematic cultivation; nor so profitable, as where their quality has been varied by a judicious admixture of exotics, and accommodated to the demands of the universe by the combinations of an unlimited trade. But to those whose chief object of admiration is the living power and energy of vegetation, and who take delight in contemplating the various forms of her unforced and natural perfection, no spectacle can be more rich, splendid, or attractive.

'In the times of which we are speaking, classical learning, though it had made great progress, had by no means become an exclusive study; and the ancients had not yet been permitted to subdue men's minds to a sense of hopeless inferiority, or to condemn the moderns to the lot of humble imitators. They were resorted to, rather to furnish materials and occasional ornaments, than as models for the general style of composition; and, while they enriched the imagination, and insensibly improved the taste of their successors, they did not at all restrain their

freedom, or impair their originality. No common standard had yet been erected, to which all the works of European genius were required to conform; and no general authority was acknowledged, by which all private or local ideas of excellence must submit to be corrected. Both readers and authors were comparatively few in number. The former were infinitely less critical and difficult than they have since become; and the latter, if they were not less solicitous about fame, were at least much less jealous and timid as to the hazards which attended its pursuit. Men, indeed, seldom took to writing in those days, unless they had a great deal of matter to communicate; and neither imagined that they could make a reputation by delivering commonplaces in an elegant manner, or that the substantial value of their sentiments would be disregarded for a little rudeness or negligence in the finishing. They were habituated, therefore, both to depend upon their own resources, and to draw upon them without fear or anxiety; and followed the dictates of their own taste and judgment, without standing much in awe of the ancients, of their readers, or of each other.

'The achievements of Bacon, and those who set free our understandings from the shackles of papal and of tyrannical imposition, afford sufficient evidence of the benefit which resulted to the reasoning faculties from this happy independence of the first great writers of this nation. But its advantages were, if possible, still more conspicuous in the mere literary character of their productions. The quantity of bright thoughts, of original images, and splendid expressions, which they poured forth upon every occasion, and by which they illuminated and adorned the darkest and most rugged topics to which they had happened to turn themselves, is such as has never been equalled in any other age or country; and places them at least as high, in point of fancy and imagination, as of force of reason, or comprehensiveness of understanding. In this highest and most comprehensive sense of the word, a great proportion of the writers we have alluded to were *poets;* and, without going to those who composed in metre, and chiefly for purposes of delight, we will venture to assert, that there is in any one of the prose folios of Jeremy Taylor more fine fancy and original imagery—more brilliant conceptions and glowing expressions—more new figures, and new applications of old figures—more, in short, of the body and soul of poetry, than in all the odes and the epics that have since been produced in Europe. There are large portions of Barrow, and of Hooker and Bacon, of which we may say nearly as much: nor can any one have a tolerably adequate idea of the riches of our language and our native genius, who has not made himself acquainted with the prose writers, as well as the poets, of this memorable period.

'The civil wars, and the fanaticism by which they were fostered, checked all this fine bloom of the imagination, and gave a different and less attractive character to the energies, which they could not extinguish. Yet, those were the times that matured and drew forth the dark, but powerful genius of such men as Cromwell, and Harrison, and Fleetwood, &c.—the milder and more generous enthusiasm of Blake, and Hutchison, and Hampden—and the stirring and indefatigable spirit of Pym, and Hollis, and Vane—and the chivalrous and accomplished loyalty

of Strafford and Falkland; at the same time that they stimulated and repaid the severer studies of Coke, and Selden, and Milton. The drama, however, was entirely destroyed, and has never since regained its honours; and poetry, in general, lost its ease, and its majesty and force, along with its copiousness and originality.'—vol. ii., pp. 284—288.

As a contrast to the foregoing, we adduce the following critique on the style of Swift, one of the most distinguished writers of the latter period:—

'Of his style, it has been usual to speak with great, and, we think, exaggerated praise. It is less mellow than Dryden's—less elegant than Pope's or Addison's—less free and noble than Lord Bolingbroke's—and utterly without the glow and loftiness which belonged to our earlier masters. It is radically a low and homely style—without grace and without affectation; and chiefly remarkable for a great choice and profusion of *common* words and expressions. Other writers, who have used a plain and direct style, have been for the most part jejune and limited in their diction, and generally give us an impression of the poverty as well as the tameness of their language; but Swift, without ever trespassing into figured or poetical expressions, or ever employing a word that can be called fine, or pedantic, has a prodigious variety of good set phrases always at his command, and displays a sort of homely richness, like the plenty of an old English dinner, or the wardrobe of a wealthy burgess. This taste for the plain and substantial was fatal to his poetry, which subsists not on such elements; but was in the highest degree favourable to the effect of his humour, very much of which depends on the imposing gravity with which it is delivered, and on the various turns and heightenings it may receive from a rapidly shifting and always appropriate expression. Almost all his works, after the Tale of a Tub, seem to have been written very fast, and with very little minute care of the diction. For his own ease, therefore, it is probable they were all pitched on a low key, and set about on the ordinary tone of a familiar letter or conversation; as that from which there was little hazard of falling, even in moments of negligence, and from which any rise that could be effected, must always be easy and conspicuous. A man fully possessed of his subject, indeed, and confident of his cause, may almost always write with vigour and effect, if he can get over the temptation of writing finely, and really confine himself to the strong and clear exposition of the matter he has to bring forward. Half of the affectation and offensive pretension we meet with in authors, arises from a want of matter,—and the other half, from a paltry ambition of being eloquent and ingenious out of place. Swift had complete confidence in himself; and had too much real business on his hands, to be at leisure to intrigue for the fame of a fine writer;— in consequence of which, his writings are more admired by the judicious than if he had bestowed all his attention on their style. He was so much a man of business, indeed, and so much accustomed to consider his writings merely as means for the attainment of a practical end—whether that end was the strengthening of a party, or the wounding a foe—that he not only disdained the reputation of a

composer of pretty sentences, but seems to have been thoroughly indifferent to all sorts of literary fame. He enjoyed the notoriety and influence which he had procured by his writings; but it was the glory of having carried his point, and not of having written well, that he valued.' —vol. i., pp. 223—234.

In characterising his own productions, Lord Jeffrey informs us in his preface, that he 'constantly endeavoured to combine ethical principles with literary criticism, and 'more uniformly and earnestly than any preceding critic made the moral tendencies of the works under consideration a leading subject of discussion.' As a confirmation of this remark, we may adduce, amongst others, the papers on Byron and Burns, in both of which occur remarks as creditable to the moral tone of the writer, as his warm-hearted and generous acknowledgment of the merits of the two poets is to his literary judgment. It is well known that in the case of Lord Byron's first publication, the 'Edinburgh Review' failed to detect the poetic power which was subsequently displayed. This is no marvel, for most journals would probably do the same if the materials for their judgment were equally restricted. The truth of the matter is, that *The Hours of Idleness* did not presage the brilliant career which his lordship subsequently pursued. We view it in connexion with that career; and, therefore, wonder at the blunder of the critic, forgetting that our judgment is influenced by circumstances of which he was necessarily ignorant. As in some other cases, where similar errors had been committed, reparation was handsomely made, and the warmest tribute which a generous admiration could offer was paid to his lordship's genius. This admiration, however, was not blind or unreflecting, as the following passage, which we commend to the special consideration of our young readers, will shew:

'We have a word or two to say on the griefs of Lord Byron himself. He complains bitterly of the detraction by which he has been assailed—and intimates that his works have been received by the public with far less cordiality and favour than he was entitled to expect. We are constrained to say, that this appears to us a very extraordinary mistake. In the whole course of our experience, we cannot recollect a single author who has had so little reason to complain of his reception—to whose genius the public has been so early and so constantly just—to whose faults they have been so long and so signally indulgent. From the very first, he must have been aware that he offended the principles and shocked the prejudices of the majority, by his sentiments, as much as he delighted them by his talents. Yet there never was an author so universally and warmly applauded, so gently admonished—so kindly entreated to look more heedfully to his opinions. He took the praise, as usual, and rejected the advice. As he grew in fame and authority, he aggravated all his offences—clung more fondly to all he had been reproached with—

and only took leave of Childe Harold to ally himself to Don Juan! That he has since been talked of, in public and in private, with less unmingled admiration—that his name is now mentioned as often for censure as for praise—and that the exultation with which his countrymen once hailed the greatest of our living poets, is now alloyed by the recollection of the tendency of his writings—is matter of notoriety to all the world; but matter of surprise, we should imagine, to nobody but Lord Byron himself.

'He would fain persuade himself, indeed, that for this decline of his popularity, or rather this stain upon its lustre—for he is still popular beyond all other example, and it is only because he is so that we feel any interest in this discussion;—he is indebted, not to any actual demerits of his own, but to the jealousy of those he has supplanted, the envy of those he has outshone, or the party rancour of those against whose corruptions he has testified;—while at other times he seems inclined to insinuate, that it is chiefly because he is a *Gentleman* and a *Nobleman* that plebeian censors have conspired to bear him down! We scarcely think, however, that these theories will pass with Lord Byron himself—we are sure they will pass with no other person. They are so manifestly inconsistent, as mutually to destroy each other—and so weak, as to be quite insufficient to account for the fact, even if they could be effectually combined for that purpose. *The party* that Lord Byron has chiefly offended, bears no malice to Lords and Gentlemen. Against its rancour, on the contrary, these qualities have undoubtedly been his best protection; and had it not been for them, he may be assured that he would, long ere now, have been shown up in the pages of the Quarterly, with the same candour and liberality that has there been exercised towards his friend Lady Morgan. That the base and the bigotted—those whom he has darkened by his glory, spited by his talent, or mortified by his neglect—have taken advantage of the prevailing disaffection, to vent their puny malice in silly nicknames and vulgar scurrility, is natural and true. But Lord Byron may depend upon it, that the dissatisfaction is not confined to them—and, indeed, that they would never have had the courage to assail one so immeasurably their superior, if he had not at once made himself vulnerable by his errors, and alienated his natural defenders by his obstinate adherence to them. *We* are not bigots or rival poets. We have not been detractors from Lord Byron's fame, nor the friends of his detractors; and *we* tell him—far more in sorrow than in anger—that we verily believe the great body of the English nation—the religious, the moral, and the candid part of it—consider the tendency of his writings to be immoral and pernicious—and look upon his perseverance in that strain of composition with regret and reprehension.

'He has no priestlike cant or priestlike reviling to apprehend from us. We do not charge him with being either a disciple or an apostle of Satan; nor do we describe his poetry as a mere compound of blasphemy and obscenity. On the contrary, we are inclined to believe that he wishes well to the happiness of mankind—and are glad to testify, that his poems abound with sentiments of great dignity and tenderness, as well as passages of infinite sublimity and beauty. But their general tendency we believe to be in the highest degree pernicious; and we even

think that it is chiefly by means of the fine and lofty sentiments they contain, that they acquire their most fatal power of corruption. This may sound at first, perhaps, like a paradox; but we are mistaken if we shall not make it intelligible enough in the end.

'We think there are indecencies and indelicacies, seductive descriptions and profligate representations, which are extremely reprehensible; and also audacious speculations, and erroneous and uncharitable assertions, equally indefensible. But if these had stood alone, and if the whole body of his works had been made up of gaudy ribaldry and flashy scepticism, the mischief, we think, would have been much less than it is. He is not more obscene, perhaps, than Dryden or Prior, and other classical and pardoned writers; nor is there any passage in the history even of Don Juan, so offensively degrading as Tom Jones's affair with Lady Bellaston. It is no doubt a wretched apology for the indecencies of a man of genius, that equal indecencies have been forgiven to his predecessors: but the precedent of lenity might have been followed; and we might have passed both the levity and the voluptuousness—the dangerous warmth of his romantic situations, and the scandal of his cold-blooded dissipation. It might not have been so easy to get over his dogmatic scepticism—his hard-hearted maxims of misanthropy—his cold-blooded and eager expositions of the non-existence of virtue and honour. Even this, however, might have been comparatively harmless, if it had not been accompanied by that which may look, at first sight, as a palliation, the frequent presentment of the most touching pictures of tenderness, generosity, and faith.

'The charge we bring against Lord Byron, in short, is, that his writings have a tendency to destroy all belief in the reality of virtue—and to make all enthusiasm and constancy of affection ridiculous; and this, not so much by direct maxims and examples, of an imposing or seductive kind, as by the constant exhibition of the most profligate heartlessness in the persons who had been transiently represented as actuated by the purest and most exalted emotions—and in the lessons of that very teacher who had been, but a moment before, so beautifully pathetic in the expression of the loftiest conceptions. When a gay voluptuary descants, somewhat too freely, on the intoxications of love and wine, we ascribe his excesses to the effervescence of youthful spirits, and do not consider him as seriously impeaching either the value or the reality of the severer virtues; and in the same way, when the satirist deals out his sarcasms against the sincerity of human professions, and unmasks the secret infirmities of our bosoms, we consider this as aimed at hypocrisy, and not at mankind: or, at all events, and in either case, we consider the Sensualist and the Misanthrope as wandering, each in his own delusion—and are contented to pity those who have never known the charms of a tender or generous affection. The true antidote to such seductive or revolting views of human nature, is to turn to the scenes of its nobleness and attraction; and to reconcile ourselves again to our kind, by listening to the accents of pure affection and incorruptible honour. But if those accents have flowed in all their sweetness, from the very lips that instantly open again to mock and blaspheme them, the antidote is mingled with the poison, and the draught is the more deadly for the mixture!—Vol. ii., pp. 365—369.

We are tempted, though in danger of exceeding our limits, to transfer to our pages a short extract from an article on Burns, illustrative of the same honourable characteristic of the reviewer. The article, as a whole, is highly laudatory, but the admiration of the poet is happily not permitted to overlook, or, as in some cases has happened, to change into virtues the vices by which his writings are defaced. We can afford space only for a small portion of that which we should like to extract.

'But the leading vice in Burns's character, and the cardinal deformity, indeed, of all his productions, was his contempt, or affectation of contempt, for prudence, decency, and regularity; and his admiration of thoughtlessness, oddity, and vehement sensibility;—his belief, in short, in *the dispensing power* of genius and social feeling, in all matters of morality and common sense. This is the very slang of the worst German plays, and the lowest of our town-made novels; nor can anything be more lamentable, than that it should have found a patron in such a man as Burns, and communicated to many of his productions a character of immorality, at once contemptible and hateful. It is but too true, that men of the highest genius have frequently been hurried by their passions into a violation of prudence and duty; and there is something generous, at least, in the apology which their admirers may make for them, on the score of their keener feelings and habitual want of reflection. But this apology, which is quite unsatisfactory in the mouth of another, becomes an insult and an absurdity whenever it proceeds from their own. A man may say of his friend, that he is a noble-hearted fellow—too generous to be just, and with too much spirit to be always prudent and regular. But he cannot be allowed to say even this of himself; and still less to represent himself as a hairbrained sentimental soul, constantly carried away by fine fancies and visions of love and philanthropy, and born to confound and despise the cold-blooded sons of prudence and sobriety. This apology, indeed, evidently destroys itself: For it shows that conduct to be the result of deliberate system, which it affects at the same time to justify as the fruit of mere thoughtlessness and casual impulse. Such protestations, therefore, will always be treated, as they deserve, not only with contempt, but with incredulity; and their magnanimous authors set down as determined profligates, who seek to disguise their selfishness under a name somewhat less revolting. That profligacy is almost always selfishness, and that the excuse of impetuous feeling can hardly ever be justly pleaded for those who neglect the ordinary duties of life, must be apparent, we think, even to the least reflecting of those sons of fancy and song. It requires no habit of deep thinking, nor anything more, indeed, than the information of an honest heart, to perceive that it is cruel and base to spend, in vain superfluities, that money which belongs of right to the pale industrious tradesman and his famishing infants; or that it is a vile prostitution of language, to talk of that man's generosity or goodness of heart, who sits raving about friendship and philanthropy in a tavern, while his wife's heart is breaking at her cheerless fireside, and his children pining in solitary poverty.

'This pitiful cant of careless feeling and eccentric genius, accordingly, has never found much favour in the eyes of English sense and morality. The most signal effect which it ever produced, was on the muddy brains of some German youth, who are said to have left college in a body to rob on the highway! because Schiller had represented the captain of a gang as so very noble a creature. But in this country, we believe, a predilection for that honourable profession must have preceded this admiration of the character. The style we have been speaking of, accordingly, is now the heroics only of the hulks and the house of correction; and has no chance, we suppose, of being greatly admired, except in the farewell speech of a young gentleman preparing for Botany Bay.'—*Ib.* 394, 395.

A large space is allotted to the poems of Crabbe, partly, as Lord Jeffrey states, because he thinks more highly of him than of most of his contemporaries, and partly because, as he imagines, less justice has been done him. Whatever the ground of the selection, we are not disposed to quarrel with his lordship for having devoted upwards of one hundred pages to the productions of this author, as we sympathize with the preference of the reviewer, and have been much gratified by the hearty approval, and discriminating criticisms with which the several papers abound. Crabbe's poetry is much less ambitious than that of many of his contemporaries. There is less effort, less straining after effect, less of that brilliancy which produces vulgar admiration, and exhausts both the writer and the reader by the unnatural force put on the intellect. But there are qualities of deep and permanent value in his writings,—profound observation, great mastery of the passions, truthfulness to nature, and nice pencillings of human life, which will serve to sustain his reputation, when the fashion of the age has passed away.

The following is Lord Jeffrey's sketch, taken from the first of the papers reprinted in these volumes:

'His characteristic, certainly, is force, and truth of description, joined for the most part to great selection and condensation of expression; that kind of strength and originality which we meet with in Cowper, and that sort of diction and versification which we admire in 'The Deserted Village' of Goldsmith, or 'The vanity of Human Wishes' of Johnson. If he can be said to have imitated the manner of any author, it is Goldsmith, indeed, who has been the object of his imitation; and yet his general train of thinking, and his views of society, are so extremely opposite, that, when 'The Village' was first published, it was commonly considered as an antidote or an answer to the more captivating representations of 'The Deserted Village.' Compared with this celebrated author, he will be found, we think, to have more vigour and less delicacy; and while he must be admitted to be inferior in the fine finish and uniform beauty of his composition, we cannot help consider-

ing him as superior, both in the variety and the truth of his pictures. Instead of that uniform tint of pensive tenderness which overspreads the whole poetry of Goldsmith, we find in Mr. Crabbe many gleams of gaiety and humour. Though his habitual views of life are more gloomy than those of his rival, his poetical temperament seems far more cheerful; and when the occasions of sorrow and rebuke are gone by, he can collect himself for sarcastic pleasantry, or unbend in innocent playfulness. His diction, though generally pure and powerful, is sometimes harsh, and sometimes quaint; and he has occasionally admitted a couplet or two in a state so unfinished, as to give a character of inelegance to the passages in which they occur. With a taste less disciplined and less fastidious than that of Goldsmith, he has, in our apprehension, a keener eye for observation, and a readier hand for the delineation of what he has observed. There is less poetical keeping in his whole performance; but the groups of which it consists are conceived, we think, with equal genius, and drawn with greater spirit as well as far greater fidelity.

'It is not quite fair, perhaps, thus to draw a detailed parallel between a living poet, and one whose reputation has been sealed by death, and by the immutable sentence of a surviving generation. Yet there are so few of his contemporaries to whom Mr. Crabbe bears any resemblance, that we can scarcely explain our opinion of his merit, without comparing him to some of his predecessors. There is one set of writers, indeed, from whose works those of Mr. Crabbe might receive all that elucidation which results from contrast, and from an entire opposition in all points of taste and opinion. We allude now to the Wordsworths, and the Southeys, and Coleridges, and all that ambitious fraternity, that, with good intentions and extraordinary talents, are labouring to bring back our poetry to the fantastical oddity and puling childishness of Withers, Quarles, or Marvel. These gentlemen write a great deal about rustic life, as well as Mr. Crabbe; and they even agree with him in dwelling much on its discomforts; but nothing can be more opposite than the views they take of the subject, or the manner in which they execute their representation of them.

'Mr. Crabbe exhibits the common people of England pretty much as they are, and as they must appear to every one who will take the trouble of examining into their condition; at the same time that he renders his sketches in a very high degree interesting and beautiful—by selecting what is most fit for description—by grouping them into such forms as must catch the attention or awake the memory—and by scattering over the whole such traits of moral sensibility, of sarcasm, and of deep reflection, as everyone must feel to be natural, and own to be powerful. The gentlemen of the new school, on the other hand, scarcely ever condescend to take their subjects from any description of persons at all known to the common inhabitants of the world; but invent for themselves certain whimsical and unheard-of beings, to whom they impute some fantastical combination of feelings, and then labour to excite our sympathy for them, either by placing them in incredible situations, or by some strained and exaggerated moralisation of a vague and tragical description. Mr. Crabbe, in short, shows us something which we have all seen, or may see, in real life; and draws from it such feelings and

such reflections as every human being must acknowledge that it is calculated to excite. He delights us by the truth, and vivid and picturesque beauty of his representations, and by the force and pathos of the sensations with which we feel that they are connected. Mr. Wordsworth and his associates, on the other hand, introduce us to beings whose existence was not previously suspected by the acutest observers of nature; and excite an interest for them—where they do excite any interest—more by an eloquent and refined analysis of their own capricious feelings, than by any obvious or intelligible ground of sympathy in their situation.'—Vol. iii. p. 5—7.

We need say nothing further to commend these volumes to our readers. It would be difficult to select an equal number containing within similar compass so much instructive and interesting matter. From some of the judgments pronounced we dissent; from some of the views broached respecting authors and parties we widely differ; but as a whole, we commend the publication as one of the most attractive and informing which our readers can possess.

Art. V. 1. *An Examination of the Principles and Tendencies of Dr. Pusey's Sermon on the Eucharist; in a Series of Letters to a friend.* By the Rev. B. Godwin, D.D., &c. 8vo. pp. 82. London: Jackson and Walford.

2. *A complete View of Puseyism, exhibiting from its own writings its twenty-two tenets, with a careful refutation of each tenet. Also an exposure of their tendencies, &c. &c.* By R. Weaver. 8vo. pp. 188. London: Jackson and Walford.

If we were members of the church of England, conscientiously such, under the conviction that it was really a sound, sincere, and protesting church against the errors of Romanism, and for the gospel of Jesus Christ, we confess that its present condition would inevitably force upon us, one of two inferences—either that its constitution cannot preserve the supposed protestantism of the nation, and that, therefore, as a protestant establishment, it has become a nullity; or else that an overwhelming majority of its present ministers are become traitors to its principles, and are insidiously labouring to approximate its doctrines, rites, and discipline, to the pattern of their 'holy mother,' with a view to their ultimate identification with that standard from which it has been hitherto supposed they stood 'far as the poles asunder,' and are therefore become manifest enemies to the true religion. If an honest protestant of the church of England should be led, though slowly yet surely, to the latter of these conclusions, we

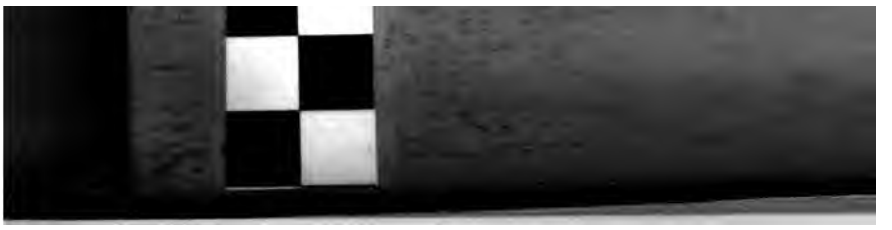
do not see how he can avoid the first, as a corollary, naturally and inevitably attaching to it. For with all the advantages of royal headship, and constitutional legislation, the church is now proved unable to preserve its protestant character. The 'Great Fact' here stands forth confessed, even by unquestionable authorities, that the clergy are far gone towards Rome, that they are employing every manœuvre to carry the people along with them, and that for ten years the movement has been unchecked, and has even bid defiance to every opponent. The utter imbecility of the constitutional authorities over the church, to say nothing of their suspected sympathy and gratification in the movement, demonstrates one most important truth, to which the nation is slowly opening its eyes and ears, but which it will surely at last learn—that state-endowed, and state-ruled churches, not only afford no guarantee for the maintenance of the gospel of Christ, but are themselves the greatest source of peril and corruption—the most formidable impediment which that gospel has to encounter. It was a pertinent and significant question put by no less distinguished a person than Lord Bacon—'*Why the civil state should be purged, and restored by good and wholesome laws, providing remedies, as time breedeth mischiefs; and, contrariwise, the ecclesiastical state should still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration now for five and forty years, and more?*' and we may now add a couple of hundred years to the five and forty, and say—this long experience has not only failed to produce any defecation of the church, but has shown that nearly the whole has become a mash of Romish dregs.

The existence of what is denominated the national religion, that is, its external form and character, as well as a support for its ministers, it is for the nation itself to determine. The question is thrown into the hands of the public by the circumstances of the times. The officers of the church who come most into contact with the people, are confessedly no longer protestant. The distinguishing tenets of protestantism are abandoned, with the utmost audacity. All the fundamental principles of popery are openly advocated, and in high places. The heads of the church look on in silent apathy, or smiling acquiescence; the sovereign majesty, 'who alone hath supreme authority in controversies ecclesiastical within this realm,' is mute; the legislature and the government, who originate all laws for the regulation of church and state, virtually say it is no concern of theirs, and they will not needlessly take a serpent by the tail;—and so the whole matter is left, daily growing worse, or, perhaps, if we could foresee its issues, we might say, growing better; for it may be thus, that church and state will most effectually and most speedily work out that divorce which would undoubtedly tend to

promote the domestic peace, order, and morality of the parties whose union has proved as disastrous in its results, as it was illicit in its formation, because contrary to the laws of the church's divine Founder. We say the entire question is now happily and fairly placed before the nation, (and by the nation, not by the church, not by the legal head of the church, not by the parliament or government, must it, and will it, be settled)—whether the existence of an establishment answers its only plausible purpose—the security, purity, and universal dissemination of the protestant religion—that is, the religion of the bible only?

The two great divisions of the established religion, from the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, or have placed themselves, are both thrusting this question upon public investigation. The solemn inquisition is commencing, and commencing under such circumstances as augur well for the cause of the gospel. Let us draw the attention of our readers to the principal points of agreement and of difference between these two established forms of the protestant religion. They are both compelling the nation to inquire whether an establishment answers its alleged purpose or not; and consequently whether any establishment of christianity by the civil power is a good or an evil, viewed in relation to the success of true religion among the people?

Let it be first observed, that the two establishments are forcing the question into notice in different ways. In Scotland it is the revival of spiritual religion within the established church, which has caused both its clergy and its laity to feel the irksomeness of state-legislation—nay, even the incompatibility of that legislation with what they understand by the headship of Christ over his own spiritual body: in England the case is the reverse. It is the corruption of the church within itself—the deviation of its ministers from what the people have understood to be its doctrines, and the attempts of those ministers to pervert their establishments to purposes altogether adverse to the reasons of its foundation, which is constraining the people to inquire—of what use is our establishment, if all our laws and all our payments cannot preserve in the land the pure religion which our forefathers thought they had bequeathed to us, when they reformed themselves from popery—and established, as they imagined, the Bible, and the Bible only, as the religion of our church? It is a singular coincidence that the question should thus be worked at both ends. If the 'Great Fact' of the English church becoming corrupt, and thereby making it a grave question whether the establishment had not better be abolished, had stood alone—the advocates of the theory might have said that the case was not a fair one, because it might so have happened that in-



stead of the growth of Puseyism, there might have risen in its place an equally rapid and extensive growth of evangelical principle—and that this would have worked well in proof of the utility of establishments of true christianity, and so they might have parried the particular case of Puseyism as a mere accident, and no genuine fruit of an established church. But such a mode of parrying the testimony of the 'Great Fact,' is most effectually and happily superseded by another 'Great Fact,' which it specially behoves the admirers of establishments to consider—it is that the corresponding growth of evangelism in an established church equally tends to show its inutility, though in a different way—because it proves that the very increase of real religion tends to make the trammels of the state incompatible with the vigour and strength of the piety which in the first instance other causes had cherished. In Scotland the love of christian liberty among ministers and people has outgrown the stature prescribed by the establishment, and the sons of freedom have nobly disdained to be held in bondage even at the high bidding of their masters; and so the uselessness of establishments has been proved by the injuries they would have inflicted upon the cause of christianity, in imposing on it a strait-waistcoat. In England the uselessness, and something more, is proved by the almost universal counteraction of sound protestant doctrine, which is the fruit of those popish predilections to which the established clergy have yielded. Try an establishment by its tendency to accomplish or defeat its own end, and you see in England popery turning protestantism out of doors. Try an establishment by its tendency either to promote or to check spiritual religion—and you see it in Scotland compelling all that is vital in christianity to fly off as from a centre of intense repulsion. If the clergy become *too bad* under an establishment, they teach us its mischiefs —as here: if they become *too good,* they cannot bear it, as in the north. Let the clergy outgrow the genius of their establishments, as in Scotland, and they repudiate its authority; let them degenerate under its influence, as in England, and both clergy and establishment will be repudiated together by the people. Experience, therefore, shows, at the present moment, that our establishment cannot prevent its clergy from degenerating so far as to turn that which was meant for a blessing into a curse; while the other establishment shows that if circumstances favour the growth of piety, then that very piety will in the end generate such a deference to the 'crown rights of the Redeemer,' as shall expel the civil magistrate from his throne in the church-courts, and so upset the theory of an establishment. In both cases the 'Great Fact' tends to the same issue, and it is a most instructive one at the present moment—the inexpediency of establishments

altogether; and the high probability—we had almost said, *certainty*, that the religion of Jesus Christ would, by this time, have been in a far better state without them; and the growing probability, that God in his providence is about to make them dissolve and vanish away under the hands of their supporters. It is demonstrated that they suit only a state of somnolency or indifference to all religion—a state of spiritual torpor and death—when the people take no sort of interest in the subject, but leave the whole matter, with the careless acquiescence of good slaves, to the arbitration of their masters—the court and aristocracy. But let the establishment glaringly attempt to defeat or reverse the idea which it has all along held before the mind of the nation, and it will set the nation upon inquiring into its utility or its injuriousness. On the other hand let it be so well constructed, so simple and inoffensive an establishment, that it shall not prevent the growth of true and spiritual religion, but rather to a considerable degree stimulate it, and give scope for the development of its vitality, and then that vitality, like the chrysalis, shall burst its dry shell, and show to the world, as the free church is now showing, that evangelical religion can not only subsist in a nation without state connexion, but as the Scotch themselves are protesting, *better without it than with it.* Here too then, the inutility of an establishment is proved by experience.

Although the results of the two 'Great Facts' in England and Scotland are thus substantially identified; yet there is one material point of difference which ought to be noticed. The facts throw a flood of light upon the characters of the men, and the character of their piety respectively. In England the traitorous and purjured clergy would willingly sacrifice the establishment, if they might be allowed at the same time to sacrifice the accredited protestantism of the nation to the supremacy of the clergy. They would consent to become independent of the state; nay, they have even claimed to be so, but it is with the view of making the church supreme over the state. Here is eminently conspicuous the peril to the civil liberties of the nation which has always been threatened by the ambition of an established church. It is never contented till it subjugates the throne and the civil state to its own ends. In Scotland, on the contrary, rather than sacrifice their religious principles, the spiritual principles of their presbyterian church, they have sacrificed their establishment. As soon as they were informed that their *status*, as an established clergy, depended upon their forfeiting what they held to be the religious principles of their church, they nobly said, Let the establishment go—and let us hold fast by our church. Our piety, and the religious freedom of our people,

are more precious than our stipends and our manses. It is only casting ourselves off the rotten raft of the establishment, and landing upon the rock of the Divine promise. We do but give up man for God—sense for faith; the exchange may be new to us, it may test us, but, in the strength of God, we will try it.' This resolution was worthy of men who emulated the piety and devotedness of presbyterian confessors and martyrs. It was a step that could not fail to draw down the Divine benediction. It was a step powerfully calculated to awaken and command the admiration and homage of all that is pure, and generous, and pious in the hearts of christian men through every province of the Redeemer's empire.—But look at the contrast presented by Puseyism—look at the baseness that takes protestant endowments while doing popish drudgery!—look at the jesuitical craft which is hypocritically pretending to re-set the broken limb of the Reformation!—look at servants who are receiving pay to sell their master! Look at the evangelical piety which is dwindling into maudlin mummery, gospel truth that is giving place to the beggarly elements of the world; at the messengers who should bring 'glad tidings of great joy,' contending for white or black dresses, genuflections and wax candles; look at bishops, priests, and deacons ready to tear off one another's canonicals, and eat one another up, in their strife after apostolical succession, sacramental grace, and priestly efficacy. Look at England with its masses ignorant as heathens, and overrun with infidelity, while its established teachers are trusting to the efficacy of baptismal regeneration, the potency of confirmation, the mystery of consubstantiation or transubstantiation to save the poor souls that never heard a gospel sermon, and are now less likely than ever to do so! Look at the men who are sworn to the holy scriptures, as the sole rule of their protestant religion, multiplying crucifixes and postures, enforcing saints' days and vigils, recommending confessionals and prayers for the dead, while the people perish for lack, not of the mass, but of that bread that came down from heaven—not for the water of baptism, but for the sprinkling of the blood of Christ upon their consciences.

There is another circumstance to be observed in the contrast between our two establishments. The one that has suffered disruption is, and always has been, the best—the least corrupt—the least under worldly and state influence—the one that has always had the largest measure of evangelical leaven within it—the one that has uniformly possessed most of the respect and affection of its people—consequently the one that has done most for the benefit of the people, and been least liable to be weakened by the inroads of dissenters of any class. It has always

been incomparably more efficient in diffusing christian knowledge. Its clergy have not indeed felt the influence of the same worldly lure of great prizes, but it has secured to them all a decent competency; and they have been vastly more free and independent in their pastoral relation—far less liable to annoyance either from parishioners or spiritual authorities. Their personal condition, therefore, has been, as a whole, greatly superior to that of their episcopalian brethren. So that the reasons and feelings of attachment to it may fairly be supposed to have been as strong as it is possible for good men to feel to the system they espouse. And we cannot withhold our opinion, formed after an intimate acquaintance with the subject for many years, that their establishment was really as good as any human system worked by imperfect creatures, can be expected to be. Whereas, on the other hand, the English establishment is as corrupt, as wicked, as worldly, as tyrannical, and anti-christian, both in theory and practice, as it is possible for any ecclesiastical system to be, that is not absolutely Romish. Yet what a contrast is presented in the conduct of the good men, the evangelical section pertaining to both. The one party finding their principles endangered by their continuance in the establishment, forsake it, and so preserve the influence of their evangelical doctrine unimpaired, nay, invigorated in the land; the other party are content to be overborne by Romish errors rather than give up their establishment—are content to see evangelical piety trodden under foot, and step by step rooted out, rather than abandon their state-support; yea, would remain to be stung to death by the hornets of Puseyism, and till their adherents dwindle away to utter insignificance, rather than cease to be established clergymen, and take their rank among the evangelical but despised sectaries. When shall we behold such a number of English clergy, not to say an equal proportion of the entire body, making such a stand, such a costly sacrifice, for the purity of the gospel church? Although there cannot be a question, that the reasons which should induce it in the case of England, are a thousand to one both more and stronger than those that have caused the secession in Scotland. But there are no such signs of life, of sterling principle, of heroism, of union, of determination to be free, among our evangelical clergy. The very system in which they have been brought up, and to which they are as habituated as to their mother tongue, has quenched their manly feelings and emasculated their piety. Viewed on a large scale, and in reference to the enterprising, aggressive, and extending genius of Christianity, it has become a poor, puling, disappointed, spiritless, powerless thing. It has helped to put Puseyism where it now is, and it is frightened

out of its wits lest Puseyism should put it out of the church,—or what is the same thing, make the church too hot for it. But a few more years of tory administration in church and state, aided by Oxford theology, and there will be nothing to fear for evangelism in the church of England, because there will be none to fear for. The bolder, which is the smaller class, will forsake it silently, one by one, or be harrassed out by such bishops as those of Exeter; the older and sleeker, which are the larger class of evangelicals, will no doubt continue to preach orthodoxy in their parishes, keep at home, live in brotherly-love with the Puseyites who curse them, and finally die not at the stake, but in their nests; while all the younger branches will go over to the new school, and come out full-grown Puseyites. This melting away of the evangelical party of the church of England has long since commenced, is now visible to the nation, and in less than twenty years will be completed, unless some new and unforseen change should take place. But as things now are, the cause of evangelism in the English church is utterly hopeless. Its permanence cannot be anticipated, we should think, even by its most sanguine friends. It is already *in extremis* under the grasp of a giant. There was a time when its advocates might have done much for the cause of truth and the evangelization of the land; but its leaders were impeded by their armour, and they possessed not courage enough to cast it aside. They thought to reform the church from within; but now the church from within is reforming them with a vengeance; and the cause of evangelism has fallen almost exclusively into the hands of the despised dissenters and Wesleyans. They are the only parties remaining that can wage the war with popery and Canterburyism on the broad arena of the nation. The sympathies of the people, even of the church, are with them. They are every where contending for *the article of a standing or falling church*, efficiently, and successfully. England has not yet turned traitor to the glorious cause of the reformation, whatever may be the case with the clergy, the aristocracy, and the universities. And whatever the court, the government, or the church may be, with the entire bench of bishops, if they please, at its head, the people will be protestant, and they will be more protestant than they have been, even though they must forsake their churches and go to chapels and meeting-houses to find it. The evangelical clergy may still continue to think more of their establishment than of the gospel; more of their forms and ceremonies than of the salvation of perishing sinners; but their people will think less. The passive tameness with which they have witnessed the wide-spread plague that is ruining the souls of the people, will ere long receive its

reward. Eli shall not have a son left to stand before the Lord. But the Lord will have his witnesses throughout the land. The signs of increasing enterprize, energy, devotedness, and union in the cause of the gospel, are bursting forth among all the evangelical bodies of dissenters. Thus though in the church 'it is dying and making no sign,' it is advancing to manhood elsewhere; and England, the first among the nations to lift up a standard for beleaguered truth and gospel liberty at the reformation, is not yet prepared to see that standard lowered. It may pass, and probably will pass, from the established church into the hands of the dissenters, who have always rallied the most closely round it; but if it does, the people of England, we yet believe, will follow it.

As to Scotland and the secession from the establishment, the protestantism of England will reap no inconsiderable advantage from the 'Great Fact,' and the many little facts it draws with it —for facts, like errors, go in clusters. The deputations of the Scottish ministers to the south will do more good, and in more ways, than we have space to explain. Truth is contagious, especially when it comes with the air of freshness, and force of novelty to the mind. The Scottish ministers are, for the first time in their lives, experiencing the power and influence of some, yea, of many truths and principles which are so old, and familiar, and well established among dissenters, that they had almost become effete. The Scotch grasp them with the energy of mental youth, with the conviction that it is for their life; and these principles, though nothing new to English dissenters, are advocated with a heartiness, energy, and singleness of purpose which is literally thrilling through the nonconforming communities, and effecting a resurrection of their love of religious liberty. The free-church people and ministers have vaulted over an abyss horrific to all establishment people: but the ease with which they have done it—the dignity and grace of the movement—the safety, liberty, and success which they have experienced since they quitted the enchanted ground, cannot fail to prove a recommendation of voluntaryism—cannot fail to shake the confidence of establishment advocates, must inevitably make their affections sicken, and their fears rise high. Who would undertake in 1844 to lecture at the Hanover Square rooms upon the advantages, &c. of established churches? We should like to see the man, who, braving the misfortunes of the cause since it fell into the hands of a Chalmers and a M'Neill, would now muster heroism enough, nay hardidood enough, we had almost said effrontery enough, to summon an audience in London to hear a defence of establishments of Christianity! It is well indeed that the deputations, establishment men as they may still be in theory, re-

solved before they set out to say nothing about establishment principles. The old proverb it seems, is as well known at Edinburgh as in London,—*the least said soonest mended*—for as one of them observed, 'We have done with our establishment, and—as far as we can see—for ever.' So we believe. For such an establishment as these gentlemen say they thought theirs was—or such as they thought to make it—they have found out did not exist. Moreover, they have been told that such an establishment as they want is Utopian, and shall not exist, by the powers that rule establishments—and such an one, they will pardon us for adding, ought not to exist—even though it were as pure as the Free Church could make or wish it. A church sustained by taxation ought to be amenable to the law and the civil courts. An establishment must be held by strong fetters, or it might become anything that human caprice, or human infirmity, or human ambition might make it; just as truth or error, reason or selfishness, ruled the hour. An established church, free even in its spirituals, has never been. The rulers of the world will take care that it shall never be. Only let the men, who have inscribed on their banner, 'the crown rights of the Redeemer,' remain true to their principle, and they will live and die practical voluntaries. They may now bless God that their own labours had not quite destroyed voluntaryism out of the land; but that after battling against it for many a year, it was yet found vigorous enough for its duty on the day of trial.

Our readers will begin to suspect that we have overlooked the valuable works at the head of this article. Their authors must forgive us, if in the extensive subject to which they draw our thoughts, we have seemed to slight the particular branch of it brought under discussion. The general bearing of the controversy respecting establishments is at the present moment more interesting, and incomparably more important, than the settlement of particular doctrines. The religious liberty of the nation is at stake by the growth of Puseyism. Let the question of establishments be settled by the formation of a correct public opinion, and the detail of doctrines will follow the supremacy of the bible. We have no intention, however, of here making our bow to the excellent authors whose works are before us. They have both done good service to the cause of truth, and deserve our hearty commendation.

Dr. Godwin has confined his attention to the notorious sermon by Dr. Pusey on the 'Eucharist.' His letters were occasioned by the impression made by the sermon on the mind of a friend; and if sound sense, powerful reasoning and scriptural statement could effect the removal of such an impression, it must have been done by these excellent letters. The childish absurdity of consubstantiation, which some of our readers may

not be aware, is a sort of sublimated absurdity, designed to be a substitute for transubstantiation, signifies the co-existence of the real body and blood and divinity of Christ with the bread and wine in the eucharist. Transubstantiation affirms that the bread and wine are miraculously changed in consecration from their apparent elements into the body, blood, and divinity of Christ. Consubstantiation affirms that bread and wine remain, but the body, blood, and divinity of Christ are really added to them. There is not a pin to choose between the two definitions. The 'tremendous mystery' which the priestly conjurors pretend, in order to frighten the ignorant and bind the superstitious, is identical in both cases. Dr. Godwin has treated the entire subject with great ability, and has clearly vindicated the sacred text from any such imputation as either doctrine would involve. The usual arguments are distinctly stated and brought within a small compass. There is only one omission which we have noticed; it is, however, important. The use of the substantive verb—*is*—for *represents, resembles,* or other like verb, is accounted for by the absence of such a verb in the vernacular of the time. The constant use of *is* when we should use some verb expressing resemblance, of which we have many, shews that there is no sort of necessity to adhere to the literal sense of *is,* in the institution of the supper. Everything else agreeing with the symbolical nature of the elements, there can be no force in the argument of Dr. Pusey, that reverence for the words of Christ requires us to understand—this *is* my body, literally. The Doctor knows well enough that the idiom as well as the resources of the language led constantly to the use of *is* for the idea of *represents, stands for, resembles.* The fact has been often enough pointed out in the controversy. Dr. Godwin has rendered an important service to protestant truth. His letters are well adapted to circulation, not only where Puseyism has made impression, but where it has not, to fortify the mind against its assaults. Few who had read these letters carefully would be inveigled by the childish absurdities of Pusey to look favourably upon consubstantiation or transubstantiation. We abstain from citation, because we really have not room for it; and a specimen of a continuous argument is like shewing a brick for a house. Let it suffice that we state our opinion, upon our critical responsibility, that the work is both well written and ably argued. We cordially wish it an extensive circulation.

Mr. Weaver's volume, which is of moderate size and price, takes up the whole system of the Tractarians, distinctly states their anti-protestant notions, and concisely exposes and refutes them. It does so with admirable calmness, clearness, and force.

Those who wish to see a complete view of Puseyism, and a concise answer to its heresies, cannot do better than procure this volume. Multitudes yet have very imperfect knowledge of its nostrums, and few would even attempt the task of reading through the tracts. To such, this volume will impart all the information they need. We have seen nothing equal to it for general circulation. It ought to be in every vestry library, and in the hand of all our Sunday-school teachers and young people. It will be perfectly intelligible to all. Other works abound which are more learned, elaborate, and argumentative. But this is in all respects adequate for popular use, and will, we have no doubt, be found eminently useful to those whose leisure allows little time for reading, but yet who ought to be informed upon the subject. Mr. Weaver deserves well of the public for the pains he has taken to give a fair and unobjectionable view of Puseyism, and to supply a rational and scriptural refutation. We abstain from quotation for the reason already given. The length of our article precludes it. Let our strong recommendation suffice.

Art. VI. *Report from the Select Committee on Postage, together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14th August,* 1843.

The State and Prospects of Penny Postage, as developed in the Evidence taken before the Postage Committee. By Rowland Hill. C. Knight and Co. 1844.

It is with considerable gratification we reflect that we were among the very first to urge upon the public the importance of Mr. Rowland Hill's plan for post-office reform. We were among its earliest and warmest advocates, and by directing the attention of the influential body we address, contributed, we trust, to arouse the strong spirit among the people which compelled its enactment by the legislature.* We then confidently anticipated the religious, moral, scientific, literary, and social benefits that would follow from a cheap, frequent, and rapid post; and, as far as the experiment has been already tried, our anticipations have been completely realized. The progressive increase of the number of letters from week to week, from month to month, from year to year, has almost resembled in regularity the operations of the tidal laws. It shows, what any unprejudiced and attentive observer of man must have known, the depth, extent,

* See 'Eclectic Review' for July, 1838, Art. viii.

and force of the desire for social communication. It shows, that whether the immediate *subject* be the post-office, the railway, the steamboat, or commerce, the *principle* is the same; and that man is only prevented from an almost indefinite extension of his communication with his fellow-man, by the restrictive and absurd laws which have so long prevailed in the intercourse of nations and individuals, but which, happily, a true philosophy has arisen to expose.

Our readers are well aware that the plan of Mr. Hill was, in principle at least, adopted by the ministers, (one of the useful measures for which the people are indebted to the late Whig government,) and that the intelligent inventor was appointed by the lords of the Treasury, at the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baring, to superintend its execution. The Treasury minute of September 14, 1839, states that, 'My Lords have determined to avail themselves of the assistance of Mr. Rowland Hill in making the necessary alterations for the penny postage.' And Mr. Baring, in a letter of the same date, tells Mr. Hill,—

'With respect to the position in which you will be placed,* I would explain, that you will be attached *to the Treasury* and considered as connected with that department, with reference to the proposed alterations in the post-office. You will have access to the post-office, and every facility given you of inquiry, both previously to the arrangements being settled and during their working. . . . . With respect to the money arrangements, I understand the employment to be secured for two years certain, at the rate of £1500 per annum; I shall also add that the employment is considered as temporary, and not to give *a claim* to continued employment in office at the termination of these two years. Having put duly upon paper a memorandum of our conversation, I cannot conclude without expressing my satisfaction that the Treasury are to have the benefit of your assistance in the labour which the legislature has imposed upon us; and my conviction, that you will find from myself and the Board, that confidence and cordiality which will be necessary for the well working of the proposed alterations.'

Under this arrangement Mr. Hill continued two years in office, and on the 1st September, 1841, Mr. Baring again addressed him:—

'As it may be satisfactory to you to have in writing the position in which I consider you at present to stand, I propose to put on paper my views, in order that you may use it for the information of my successor. I wish therefore to state, that some time ago I informed you in reference to the post-office business, that I thought it would be of *great advantage to continue your services beyond the two years* originally settled; that I did not deem it expedient to make any engagement beyond one year, but that you might consider, that for one year from the expiration

* Mr. Baring to Mr. Hill, 14th September, 1839.

of the former two years, your services were engaged on the same conditions as before. I think it but justice to you not to conclude this letter without expressing to you my thanks for *the unwearied and zealous assistance which you have given me in the carrying on the post-office business.* I feel satisfied, that without that assistance *it would have been scarcely possible for the Treasury* to have given any proper consideration to the arrangements necessary for the putting the scheme into effect, and I am happy in having to record *my entire satisfaction with the manner in which you have conducted the business* of your office. You will make what use you please of this letter by showing it to my successor.'

The event here contemplated by the chancellor of the exchequer, soon arrived. The efforts of united monopolists, coupled with the dissatisfaction of the people at many sins of omission in the Whigs, gave Mr. Baring 'a successor;' and that successor took the opportunity of *dismissing* the useful public functionary from the place he was holding with so much advantage to the people, whose representative he emphatically was.

'Feeling,' says Mr. Goulburn,* 'that the time is arrived at which *your further assistance may safely be dispensed with,* I take the opportunity of apprising you that *I do not consider it advisable* to make any *further* extension of the period of your engagement, beyond the date assigned to it by the Lords of the Treasury. In making this communication, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of expressing *my sense of the satisfactory manner* in which, during my tenure of office, you have discharged the several duties which have been from time to time committed to you.'

Mr. Hill then firmly but respectfully represented to the chancellor of the exchequer, that 'he had been expressly appointed by the Treasury to assist in making the *necessary alterations* for the penny postage;' and that 'amongst those necessary alterations, there were several which remained to be effected, and the want of which greatly impaired the efficiency of the plan as regards its general utility, and at the same time had a very injurious effect on its fiscal results."†

Mr. Hill then details at great length in a schedule to his letter the various requisites yet wanting to the due completion of his plan, and is driven in self-justification to the exposure of the *causes* of their delay and frustration, which amply prove the necessity of *his* lynx-eyed superintendance and honest devotion to the execution of the plan!

'It may perhaps be urged that all this can be accomplished without any aid from me, that the plan being thus far in operation, its completion may safely be left to the post-office authorities. Of course this is a

* July 11th, 1842. † July 29th, 1842.

point on which I touch with reluctance, since I am unwilling to speak on the subject of my own ability, and yet more averse to question the claims of others; still there are facts so unquestionable and so important, that in my present peculiar circumstances, I must not hesitate to refer to them. In the first place then, it is well known that from the beginning *the plan has experienced no favour from the post-office*; that it was forced on that department after a most determined opposition, accompanied by many positive and reiterated statements, of which not a few are already proved to be erroneous; and by condemnation of the measure so publicly and so emphatically uttered, that its success could not in the nature of things be otherwise than displeasing to those by whom they were pronounced. I had hoped that this lamentable feeling of hostility would by this time have died away. I assure you that it has been my anxious desire to remove it, and that I have striven to do so by all means of conciliation consistent with the discharge of the duty with which I have been entrusted. Nevertheless, that unfortunately it still continues unabated, is a truth which cannot be gainsaid, and which I think must have attracted your attention, since you have seen it evinced by the treatment of my offer of assistance in the introduction of a cheaper system of registration, which was considered by the post-office as presenting insurmountable difficulties; and further by the obstacles recently raised to my even making the enquiries necessary to the economical introduction of a valuable improvement; enquiries, too, which I was not only empowered to make by the general authority conveyed in the minute of my appointment, but which has been sanctioned by the Treasury in the particular instance. Again, much of the opposition to the various improvements which it has been my duty to urge, has been founded, as I am fully prepared to show, *on great misapprehension as to the existing facts of the case*; and to test the truth of this allegation, I respectfully but earnestly request that you will subject to rigid examination some one of the questions now in dispute between the post-office and myself. I would suggest, for instance, the statements relative to the registration of letters, and if you will allow me an opportunity of laying the details of this matter either before you or before any impartial and intelligent person whom you may depute, I pledge myself to show that *the opposition made to the plan of cheap registration which I proposed, is founded* the present system. Considering the ample opportunities of obtaining *on a total misapprehension as to results daily produced* by the working of correct information possessed by the gentlemen of the post-office, it may appear rash in me to make such a declaration, but I do it advisedly, and beg that its correctness may be subjected to the severest scrutiny. *I submit then, that the task for which I was appointed is as yet unfinished*, that its incompleteness has not resulted from any neglect on my part; that although the improvements which remain to be introduced are for the most part among the less striking features of the plan, *they will not require less care or be attended with less difficulty in the execution* than those portions which have been brought into operation; and consequently, that there is *the same necessity for my assistance now as at first*, and I respectfully ask you to consider whether, under these circumstances, it would be just to deprive me of all opportunity of completing my labours.'

Mr. Hill's views were adopted by the respectable and influential body who so efficiently served the public on a former occasion in helping to carry the plan into an act, the London Mercantile Committee on Postage, who made an unsuccessful application to the prime minister in November, 1842, to 'carry out' his plan. Mr. Hill then presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying for inquiry. The petition was brought before the House last session by Sir Thomas Wilde, in a speech characterized by clearness of statement, fullness of information, and cogency of argument, and eventually the minister consented to the prayer in a modified form. A select committee was appointed 'to inquire into the measures which have been adopted for the general introduction of a general rate of postage, and for facilitating the conveyance of letters, and the result of such measures, so far as relates to the revenue and expenditure of the post-office and the general convenience of the country, and to report their observations thereupon to the house.' The committee consisted of fifteen members, with a majority of one to the ministerial portion. The report of the evidence examined by the committee contains three hundred and sixty-four pages of examination of witnesses, two hundred and sixty pages of appendix of documents, and nearly fifty of index alone! We take for granted that very few of our readers will be tempted to wade through such a mass, and hope we are performing a useful task in directing their attention to the chief points contained in it.* Mr. Rowland Hill is first examined, and at such length, that his evidence occupies one hundred and thirty-four pages. Colonel Maberly, secretary of the post-office, then appears on the scene, and he takes up another hundred pages. He is followed by the various officers of the post-office department, Mr. Robert Smith, superintending president of the twopenny post; Mr. William Bokenham, superintending president of the inland office; Mr. John Ramsey, superintendant of the missing letter department, and last, not least, Lord Lowther, the great postmaster-general himself. The committee, with a majority of ministerialists, did not venture to pronounce a verdict of acquittal of the post-office authorities on the various charges brought forward by Mr. Hill against them; but although unable to agree to a *specific* report, from the mass of evidence and the lateness of the session, they recommend Mr. Hill's proposals to the public consideration.

The two great divisions into which the case developed in the evidence presents itself are—1st. The results already produced by the adoption of Mr. Hill's plan; and 2nd. The requisites to

* Mr. Hill's pamphlet mentioned at the head of this article is an able summary and scrutiny of the material points included in this interesting inquiry.

its due completion. To these two important heads of inquiry, justice adds a third, suggested by the petition of Mr. Hill, on which the committee was founded, viz.: his own dismissal from the office he was filling with so much honour to himself, so much satisfaction to the government (according to the statements of *both* chancellors of the exchequer), and so much benefit to the public, albeit we fear with too much *trouble* to the post-office authorities. We shall treat the subjects separately.

1st. We are truly gratified to find *how much* has been already effected.

'1st. The uniform and low rate of one penny has been adopted as the general postage through the United Kingdom. 2nd. Weight has been adopted as the only standard for increase of charge. 3d. By arrangements made with that view, the public have been brought into the habit of pre-payment, double postage being levied where this is neglected, and facility being afforded by the introduction of stamps. This plan, however, though general, is not yet universal. 4th. Day mails have been established on most of the principal lines from London; in most instances, indeed, this was done previous to the adoption of my plan, though I must add that the earliest of them was established subsequently to my recommendation of such additional mails. 5th. One additional delivery has been established in London, and two additional deliveries on some of its suburbs. Again, in some of the provincial towns, an additional delivery has followed the establishment of day mails. To these may perhaps be added an additional delivery in some few other places. The additional delivery in London, and one of the additional deliveries in the suberbs, were established previously to the adoption of my plan, but all subsequently to its announcement. 6th. In regard to the foreign and colonial letters, the inland rates, as recommended in my evidence, have been greatly reduced, in some instances they have even been abandoned altogether. 7th. The sea rates on divers of the foreign and colonial letters have themselves been lowered. 8th. The privilege of franking has been abolished, and a low charge imposed on the transmission of parliamentary papers. 9th. Arrangements have been made to admit the registration of letters, though on a fee so high as to constitute a most serious obstacle to the use of the privilege. 10th. The use of money orders which was formally recognized, and placed on a more liberal footing about five years ago, and the amount of which was at once doubled by the introduction of the penny rate of postage, has again undergone a most important extension by the adoption of a recommendation, which I had the honour to make to the Treasury for the lowering of the money order fees. The present fees which were virtually fixed by the post-office are so moderate as to open the plan to general use. 11th. An especial arrangement has been made, whereby the ordinary limitation in the weight of packets to one pound has been waived in favour of bankers' parcels and law papers.'*

* Evidence of Mr. Hill. Report p. 8.

Again:—

'*Results of the Improvements already effected.*—In considering these results it will be necessary to take into account *the extreme depression* of trade which existed when the penny rate was established, and has continued to prevail ever since,—the very imperfect manner in which the plan has been carried into effect, the want of due economy in the post-office, the well-known dislike to the measure entertained by many of those persons to whom its execution has been entrusted, and the influence such dislike must necessarily have had on its success.

'*Number of Letters.*—The chargeable letters delivered in the United Kingdom, exclusive of that part of the government correspondence which heretofore passed free, *have increased from about* 75,000,000 *in* 1838, *to* 207,000,000 *in* 1842. At the commencement of the present year, these letters were at the rate of 219,000,000 per annum, or nearly threefold the former amount. The London district post letters have increased from about 13,000,000 to 23,000,000 per annum, or nearly in the ratio of the reduction of the rates, notwithstanding that the additional deliveries, on which I so much relied, have not yet been established.

'*Expenses of the Post Office.*—The increase of expenditure, as shewn by the returns, is from £757,000 in 1839, to £978,000 in 1842, or £221,000, of which about a half is, *on account of the substitution of railway for common road conveyance*, of money orders, and compensation for loss of fees, together with payments to foreign countries for transit postage, and the charges for conveying the letters of the post-office itself, which last two are mere matters of account. These several items of expenditure have no connexion with penny postage, though some of them undoubtedly tend to augment the gross receipts of the post-office. Making these necessary deductions, the increase of expenditure is about 15 per cent; and even including the whole, it is only 30 per cent; while the increase of letters and newspapers combined is about 100 per cent; thus showing how much the plan, even in its present imperfect state, *has by introducing simplicity tended to economy in the management of the post-office.*

'*Revenue of the Post Office.*—The growth of the post-office revenue, both gross and net, is seriously affected by the reductions which from time to time are made in the foreign rates and by the gradual substitution, on the part of the public in general, of pre-paying at a penny, for payment on delivery at twopence; and the net revenue is still more affected by the too frequent disregard of economy, *still it has steadily increased while every other branch of revenue has declined.* The falling off in the post-office revenue being a mere reduction of taxation, implies no loss to the community. The tendency of free communication by post to improve the general revenue of the country, has been forcibly shown in the evidence of Mr. George Moffat, (Third Report, abstract p. 49,) and Lord Ashburton gave his opinion to the same effect, (Evidence, p. 132.)

'*Prevention of Breaches of the Law.*—The illicit conveyance of letters is in effect suppressed, at least as regards inland conveyance, except

when owing to imperfections in the post-office arrangements the law is broken to save time. The almost total removal of an habitual disregard of a positive law, habitual amongst all classes of society, must be regarded as a benefit of high social importance.

'*Removal of the causes tending to suppress correspondence.*—The evils so ably described in the Third Report of the Select Committee on Postage, (page 20,) are now for the most part removed; commercial transactions, relating even to very small amounts, are managed through the post; small orders are constantly so transmitted, and small remittances sent and acknowledged. Printers send their proofs without hesitation; the commercial traveller has no difficulty in writing to his principal; and private individuals, companies, and associations distribute widely those circulars, always important, and often essential to the accomplishment of their objects. I may mention, however, that I am in possession of various letters, showing some important benefits to commerce, arising from the facility of communication and easy transmission of patterns and light goods; others, great advantages to literature, science, and friendly union evinced by the transmission of scientific specimens—evinced, too, by the production of works, and the formation of even large societies, to the existence of which, as their authors and promoters assure me, the establishment of a penny rate was an essential condition; and others again telling of pains relieved, affections cultivated, and mental efforts encouraged by correspondence, to which the former rates would have acted as an absolute prohibition. Professor Henslow writes as follows: 'That the penny postage is an important addition to the comforts of the poor labourer, I can also testify. From my residence in a neighbourhood where scarcely any labourer can read, much less write, I am often employed by them as an amanuensis, and have frequently heard them express their satisfaction at the facility they enjoy of now corresponding with distant relations. As the rising generation are learning to write, a most material addition to the circulation of letters may be expected from among this class of the population; indeed, I know that the pens of some of my village school children are already put into requisition by their parents. A somewhat improved arrangement in the transmission of letters to our villages, and which might easily be accomplished, would greatly accelerate the development of country letter writers. Of the vast domestic comfort which the penny postage brings to homes like my own, situate in retired villages, I need say nothing.' Invoices are now dispatched by post. Mr. Travers dispatches 10,000 'Prices Current' per annum more than formerly. Samples are now dispatched by post; increase of tea trade increases the duties, consequently the revenue. Mr. Charles Knight, the publisher, says the penny postage facilitates the distribution of books; monthly lists of new books, formerly only sent to the London trade, are now sent to the country booksellers. Country booksellers have now parcels three times a week instead of once; small tradesmen once a week, instead of once a month. Accuracy in books is promoted by cheap transmission of proofs to and fro between author and printer. Want of rural distribution, prevents communication with important classes, such as the clergy, magistrates, poor-law guardians, &c. Messrs. Pickford and

Company's postage for the year ending March 1839, was on or about 30,000 letters; in the year ending March 1843, it was on or about 240,000 letters. Lieutenant Watson, R.N., states that the penny postage has enabled him to complete his system of telegraphs: he has now telegraphs on many of the most important headlands of England and Scotland. Mr. Stokes, the honorary secretary to the Parker Society, (a society that contains among its members nearly all the dignitaries of the church, and many other influential men, among whom is the present chancellor of the exchequer,) states that the society could not have come into existence but for the penny postage; it is for reprinting the works of the early English reformers; there are 7,000 subscribers; it pays yearly from £200 to £300 postage; it also pays duty on 3000 reams of paper. Mr. Bagster, the publisher of a Polyglot Bible in twenty-four languages, shows that the revision which he is giving to this work as it goes through the press, would, on the old system, have cost £1,500 in postage alone; and that the Bible could not have been printed, but for the penny postage, also that the penny postage has added to the accuracy, as he can now send revises to several parties.'

We pass on to the second head: the requisites necessary to complete Mr. Hill's plan. The great desideratum cannot be better put, than in Mr. Hill's own petition.

15. That all your petitioner's efforts *to promote economy and the public convenience*, by introducing the remaining parts of his plan, *have been ultimately frustrated.*

16. That at the expiration of the third year of your petitioner's engagement, viz, on the 14th of September last, when many specific improvements recommended by your petitioner, some involving large savings of public money, were actually in progress, the Lords of the Treasury terminated your petitioner's engagement, thus depriving him of every chance of completing his appointed task.

17. That the plan of post-office improvement, thus left incomplete, has from the first been stated by your petitioner to consist of the following parts:—1. A uniform and low rate of postage. 2. Increased speed in the delivery of letters. 3. Greater facilities for their dispatch. 4. Simplification in the operations of the post-office, with the object of reducing the cost of the establishment to a minimum.

18. That the *only* portion of the plan which is *as yet* fully carried into effect, is *the institution of the penny rate.*

19. *That for increased speed in the delivery, or greater facilities for the dispatch of letters, little or nothing has been done.*

20. That with regard to the simplification of arrangements, and consequent economy, though many important and successful changes have been made, yet little has been effected in proportion to the opportunities afforded by the adoption of uniformity of rate and pre-payment.

21. That the opinion which your petitioner expressed, both in his pamphlet and in his evidence before the committee of your honourable House, was to the effect that the maintenance of the post-office revenue,

even to the extent on which he calculated, (about £1,300,000 a year,) *depended on carrying into effect the plan as a whole.*

22. That the opinion adopted by her Majesty's government, that the further progress in post-office improvement may be left to the post-office itself, *is contrary to all past experience,* and is contradicted by measures recently adopted by that establishment.

23. That the questions to which your petitioner sought to gain the attention of the Treasury involve savings to the extent of hundreds of thousands of pounds per annum; an advantage to the revenue entirely independant of that augmentation of letters which the whole experience of the post-office shows may safely be anticipated from the adoption of those measures suggested by your petitioner, which have reference to increasing the utility of the post-office to the public.

24. That notwithstanding the extreme depression of trade which existed when the penny rate was established, and has continued to prevail ever since; and notwithstanding the very imperfect manner in which your petitioner's plan has been carried into effect; the want of due economy in the post-office; the well-known dislike to the measure entertained by many of those persons to whom its execution has been intrusted; and the influence such dislike must necessarily have had on its success; yet the results of the third year of partial trial, as shown by a return recently made to the House of Lords, are a gross revenue of two-thirds, and a net revenue of more than one-third of the former amount.

27. That looking to these results, your petitioner trusts your honourable House will see no reason to doubt that a few years, with a revived trade, would suffice to realize all the expectations which he held out, *provided the whole plan be carried into effect with zeal and economy.*'

In an appendix to the pamphlet recently published by Mr. Hill, and of which we have given the title at the head of this article, he has drawn together in four pages* statements of the post-office authorities contradictory to each other and to themselves, which would be truly amusing, were it not lamentable to think into what hands such important interests are entrusted, and how necessary a scrutineer has been unceremoniously and injuriously withdrawn from their supervision. The first question is, Do the post-office expenses increase in the same ratio as the number of letters? Here Mr. Bokenham and Lord Lowther are at issue, as they are also on the second—Was the post office establishment equal to its task on the introduction of penny postage? On the third question, Does a low rate prevent illicit conveyance? Colonel Maberly in 1838 is quite at variance with himself in 1843. Mr. Bokenham gives varying answers on the question, Is the plan of pre-payment profitable and convenient? and differs with Colonel Maberly as to whether

* pp. 45—49.

the exclusive use of stamps would be profitable and convenient, and with Lord Lowther on the propriety of an uniform rate. Colonel Maberly in 1838 thought 'the loss with a twopenny or threepenny rate would be *immense*,' and in 1843 that such a rate would give alone a million revenue! On the question of *fact*, whether any of the government offices under the old system paid foreign postage, Mr. Laurence and Mr. Bokenham are wide as the poles, asunder. On the important point, whether the net revenue of the post-office was derived from inland or foreign letters, Colonel Maberly said that the penny postage brought very little revenue to the country, and that by far the greater proportion of the revenue was derived, as Lord Lowther thought, from *foreign* postage! In the statement are two egregious errors. The first had been adopted by the chancellor of the exchequer on the faith of a return made by the post-office, from which it was *made to appear* that the post-office, instead of affording a net revenue of £600,000 *caused a loss* of about £10,000 per annum. This error, which was subsequently *admitted* before the Postage Committee, was produced, as stated by Mr. R. Hill in his evidence, by an innovation, consisting in charging the *whole cost of the packet service*, £612,850, against the post-office! and the *real* result is that the total net revenue of the post-office, whether determined in the usual manner or by an account accurately adjusted throughout (a due charge for packets being made on one side, and credit given for the expense of conveying newspapers on the other), is about £600,000 per annum. The second egregious error in the Colonel's statement, that the greater proportion of revenue was derived from *foreign* postage, was contradicted by the return itself, which expressly stated that inland letters produced a net revenue of £103,268, and foreign postage a *deficiency* of £113,039, which statement, although true as to the chief revenue being derived from inland letters, was grossly incorrect as to figures. On the next question, Should the post-office be charged with the cost of the packet service? Lord Lowther and Colonel Maberly are completely at variance, as they are on the important fact of the net revenue produced by penny postage. Again, Colonel Maberly in a letter to the East India Company, says—of the letters despatched to China, Australia, &c., that they are very numerous, and in his evidence says they must be very *few*, with the exception of Ceylon! and on the important subject of the extension of rural distribution, Colonel Maberly says, Since the penny postage no additional post-offices have been set up; while Lord Lowther tells us that from September 1839 to August 1843, one hundred and eighty rural posts were established. Colonel Maberly thinks the probable number of rural posts on the government plan will be 'some thousands;'

while Lord Lowther calculates them at four hundred; and Colonel Maberly estimates the cost at £30 each for some thousands, while Lord Lowther estimates the *total* expense at £7,000 or £8,000! So much for post-office wisdom, consistency, and experience!

The great point which presents itself on these suggestions is the importance of arrangements for increasing *the facilities* of post-office communications, only second in value, and efficacy to *cheapness*. The first point *has been* secured for the people; and unless they are false to themselves, the second must follow also. The public is only less indebted to Mr. Hill for his admirable suggestions on this subject, than for his grand and comprehensive project of a low and uniform rate. The following most interesting and instructive extract from Mr. Hill's evidence, shows the inevitable tendency of judicious increase of the facility of correspondence, eventually to increase the revenue.

'Palmer's adoption of mail coaches, though accompanied with repeated advances of postage, increased the number of letters threefold in twenty years, and the new facilities of transmission afforded by the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, increased the number of letters between the termini about fifty per cent. probably, in six years, postage remaining the same, although previously the number had for some years been gradually declining. It has since been ascertained that the establishment of day mails has greatly increased the number of letters. So likewise has the establishment of the North American Steam Packets, to an extent, it is said, more than sufficient to compensate for the reduction of the rate. The overland Indian mail, too, has greatly augmented the correspondence with our Indian possessions, and in May 1842, the combined operation of steam navigation and the penny charge (increased facilities and reduced rates), had been to increase the number of letters in the Shetland Isles more than elevenfold in six years. Again when in 1831 a reduction of postage took place as regards part of the suburbs of London, the post-office calculated on a loss of £20,000 a year, instead of which there was in a few years a gain of £10,000, a result which Mr. Smith, the superintendant of the department, attributed rather to the increased facilities which were offered to the public than to the reduction in the rate of postage. In November 1837, an additional delivery was given in London, and in July 1838 in the suburbs, the effect was a considerable increase in gross, and some in net revenue; and Mr. Banning, the postmaster of Liverpool, in his evidence before the postage committee, stated it as his opinion, that a great many deliveries, facilities for sending letters, and quickness of despatch, must be the best way of raising the revenue. In short, as stated by Colonel Maberly in his evidence, it is always found in the post-office, as a general rule, *that increased accommodation produces an increased quantity of letters*. Nor is the rule confined to the British post-office. It appears from the valuable work of M. Piron, a gentleman holding a high position in the French post-office, that a reduction in the time of transmission from Paris to Marseilles from one hundred

and eighteen to sixty-eight hours, doubled the number of letters between those cities, The *poste rurale*, too, has not only conduced greatly to the convenience of the French nation, but it has added largely to the net revenue of the post-office. The *poste rurale* was established in 1830, and it extends to every commune in France. A box is fixed against a wall in each village, into which the letters are dropped, and in most cases once a day, but in some once in two days a rural letter carrier comes round and conveys the letters to the nearest post-office, delivering letters as he goes along. By these means 9,000 rural letter-carriers serve 34,000 communes, the remaining 3,000 communes having post-offices of the ordinary description. The cost of the *poste rurale* is about £165,000 per annum, the additional penny (a decime) charged on each letter amounts to about £70,000, but this of course is the least important part of the produce, the chief advantage is felt in the general postage revenue. In the eight years preceding the establishment of the *poste rurale*, the gross revenue of the French post-office (the accounts do not show the net revenue) increased about 6,000,000 of francs. In the eight years following the increase was 11,000,000 of francs, or nearly twice as much, and the revenue has for some years been steadily increasing at the rate of about five per cent. per annum, an increase which is attributed by M. Piron chiefly to the *poste rurale*.'

Mr. Hill then goes minutely into the various suggestions for improving the present arrangements of the post-office, in which our space will not allow us to follow him; and of which the main features are presented in his pamphlet. We must content ourselves with a few observations on each of these heads:—

'*London District Post.*—In London, make the collection and delivery of letters once an hour, instead of once in two hours, and establish district offices, so as to avoid the necessity of making all letters, as at present, pass through St. Martin's le Grand. In the principal suburbs make some increase in the frequency of delivery of letters, and much more in their receipt and transmission to London, where comparative frequency of delivery is already provided for. As regards the compact parts of those suburbs which can be reached by the night mails, say by a quarter before nine, effect a delivery the same night instead of the following morning, as at present. The preceding arrangements would probably reduce the time necessary for an interchange of letters by one half, and if combined with other improvements which I have recommended, might be effected with little or no additional expense, and without adding to the labour of the men.

'*London General Post Delivery*—There is no doubt that with little or no additional expenditure, and without increasing the labour of the men, the delivery might be completed, even in the remote parts of London, by nine o'clock.

'*Hour of closing the London letter boxes.*—Restore the old hours, by taking in late letters at the receiving houses (at least, those at which money orders are paid) from five to six p. m. The district offices which I have proposed, one of which should be situated near to each railway

station or in the direction of the same, would enable the public to post late letters, selecting in each case the proper office, to a very late hour, —say a quarter past eight—paying the 6d. fee, as at St. Martin's le Grand.

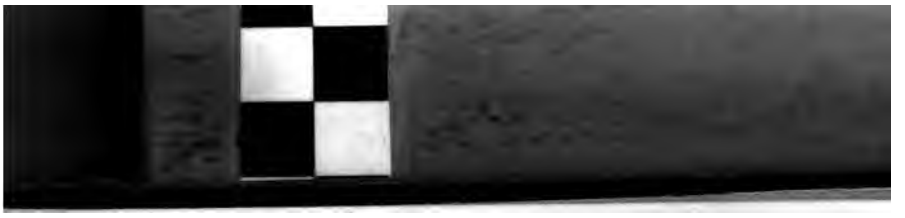
'*Provincial Offices.*—Make the collections, dispatches, and deliveries more frequent, and reduce the rates on heavy packets as proposed for the London district post. Such improvements do not necessarily involve an increase of expense, especially where, as in many provincial towns, the letter carriers are not fully employed; indeed, in some cases more frequent collections and deliveries, by distributing the work of the office more equally over the day, would make the expense even less. Re-adjust the limits of official delivery, and keep open the letter boxes to the latest convenient hour.'

Then follows a passage truly startling.

'*Rural Distribution.*—Defects of the present arrangements. Of the 21,000 registrar's districts comprised in England and Wales, about four hundred, containing a million and a half of inhabitants, have no post-offices whatever. The average extent of these four hundred districts is nearly twenty square miles each, the average population about four thousand. An inspection of the post-office maps will show that even in England, where the ramifications of the post-office distribution are more minute than in any other part of the kingdom, there are districts considerably larger than the county of Middlesex, into which the postman never enters. The great extent of the deficiency is shown by the fact, that while these two divisions of the empire contain about eleven thousand parishes, their total number of post offices of all descriptions is only about two thousand. *Remedies.*—Establish an official post in every registrar's district as directed by Treasury minute of August, 1841. The operation of this minute has, I believe, been suspended by the present government. Extend the system to smaller districts by some such arrangements as the following, viz.—1st. Establish weekly posts to every village and hamlet, increasing the frequency of such posts in proportion to the number of letters. 2. Lay down a general rule, under which places not otherwise entitled to posts may obtain them, (or those entitled may have them more frequently), on payment by the inhabitants in either case of the additional expense incurred, minus a certain fixed sum per thousand letters. Extend the above arrangements, with such modifications as may be needful, to Ireland and Scotland.

'*Day Mails.*—Complete the system of day mails so as to include all places on the main lines, which can be reached within seven or eight hours from London, that is to say, sufficiently early for an evening delivery. Let the return mails start as late as is consistent with their reaching London about five p.m.

'*Communication between large towns.*—Defects of the present arrangements. The infrequency of such communication is nearly the sole support of whatever small amount of contraband conveyance still remains. Between towns circumstanced as London and Brighton, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and many others are, this want is severely felt. *Remedy.*—Employ the ordinary mid-day trains for this purpose, the



expense would be trifling. *Registration.*—Reduce the fee, say in the first instance to sixpence, and afterwards as far as may be consistent with sound policy.'

3. The highly important facts presented under the foregoing heads, seem to us, incidentally, but conclusively, to make out the third—viz., the injustice to Mr. Hill, and the injury to the public resulting from his dismissal from the office he was so effectually holding, in the very midst of suggestions and efforts to 'carry out' his beneficent plan. It is very true that Mr. Baring, in the letter quoted at the beginning of this article, does not give Mr. Hill 'a claim' to more than the two years' engagement; but the right honourable gentleman distinctly stated in the House of Commons on the debate on Sir Thomas Wilde's motion, that *he* should certainly have continued Mr. Hill in his office, had he remained in his own. Mr. Goulburn, as we have already seen, concurs with Mr. Baring in approbation of Mr. Hill's services, but states as the reason for his abrupt dismissal: 1st. 'I am influenced solely by the consideration that it is not advisable to give a character of permanence to an appointment which, originally created for a temporary purpose, has now, as it appears to me, fulfilled its object. The penny postage has been above two years established, and the principle of it is now thoroughly understood.'* 'Thoroughly understood!' The foregoing pages will have been written to little purpose if they do not convince every reader that either the principle is thoroughly *misunderstood*, or intentionally and dishonestly *perverted*, by those over whom Mr. Hill was appointed to watch. 'Fulfilled its object!' Not while such blunders exist in the statements and estimates of the post-office authorities; not while the suggestions of Mr. Hill for increased *facilities* and *accommodation* in carrying out the plan remain unheeded or unexecuted. 2ndly, says the chancellor of the exchequer, 'The retention of an independent officer for the purpose of conducting such improvements, would necessarily lead either to an entire supercession of those who are by their office responsible for the management of the department, or to a *conflict of authorities* highly prejudicial to the public interests.' This view is afterwards adopted by Sir Robert Peel.† But, in the first place, Mr. Hill was not 'in authority' at all. He was only an assistant of the Treasury, to whom, and to whom only, he was to 'to suggest' measures of post-office reform. Unless the Treasury *adopted* his suggestions, they were fruitless, and the post-office authorities would be bound to disregard them; and

* Mr. Goulburn to Mr. Hill, August 13, 1842.—Pamphlet, p. 75.
† October 13, 1842, Sir R. Peel to Mr. Hill.

if the Treasury *did* adopt them, the post-office authorities would be equally and imperatively bound to act upon them. So far from there being any 'conflict' of authorities, Sir Robert himself says at the conclusion of his letter, 'The postmaster-general acts under the superintendence and *control* of the Treasury.' Such are the flimsy and inconsistent causes *assigned* as the justification of Mr. Hill's dismissal; but we hope the public will not allow so useful a servant to be thus cashiered of his place, and deprived of his reward. Mr. Hill concludes his able and interesting pamphlet in a tone of dignified self-vindication.

'There is not a single point, I most emphatically declare, from the discussion of which I have the least disposition to shrink; nor, I maintain, *a single material point on which my positions were shaken by the post-office evidence;* all *apparent* effect of the kind being referable to such misrepresentation, distortion, or suppression, however unwittingly employed, as has been exposed in these pages. The parts selected, though more easily put in a striking light, and more important in their consequences than some others which have been passed over, are, nevertheless, but a fair sample of the general mass. I trust I may now be considered as having done all that in me lies towards urging the completion of my plan, and the advancement of post-office improvements in general; as also to evince my perfect readiness, and indeed earnest desire, to bear the whole weight of responsibility, on the sole condition that I may be entrusted with the power, which alone can render that responsibility just or even real. *In the results of the plan*, if fairly and skilfully carried into effect, *I retain undiminished confidence;* indeed, the fact that, to the extent of its execution, its results have fully corresponded with the expectations originally held out, is itself the best guarantee for the success of the whole. I may also appeal to the fact, that in such matters of detail as were committed to my care, the introduction of stamps, for instance, which the post-office denounced as expensive, troublesome, and open to forgery, the success on experiment has remained undisputed. That the present incompleteness of the plan is in no way attributable to me, is fully manifested by my correspondence with the treasury, given in the appendix to this pamphlet; indeed, no charge on the subject has ever been made. . . . . The errors now attending the working of the plan, I view with deep regret. Though not in circumstances to disregard the emoluments of office, and far from being so stoical as to slight the pleasure of working out my plan, I believe I can honestly say that my great object has been the measure itself, and that my great regret is to see its benefits impaired or perverted. This, unhappily, I cannot prevent; but I retire with, I hope, the well-founded consciousness of having spared no effort, and with the consolation—I must admit rather a selfish one—of feeling that if the present rash course be attended with loss to the revenue, or ill repute either to the plan or financial improvement generally, these are evils for which I cannot be held in any way responsible.'

Such is the case of Mr. Hill. We think our readers will be satisfied that we have shown how much the public is indebted to that gentleman, not only for already-achieved benefits, but for suggestions only second in importance to the invaluable plan identified with his name; and that the unwillingness, or incompetency, or both combined, which have hitherto thwarted this most useful public officer, where, unfortunately for the public interests, too much adverse power exists, eminently prove the necessity for Mr. Hill's continuance in a position which he has already filled with so much honour to himself and benefit to the people, and to which the voice of the people ought loudly, emphatically, and unanimously to demand his restoration.

We find that a Committee has been formed to procure a national testimonial for Mr. Hill, to which it is confidently anticipated that all classes of her Majesty's subjects will contribute according to their means, for who has not benefited by the postage reformer? This Committee includes men of all politics. Most of the eminent bankers and merchants have given in their adherence to the undertaking, and it is honored by the countenance of Lord Morpeth, and Lord Howick. We cordially wish it success, and shall blush for our countrymen if that success be not great.

Art. VII. 1. *O-Taïti Histoire et Enquête.* Par Henri Lutteroth. 8vo. Paris. 1843.

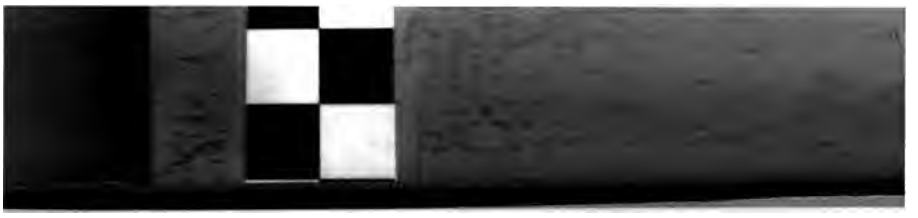
2 *Correspondence relative to the Proceedings of the French at Tahiti,* 1835—1843. *Presented to the House of Commons, by the Queen's Command, in pursuance of their Address to Her Majesty, of the* 18*th of May,* 1843.

3. *Correspondence relative to the Society Islands,* 1843. *In continuation of the Papers presented to the House of Commons in August,* 1843. 1844.

THERE is no spot of civilized territory, how destitute soever of local attractions, and how obscure soever its previous annals, that, if made the scene of a great crime, does not at once concentrate upon itself public curiosity, and acquire a strange interest to the imagination. The cultivated plains which have once been the field of conflict, the humble village which has given its name to a victory, the ruined pile which has borne witness to some deed of darkness and crime, are visited by generation after generation of curious travellers. Almost all the great transactions

which form the staple of history, have taken place within the circumscribed limits of petty territories. Syria and Greece, so long mere provinces of the Ottoman empire, fill a larger space in the annals of the world than the rest of the Eastern Continent.

Ever since it was first visited by Wallis and Cook in 1767—9, Tahiti, the 'New Cythera' of the French Navigators, has, under different aspects, occupied a degree of notice immeasurably disproportionate to its territorial extent, its value as a possession, or its political importance. It has been the theme of florid description, of historical disquisition, of missionary narrative, of political debate. Volumes have been written upon the subject of a groupe of coral islets, containing a total population not equal to that of a third-rate town in England. Yet, in this miniature territory, moral revolutions have taken place, not less marvellous than the physical changes which have clothed the coral rock with soil, vegetation, and abundance; and the triumph of christian civilization has justly been regarded as a fact not the less interesting to the philosopher or the philanthropist, because the experiment has been exhibited on so small a scale. Till the last visit of the lamented Williams to his native land, and the publication of his delightful narrative, the English public had not indeed generally taken much interest in the Polynesian missions; and it would seem to be but too true, that the strong feeling which he awakened, has greatly subsided. 'As Tahiti is not English,' remarks a snarling journalist, who at least understands the temper of our political men, 'Englishmen in general scarcely care whether it is left alone, *protected*, seized, or sunk in the sea.' English people care but too little about these things; care very little for the furtherance of British interests in distant territories. The worst is, that even religious people in England, who might be expected to discover more intelligence and less selfish indifference in this respect, as having higher motives for caring for the furtherance of those interests, lie open, too extensively, to the reproach which the sarcasm of the journalist implies. British Protestants cannot, at all events, be charged with having exaggerated the importance of the moral conquests which have been effected by the despised instrumentality of the evangelical missionary in that region. Insignificant as may be these islands, considered as territorial possessions, and circumscribed, therefore, as is the sphere which they present for either conmercial enterprise or religious rivalry, they have not eluded the jealous notice of rival powers, or been deemed too mean a prey to attract from its lofty eyrie the vulture of Rome. We find, so long ago as when the notorious Captain Kotzebue visited Tahiti, the hospitality of which he so shamefully abused, (in 1823) from a long conversation which Mr. Nott, the senior missionary, had



with him on the relation in which the islands stood to England, it was inferred, that Russia 'coveted the petty, but merely nominal distinction of adding these green specks within the Tropics to the measureless deserts of snow land which constitute her Asiatic empire.' 'There is, however,' it was remarked, 'no disposition at all on the part of the natives to acknowledge such dependence, under the pretext of alliance with the Autocrat of all the Russias; whereas they would be glad to put themselves under the direct guardianship of England*.' Ever since then, during the twenty years which have elapsed since Kotzebue's visit, the degree of watchful attention which those islands have attracted, on the part of foreign navigators and foreign propagandists, hostile to the faith planted by British Protestants, and to the purer and severer morals resulting from it, presents a strong contrast to the contemptuous disregard manifested by the British Government upon the subject. An honourable exception, indeed, demands especial notice. In 1827, George Canning, ever alive to British interests and to the rights of humanity, (a man formed to be a statesman, although condemned to wear the shackles of party,) addressed, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the following letter to king Pomare, in reply to a formal request to be allowed permission to use the British flag. The letter is at this moment of the more importance as an historical document, because, up to the instructions issued by Lord Aberdeen, subsequently to the piratical outrages of the French Admiral, it was regarded as the authentic exposition of the policy and intentions of the British Government, the standing order by which our officers on that station were to guide their course. The letter is as follows:—

Foreign Office, London, March 3, 1827.

'Sir.—The Missionary, Mr. Henry Nott, has delivered to me the letter which you addressed to the King my master, on the 5th of October, 1825, soliciting His Majesty's friendship and protection, and also requesting permission to use the British flag.

'I have hastened to lay your letter before the King, and have received His Majesty's commands to acquaint you, that, while His Majesty feels every disposition to comply with your wishes, as far as His Majesty can do so with propriety, he regrets that, *consistently with the usages established among the nations of Europe*, it would be improper to grant the permission you solicit to use the British flag.

'His Majesty, however, commands me to say, that although the customs of Europe forbid his acceding to your wishes in this respect, *he will be happy to afford to yourself and to your dominions all such protection as His Majesty can grant to a friendly Power at so remote a distance from his own kingdoms.*

* Tyerman and Bennet's Journal, vol. ii. p. 87.

'His Majesty has derived much pleasure from the various accounts which have reached this country, of the beneficial change which has taken place in the moral and social state of the Islands under your government, and of the progressive advancement of your subjects in civilization, through the introduction of the Christian religion, by means of the Missionaries sent out from Great Britain. His Majesty trusts, that the benefits which have been thus, through the exertions of the Missionaries, derived from that religion, may be long continued to your dominions and people.

'I have committed this letter to the charge of Mr. Nott, who is about to return to Tahiti. He will present it to you, and will assure you more fully of the friendly dispositions entertained towards you by the King my master.

'In conclusion, I recommend you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your faithful friend,

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.'

To POMARE, Chief of the Island of Tahiti, &c. &c. &c.

We have styled this an honourable exception to the impolitic indifference manifested by successive administrations in this country to the affairs of Polynesia; how justly, is demonstrated by the fact, that, while the official letter of Mr. Secretary Canning has never been disowned, retracted, or annulled, it has not been followed up by any corresponding acts on the part of our Government in fulfilment of the pledge it conveys. Some time before the date of this letter, the astonishing change which had manifested itself in the manners of the Tahitian islanders had begun to excite the wonder of the scornful infidel, and the malign jeers of the licentious. Duperrey, the French navigator, whose *corvette* (the *Coquille*) was the first French vessel of war that had visited Tahiti subsequently to the conversion of its inhabitants,—in his report to the minister of marine, expresses the astonishment he felt at what he witnessed in an island described in such different terms by Wallis, Bougainville, Cook, and Vancouver. 'The missionaries,' he says, 'have totally changed the manners and customs of its inhabitants. Idolatry no longer exists among them. The women no longer come on board the ships: they discover even an extreme modesty when they are met with on shore..... All the natives can read and write: they have in their hands books of religion, translated into their own language. Handsome churches have been erected; and the whole population repair twice a-week with great devotion to hear the preacher.' This honest testimony elicited from many men in France, eminent for their talent or position, expressions of admiration; and among others, M. Guizot himself, in a speech delivered at a general meeting of the friends of Evangelical Missions, in 1826, drew the

following contrast between the missions conducted by Protestants, and those of the Catholics:—

'The first of these characteristics, that which strikes me at the outset, is, that Protestant missionaries do not go forth to make conquests for the advantage of a church already powerful. They do not extend the domination of an ecclesiastical government: they do not even introduce among the people whom they aim at converting, an external discipline already regulated, an ecclesiastical government ready made. They convey to them simply the faith and the morality of the Gospel. They preach one doctrine for their minds; one rule for their actions. They labour to reform the inner man, the moral man, the free man. It is to God alone and the Gospel, they require him to yield submission. They leave it afterwards to the word which they have sown, to accomplish the rest, and to organise the Christian community according to places, circumstances, possibilities. I recite numerous instances: the most recent is that presented by the isle of Tahiti, where the entire community, first religiously and morally reformed by evangelical missions, have in turn reformed their own external and civil organization spontaneously, and as it suited them.'

M. Guizot proceeded to specify some other characteristics peculiar to Protestant missions:—

'The Catholic missionary arrives alone, a stranger to the situation, to the common affections of men; he is better fitted to acquire an ascendancy, than to awaken sympathy. Protestant missions, on the contrary, are, so to speak, *family missions*. The heathen will be easily led to recognize as brothers, missionaries who are husbands and fathers like themselves. These missions thus present an example of Christian society by the side of the precepts of the faith; an example of all the social relations, of all the domestic sentiments, regulated according to the morality of the Gospel; a method of instruction which is assuredly not the least perfect.... The Catholic missions have borne to the heathen the faith *and a master*; while the Protestant missions bear to them the faith *and liberty*.'

Can this be the same M. Guizot who, in 1843, has lent himself, as the supple minister of Louis Philippe, to the project of establishing a Catholic mission in this very island, on the ruins of the faith and morality established by evangelical Protestantism? In the 'History and Inquiry' of M. Lutteroth, from which we have taken the above extract, the testimony borne by M. Hyde de Neuville, formerly Minister of the Marine, to the marvellous transformation of the Polynesian Islanders, is also cited; as well as the more equivocal language in which that sentimental coxcomb, Chateaubriand, speaks regretfully and sneeringly of Tahiti having lost her dances, her choirs, her voluptuous manners. 'The beautiful inhabitants of the new Cythera are now transformed, under their bread-fruit trees,

and elegant palms, into puritans, who attend preaching, and read the Bible with Methodist missionaries.' Such a change did not comport with the writer's fantastic idea of the 'genius of Christianity.' Public opinion in France, however, formed itself mainly upon these testimonies of Guizot, Hyde de Neuville, and Chateaubriand. It is only recently that the atrocious calumnies and monstrous fictions of the Russian navigator, Kotzebue, have been adopted, and zealously sustained in all their extravagance and malignity, by such men as Lesson, Laplace, and Du Petit Thouars. The first of these writers,* who accompanied Duperrey, as second surgeon, on board the Coquille, repeats the ridiculous falsehood which attributed the depopulation of the island chiefly to the wars occasioned by the introduction of Christianity; and goes so far as to justify the former impure manners of Tahiti, mourning over their conversion from Pagan idolatry. The pirate admiral, Du Petit Thouars, talks in the same strain; affirming, with a similar contempt for truth, that the persecution by which the new faith had been established, had cost the lives of ten times the number of individuals that had ever been immolated on the collective altars of the whole archipelago of the Society Islands. And in the *Journal des Debats* (the Court journal) of March 27, 1843, we find the same stale and often refuted falsehoods repeated in these words:—

'The English missionaries have carried with them to the Tahitians civil war under its most terrible form,—a religious war, which has desolated them for a number of years; so that of this population, estimated, towards the end of last century, by Captain Cook, at upwards of 130,000 inhabitants, and by Forster at 145,000, there now remain scarcely 8,000.'

Our readers cannot require to be informed, that the civil war which ended in the submission of the whole island to Pomare I., broke out in 1793, four years before the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries; and that the result of the most careful inquiries, anterior to their gaining any influence, gave from 5,000 to 8,000 as the actual number of the population. Since that time, it has considerably increased. But the slightest knowledge of the structure of the island, the whole interior of which is filled with lofty mountains, traversed by a single valley, with only a belt of fertile soil between them and the sea, is sufficient to convince any one, that Tahiti never could have contained or supported a much larger or denser population. The

* Voyage round the World, undertaken by order of Government, in the corvette 'La Coquille'. By P. Lesson, Corresponding Member of the Institute. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1838.

extravagant estimates of Cook and the early navigators were mere conjectures, built upon fallacious data, in the absence of all direct information. Yet, the very ignorance of the first navigators serves the French libellers with the ground of attack upon the Protestant missionaries, in opposition to the evidence of nature herself, to say nothing of statistical facts. Nay the stupidity or malignity of the statement is still further evinced by its requiring us to suppose, that while, in the forty years from 1769 to 1809, the population remained stationary at 130,000, or increased, in spite of wars, human sacrifices, infanticide, licentiousness, and destructive diseases, it had, a few years after that period, been suddenly reduced by religious wars to less than a twentieth of that number. Nineteen twentieths of the people must have fallen by each other's hands, as the result of the introduction of the gospel by the puritan missionaries! The story of the Kilkenny cats which ate up each other, leaving nothing but the tails, is no longer without a parallel. It is by assertions of this character, operating on the credulity and prejudice of the uninformed and sensitive French public, that the King of France and his *protegés* have sought to make out a case, and excite a national feeling in favour of a French protectorate.

The actual designs of the French upon Tahiti date only from the year 1836. On the 21st of November of that year, a small vessel arrived at Papaiti, from Gambier island, having on board two Roman catholic priests, natives of France, named Laval and Caret. In order to account for their arrival, we must go back a few years; and we shall avail ourselves of Mr. Lutteroth's pamphlet, to bring before our readers, in his true character, the prime instigator of all the intrigues and acts of violence from which Tahiti has been and is still cruelly suffering—the ex-American, ex-Gallican consul, M. Mœrenhout.

At the beginning of the year 1828, a Belgian, M. Mœrenhout, arrived at Tahiti. His object was, to lay the foundation of a commercial establishment, and to engage in speculations that might repair severe losses. The more advanced civilization of this island recommended it as the centre of his operations, which required him to enter into relations with all the points of Oceania, including the Gambier islands, one of the groupes nearest to China. These enterprises were not successful. In less than five years, he lost four vessels, one of which entirely belonged to him, and two were half his property. M. Mœrenhout sent his schooner with divers to fish for *nacre* and pearls upon the banks known to him. During this time, he made the islanders cut wood and prepare arrow-root, paying them with clothes and other useful articles. All these productions were afterwards forwarded to Valparaiso. Being of an enterprising spirit,

M. Mœrenhout attempted also to plant the sugar-cane. Twenty acres were brought under cultivation by his exertions; but this experiment did not succeed. At the end of three years, he abandoned it, estimating his loss at nearly 10,000 francs.

'It may easily be understood, that the arrival of this trader was a very important event for Tahiti. His establishment, which would have been impossible a few years before, was now rendered possible, thanks only to the civilisation introduced by the missionaries. But this new element, which had come to mingle itself with those already described, was in many respects of a contrary character. Up to that time, all had been done with a view to the benefit of the islanders. Their social advancement had been the great, the sole interest; the mission had no other object. Now, on the contrary, a private interest placed itself in opposition to that general interest, which could not fail occasionally to come into collision with it. For instance, it was proposed to build at Panavia a church of large dimensions, of the wood of the tomana and bread-fruit tree, with doors, windows, and benches. For this purpose, it was necessary to fell the trees, to saw, plane, and polish them, which occupied two or three years. This, says M. Mœrenhout*, was an injury to the merchant, who, reckoning upon arrow-root to form part of his cargoes, found himself deprived of it, because the Indians, necessarily occupied with other things, could only exchange their commodities for articles for the use of the church,—locks, nails, paint.' At other times, the ground of the complaint was, that the various instructions the natives were receiving, or the religious exercises in which they were taking part, hindered them from devoting to the labour which he required of them, as much time as he wished. The mission appeared to him an obstacle to his prosperity; and he did not perceive that he himself was an impediment to the regular advancement of this people. It might have been said, that it was no longer allowed to the missionaries to study above everything the well-being of the islanders, since that of M. Mœrenhout came into question. Such, if we are not mistaken, was the origin of an ill-will which continued gradually to strengthen, till it at length knew no bounds. In a work which he occupied himself in publishing, during his residence in France, M. Mœrenhout had spoken of the missionaries in the following respectful terms:—'The greater part of the missionaries (I owe them this justice) are amiable men, who have nothing gloomy about them, and no affectation of reserve. Mr. Nott is one of the most cheerful old men you can meet with; Mr. Wilson, the mildest and best man I ever saw; Messrs. Pritchard, Simpson, and Osmond, excellent company. I have already spoken of Mr. Davies, who can be appreciated only by those who are intimate with him: he possesses extensive acquirements, for which he is indebted to his love of study and his assiduous application. Mr. Henry has but the fault of being a little too rigid; otherwise, he is just, upright, and incapable of hurting a human being; and there is no one, down to Mr. Darling, but you must be pleased with, in your best moments, and from whom you would not find the most frank and cordial hospi-

* 'Voyages aux Iles du Grand Ocean, par J. A. Mœrenhout, Consul Général des Etats Unis.' 2 vols.

tality.' On several occasions, the missionaries interposed in M. Mœrenhout's favour, in the disputes which he had with the inhabitants. He is especially pleased on this ground with Mr. Davies, who always shewed him, he says, much regard and attention. Mr. Williams had settled some differences which he had with a white established at Raiatea. Moreover, he pays homage to the disinterestedness, the generosity of the missionaries, and adds: 'the missionary Pritchard is deserving here of the highest eulogies.' It is the more necessary to advert to this expression, inasmuch as M. Mœrenhout afterwards entertained towards him very different sentiments. M. Mœrenhout repels several charges invented by other travellers. He admits the horrible character of the ancient manners, and attributes to Christianity the change; yet, this change inspires in him no sympathy. 'Everywhere we worship the same God. Taaora and Jehovah are alike but names,' is his language. It must be confessed, this was not the language of the missionaries. If M. Mœrenhout was afraid of their influence, they might well have some reason for dreading his. The schism between them became wider and wider.

'But another cause still must have increased the disagreement. The trade carried on by M. Mœrenhout, according to his own confession, was attended with the most fatal consequences to the morals of the island. He thus describes them:—'The little vessels and the divers which I had sent to the Pomontou Isles, to fish for nacre, those which I had sent to procure tortoise-shell, those which I had despatched to Chili, and received in return, my transactions with all the principal inhabitants of Tahiti, with the vessels that visited the island, and that now became every day more numerous—all this had given to the locality an importance which attracted to it strangers of all classes; especially smiths, carpenters, coopers, sailors, and, unhappily, also, greater numbers of vagabonds, deserters, and scoundrels expelled from their ships; all of whom, had they known how to employ themselves, might easily have found means to live in this place, where, as it was, they did a great deal of mischief; for they were all drunkards, quarrelsome, setting an example of debauchery and a horrible life, unheard-of even among the Indians. These excesses on the part of foreigners, could not fail to have a disastrous influence on the natives: they became such, that, had there not been a season at which very few vessels visit the island, it would have become impossible to live there.' These deplorable effects were especially felt in the ports, where the unbridled licentiousness of the sailors spread drunkenness and debauchery. By this means were revived, to the disgrace of the seducers, those frightful scenes on board the ships, which Christianity had abolished, and which brought back the times of Bougainville. Is it astonishing that these disorders, which threatened to replunge the island into a moral debasement equal to that from which it had been with so much trouble rescued, should have filled the missionaries with anxiety? M. Mœrenhout admits that the establishment he had formed was the occasion of it: can we blame them for having regarded him as a scourge?

'M. Mœrenhout had hitherto quitted Tahiti only to visit the islands of Oceania, or to make a few trips to Chili, when, in 1834, a voyage to Europe appeared to him necessary to the success of his operations. He

embarked on the 23rd of April; proceeded to the United States; solicited and obtained there the title of Consul, of which he wished to avail himself, on his return, to increase his importance; and arrived in France at the end of the same year.'

Thus far we have closely adhered to M. Lutteroth's narrative, in which, it will be seen, he has cited as his authority, M. Mœrenhout's own testimony, in the volumes referred to; and we have deemed it important that this man's character and motives should be fully understood. We must now drop him for a while, to take a rapid view of the collateral projects of the Romish propagandists in the South Seas; still availing ourselves of the pamphlet before us, but without confining ourselves to the writer's language.

As far back as 1826, the successful operations of the Protestant missionaries, British and American, in this region, had awakened the jealousy of the Church of Rome; and an abortive attempt was made in that year, to establish a Romish mission in the Sandwich Islands. The work interrupted by this failure was not relinquished. A decree of the Propaganda, confirmed by Leo XII., June 2, 1833, confided to the Society of Picpus* the gigantic task of bringing within the pale of the Romish Church all the islands of the North and South Pacific Ocean, from the Sandwich Islands to the Antarctic circle. In pursuance of this decree of 1833, a young priest of the house of Picpus, M. Etienne Rochouse, was nominated Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Oceania, with the title of Bishop of Nicopolis *in partibus*. M. Chrysostom Liansu, appointed Prefect Apostolic of all the southern part of this division of Oceania, preceded him in this mission, accompanied by two priests belonging to the same congregation, already mentioned; Mess. Francois d'Assise Caret and Honoré Laval, to whom was attached an Irish Catechist, M. Colomban Murphy. They arrived at Valparaiso May 13, 1834, where the Prefect took up his residence, in order to maintain the connexion between the missionaries and the house of Picpus, while his companions repaired to the Gambier Isles. They arrived there in August, 1834; and, according to their own account, met with marvellous success, by the help of the Virgin and St. Michael, in converting the heathen inhabitants to the worship of the good Mary, the Mother of God, and in

* The Society of Picpus, founded by an ecclesiastic named Coudrin, who devoted himself to the education of youth, in a house of the street which has given its name to the association, was organized shortly after the Restoration, July 1814, with the double object of reviving the Roman Catholic faith in France, and of propagating it among the heathen. Pope Pius VII. sanctioned it by a bull. By this title, it connects itself with three other French congregations as well as with those of the Lazarists, the Marists, and the powerful society for the propagation of the faith, established at Lyons.

teaching them that, as 'God has no wife, and Jesus Christ has no wife,' no married man can be a true missionary of Jesus Christ and St. Peter.' Monseigneur Etienne (Rouchouse), the Vicar Apostolic, embarked at Havre, in October 1834, attended by three priests and three catechists, and reached Akena in May following. Our limits will not allow us to dwell upon the characteristic proceedings of 'Bishop Stephen' and his assistants in these islands; yet, it is not unimportant that we have, in their own letters, a sufficient illustration of the religion which they proposed to substitute for Protestantism in all the archipelagoes of the Great Ocean; a religion of forms, and symbols, and holy names, from which every Christian idea was utterly excluded. The conquest of idolatry, however, was a trivial achievement in their estimation, compared with the greater work of expelling heresy; and upon this, in fulfilment of their mission, they were anxious to enter without delay. In May, 1836, the Catechist Colomban was sent to the Sandwich Islands, disguised as a simple mechanic. He touched at Tahiti in his way, having orders to ascertain what facilities it presented for an establishment. Being the first representative of the Roman Church who had set his foot on this island, his arrival could not but enrage the enemy of all good, whom he represents as the special patron of the Protestant missionaries. Nevertheless, he obtained permission to remain, though his real capacity was known; and he spent there a little more than a month. In his letters to Bishop Stephen, while urging him to repair in person to this important post, he expressly informs him of the law of the island, which rendered it necessary for the reception of a foreigner, that the Queen and the chiefs should unite in deciding whether he should remain or not. The existence of this law has since been stoutly denied. Instead of the bishop, the two priests, Caret and Laval, responded to the appeal of brother Colomban; and, embarking on board a little schooner which was returning to Tahiti, they arrived at that island, 'partly idolatrous and partly heretical,' October 20, 1836; effected a clandestine landing by stratagem, at a point of the island remote from the port; and making their way to Papaiti, repaired to the house of M. Mœrenhout, who had by this time returned to prosecute his mercantile schemes, and was prepared to cooperate with them by giving them his protection and support. On the 25th, he accompanied them to the Queen, to whom, in the presence of several chiefs, and 'the missionary Pritchard,' they were permitted to make their formal request of being allowed to remain in the island. They were told, that the Queen could not give them an answer: it was necessary to convoke a meeting of the chiefs to decide upon it. Before they

withdrew, the priests made the Queen a present of a shawl, to which they added four ounces of silver; but, as this very nearly represented the value of the sixty piasters which the payment for the right of residence would have amounted to, in case the permission to stay had been granted, this silver was sent back to them the same day, lest its acceptance should be construed into a tacit authorisation of their remaining. They brought it a second time, believing, they said, 'that the cause of religion required them to make these offerings of silver.' Pomare Vahine then accepted it; but, in order that there might be no room for misunderstanding her intention, she sent back some presents in return. This, however, remarks M. Lutteroth, has not prevented M. Du Petit Thouars from saying, that she accepted a payment for the right of residence, and M. de Carné* from interpreting her acceptance of it in the same sense.'

Our account of what passed in the subsequent assembly of the chiefs (November 18), is taken from the annals of the Romish missionaries themselves. M. Mœrenhout again attended them. When they had taken their seats, a judge rose, and thus addressed them:—

'Tavara (Laval), and Tareta (Caret): why have you come to this land? We have *oroméduas* (missionaries) who have been here a long time, and who have instructed us in the Word. We have no need of you. There is a law which forbids your entrance to this land: why have you come hither? Return to Mangareva. You have made presents to the Queen, who has made you some in return. Do not be obstinate in remaining.'

M. Caret's reply is stated to have been as follows:—

'When we set out from Mangareva, we did not expect to find here a queen, chiefs, or a people who would drive us from their land. We knew that those who have brought you the Word of God have calumniated our doctrine, and have brought against us false accusations. We are come to justify the doctrine which we preach. We are not sufficiently acquainted with your language to manifest the truth at present. Wait till we shall know it: do not send us away; otherwise, you will never be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood. This law, of which you speak, is so new, that the American Consul here present, who ought to be acquainted with it, knows nothing of it.'

M. Mœrenhout then rose and said:—

'This law, which interdicts foreigners to enter this island, if it is not the good pleasure of the government, is new and unknown to me. It is contrary to the right of nations. I protest against it. It is injurious to America, on behalf of which I exercise here the functions of consul.'

The palpable falsehood of this declaration is incontestibly

* 'Revue des Deux Mondes.' April 15.

demonstrated; first, by the letter of Colomban to Rouchouse, expressly informing him of the law; secondly, by the attempts of the French missionaries to evade the law; and, thirdly, by the testimony borne by M. Mœrenhout to the existence of those disorders which had rendered necessary the renewal and enforcement of this ancient law of the island.

The assembly broke up without conceding the permission to stay; and the next day, the Queen wrote word to Messrs. Laval and Caret, that they could not be allowed to remain any longer.

Upon this, they hastened to her, to try and persuade her to revoke her determination, and to repeat the reasons which made them desirous of remaining.

'These *oroméduas* (missionaries), Queen,' they said, 'are not the messengers of God: but we have been sent by God to make known to you the true Word; and we will prove it when we know the language. They are, you say, the first. Simon, the magician, also went first to Rome to teach his errors. St. Peter went there second, to confound him, and proclaim the truth.'

Paying no attention to the Queen's letter, the two priests took up their quarters in a house which M. Mœrenhout had provided for them. There, in defiance of repeated messages from the Queen, they shut themselves up; till at length, officers charged with the execution of the Queen's orders, adopted a summary mode of ejectment by unroofing the house, and, having gained an entrance, they carried the two foreigners to the shore, where a canoe was in waiting to conduct them to the schooner which had brought them. M. Mœrenhout accompanied them to the sea, and said:—'Gentlemen, I cannot protect you against this act of violence, because I have no troops at my disposal; but they shall know some day, that I am *Consul of the United States.*' After a fruitless endeavour to effect a second landing, and an attempt equally unsuccessful to establish themselves in a low islet constantly visited by the Tahitians, the two discomfited missionaries directed their course back to the Gambier islands, and arrived there on the last day of the year, 1836.

Such are the facts, according to the account given by M. Caret himself; in which, it is observable, that no charge is brought against the Protestant missionaries, of having taken any part in their expulsion, notwithstanding the open avowal that they, the French priests, came to destroy their work. Mr. Pritchard is the only missionary mentioned in M. Caret's recital; and he does not represent him as having taken any prominent or responsible part. Every thing was decided and done by the chiefs. Mr. Pritchard was, in fact, at this time

acting, not as a missionary, but as British Consul; in which capacity, he had certainly as good a claim as Mœrenhout had to be present at the assembly of the chiefs; and he acted, we presume, as interpreter also. Up to this time, he appears moreover to have been on as friendly terms with the Belgian adventurer as their opposite characters would admit of. Previously to the final decision of the assembly of chiefs, at the request of the Queen, Mr. Pritchard wrote a letter (No. 3, in the parliamentary papers) to Viscount Palmerston, dated Tahiti, November 19, 1836; and the Queen herself, at the same time, addressed a letter to his lordship (No. 4), to inquire 'the opinion of the British Government.' The question put, on the part of Queen Pomare, was, whether Tahiti, being acknowledged by the British Government as an independent nation, hoisting her own flag, had not power to enact laws for her own government, so long as they did not contravene the laws of nations. One of the Tahitian laws, Mr. Pritchard states to be: 'That no master or commander of a vessel shall land any passenger without the special permission of the government.' Whereas, there were several Frenchmen who were determined to land and reside on the island, as Roman Catholic missionaries. Queen Pomare, in her letter, states, that they asserted they were sanctioned in the step they had taken by the British Government; and asks: 'Is this true? Are they really sanctioned by the British Government? Is it suitable they should come here and disturb the peace of my government?' These letters were received at the Foreign Office, June 16, 1837. Viscount Palmerston's reply, dated July 19, disclaims any knowledge whatever of the intruders, and any right on the part of the British Government, to give or to withhold a sanction to their residence in a territory not appertaining to Great Britain. 'Of course,' adds his lordship, '*every government has a right to refuse to any foreigners permission to reside within its dominions, if the presence of such foreigners is considered hurtful to the state*; but, if no such reason exists for requiring foreigners to depart, it is contrary to the usual rules of international hospitality to force them to leave a country in which they may wish to take up their abode, provided they do not infringe the laws of the land.' We cannot think that this reply was what Queen Pomare had reason to expect. The question related not to rules of hospitality, but to the right of an independent state to refuse permission to foreigners to settle in its territory; a right which, if it belongs to a government at all, must be absolute and not conditional upon any reason for its exercise, good or bad. It is no moral justification of inhospitality or intolerance, that a man has a right to shut his door

against one who asks for relief or protection, or to refuse to have any dealings with a person of another religion; but his legal right to do so cannot be questioned. Viscount Palmerston's reply might be construed thus: 'You have undoubtedly such a right; but I would not advise you to exercise it.' Or it might be read: 'If you think the intrusion of these foreigners hurtful to the state, you will, of course, send them about their business.' But it overlooked the main point; that a Tahitian law forbade the landing of any passenger without the permission of the government, and that these French Missionaries had effected a landing, and were determined to reside in defiance of that law; —a law of necessary precaution, primarily designed to prevent the settlement of runaway convicts and sailors, which it might have been discreet or otherwise to extend to Roman Catholic Missionaries, but the open contravention of which could not be submitted to by any government, without an abandonment of its rightful authority.

Far from shewing any inhospitality to foreigners, the Tahitian government made no difficulty in receiving M. Pompallier, who, some months afterwards, touched at Tahiti, on his way to New Zealand, as vicar apostolic, in company with the before-mentioned brother Colomban. With this prelate, Mœrenhout entered into relations which bound him by the ties of interest to the Catholic mission. He let to the vicar apostolic a schooner belonging to him, at the rate of 400 piasters per month: that is, 4,800 piasters a-year. A similar vessel had been purchased at Hawaii for 3000 piasters!

Early in 1837, M. Caret, accompanied this time by M. Maigret, again set sail for Tahiti. Not being allowed to land there, they proceeded to Valparaiso, but 'not without the hope of one day penetrating into that fortress of Protestantism in the bosom of the Great Ocean.' They had dedicated the projected mission to 'Our Lady of the Faith;' and 'it shall not be said,' they exclaimed, 'that error shall triumph over the truth: the august Mary, whom the church styles the destroyer of all heresies, will be able to annihilate it at Tahiti.'* Mœrenhout had undertaken to teach the Tahitians what an American consul could do; but when the government of the United States was informed of his conduct, he was deprived of his office. M. Caret was equally determined to shew that a priest could not be insulted with impunity; and proceeding to Valparaiso, he there embarked for France, in order to interest the government in his cause, and 'solicit reparation.' About the time of his arrival in France, by a singular coincidence, an affair took place, which M. Lutteroth adduces as a counterpart to what had occurred at

* Annales de la Propagation, &c. No. 56, p. 234.

Tahiti, and which put to the test the toleration of the French Government. A Swiss protestant minister, M. Delafontaine, had, at the invitation of the inhabitants, come to Montargis, to preach, having given previous notice to the mayor of the place, of the day on which he proposed to celebrate public worship.

'But, in this land of liberty of worship, the mayor opposed his coming on the ground of Art. 294 of the Penal Code, and gave him notice that, if he persisted in his determination to preach, he should be placed, to his great regret, under the disagreeable necessity of reporting this infraction of the law, and of referring it to the magistrate charged with prosecuting the offence. Are we in France or in Tahiti? Matters, it may be supposed, did not rest there. Encouraged by the neighbouring pastor, and by several of his French co-religionists, who saw their own rights compromised by the interdict pronounced against him, M. Delafontaine preached. He then received a formal notice to discontinue his functions, on the ground, not only of the Article (294) mentioned by the mayor, but also on that of a new law, a certain law respecting associations, of which the very minister of justice who threatened to enforce it, had solemnly declared in the national senate, that it should never be applicable to such cases. He ordered the prefect to write word, that, if he (M. Delafontaine) persevered in his illegal resistance, it would be indispensable to have recourse to rigorous measures. The prefect added, '*Force doit rester à la loi.*' At Montargis, as at Tahiti, the law remained in force.'

M. Delafontaine was condemned by the court at Montargis, Nov. 15, 1837, on this law against associations, to two months' imprisonment, with the intimation, that he would be more severely dealt with on a repetition of the offence; and he was ultimately compelled to flee the country, leaving others to maintain in France the principle of liberty of worship. 'The parallel is deficient in one respect,' remarks M. Lutteroth: '*We have not heard that the Helvetic Diet have demanded reparation.*'

M. Caret proceeded from Paris to Rome, where he met with every encouragement from the Pope; and he returned to Paris at the precise moment when a closer alliance had been formed between the Holy See and the French Government, the effects of which have been felt in other quarters besides Oceania. From the king and queen of the French, he met with the warmest reception.

M. Caret sailed again for Oceania at the end of May, 1838. Orders from the French Minister, M. de Rosamel, had preceded him. M. Du Petit Thouars, then commanding the Venus, (of whose previous exploits in the Northern Pacific, our limits forbid us here to take notice,*) received at Valparaiso des-

* M. Lutteroth remarks, that it would be unjust to Du Petit Thouars, to throw upon him the responsibility of his violent proceedings at Tahiti; inasmuch as his conduct under similar circumstances at the Sandwich Islands,

patches from his government, directing him 'to exact reparation from Queen Pomare, and to demand damages and compensation for Mess. Laval and Caret, so unjustly ill-treated, and so outrageously compelled to take their passage to return to the places whence they came.' M. Du Petit Thouars himself declares this to have been the principal object of his visit to Tahiti. On the 27th of August, 1838, the Venus cast anchor in the road of Papaiti. His first business was, to see M. Mœrenhout, whom he had formally met in Chili; and having received from him an exaggerated version of the horrible persecution sustained by the two French missionaries, without making any further inquiry, he proceeded to execute his commission, by issuing the letter to Queen Pomare, demanding, within twenty-four hours, a written apology to the King of the French, and a sum of 2,000 dollars, as an indemnification to Messrs. Laval and Caret, for the loss occasioned to them by the bad treatment they had received. A translation of this document, and a copy of the 'Convention,' dictated to the Queen and her chiefs by the French commander, were forwarded by Mr. Consul Pritchard, to Viscount Palmerston, November 9, 1838; together with a letter from Queen Pomare and her chiefs, to Queen Victoria, earnestly and pathetically imploring British protection. These documents will be found in the first series of parliamentary papers (pp. 3, 6). 'I have also,' writes Mr. Pritchard, 'enclosed a copy of a law, passed by the Tahitian legislative body, by which your lordship will perceive that the Protestant faith has now become the religion of the state.' This law is dated November 8, 1838, the day before the despatches were sent off by Her Majesty's ship 'Fly.' The Venus, as well as the two French corvettes, Astrolabe and Zélé, which had called at Tahiti, had sailed about the middle of September. It appears, therefore, that this ill-advised 'law' was passed after the departure of the French, in the delusive hope that it would conciliate the favour of the British Government, and interest it in the maintenance of the Protestant faith. The Queen and her chiefs must have been well aware that they were utterly unable to enforce the law against foreigners. In the letter to Queen Victoria, they say:—'In our utter impossibility to make ourselves strong and respected, we are threatened in what we have dearest to our hearts, our Protestant faith and our nationality. We have nobody to assist us in our helpless situation, except you, who implanted in our hearts, through your people, the love of Jehovah, the love of order and industry,' It seems difficult

had been totally different. 'He did not then dream of acting as agent of the Propaganda: *the impulsion* came to him from France.'

to understand, therefore, with what other view this first and last edict of religious intolerance could have been adopted, than to have its effect in this country, where the doctrine of a state religion and the establishment principle are so much in vogue with the ruling powers. We shall not be understood as defending the law, in thus endeavouring to account for its adoption. It was a very foolish act; and we should be extremely sorry to believe that Mr. Consul Pritchard or any of the missionaries had a hand in advising the measure. It becomes the Society of which they are the agents, to institute a rigid inquiry on this point; and we await the result before pronouncing any opinion. Such a law could neither justify what was past, nor form an available barrier against future intruders. Laval and Caret had been expelled, not as dissenters or religious offenders, but as foreigners landing without permission, in contempt of the rightful authority of the Queen. Had *this* law been then in existence, they might have complained of their expulsion on such ground as religious persecution. It was therefore most impolitic, to pass such a law of intolerance in favour of Protestantism, which it could not be supposed the French propagandists would respect, and which seemed rather to challenge fresh aggression. Accordingly, when, in April, 1839, Commodore La Place arrived at Tahiti, in the Artemise, he repaid the hospitable succour afforded him, and the aid rendered by the natives in repairing his frigate, by insisting on the abrogation of this law, under the threat of landing five hundred men to subvert the government. From that period, the Catholic missionaries have had equal liberty with all others.

In Viscount Palmerston's despatch of September 9, 1839, (parliamentary papers 1, 7,) acknowledging the letter and enclosures of the previous November, no comment is made upon the 'law' above-mentioned; but the request of the Queen and chiefs to be placed under British protection is absolutely refused. We have read this document, we must confess, with much pain and regret. What we complain of is, not that the British Government should have thought proper to decline the tendered sovereignty of the Society Islands, but that it should thus virtually have withdrawn protection which was pledged to the Tahitian sovereign by Mr. Secretary Canning; for, between the protection of '*good offices*,' and '*all such protection*' as His Majesty can grant to a friendly power, at so remote a distance from his own kingdoms,' there appears to us a vast difference. '*Good offices* may mean nothing more than making feeble remonstrances through a senile ambassador at Paris, to the French minister. By *all* the protection that can be afforded, our naval commanders in the

Pacific understood something very different to be intended. How could they suppose that Great Britain would find it more difficult than France, to provide for the defence of persons claiming protection in a quarter of the globe equally remote from both countries? How could they suppose that the British Government would abandon the protection of islands, the whole value of which had been *created* by British enterprise, to a rival maritime power? How could our brave officers, such men as Captains Nicholas, Waldegrave, and Gambier, imagine that the British flag was to be no protection to 'a friendly power,' against an act of piratical aggression as mean and cowardly as it was insulting to this country, having for its avowed object, to force Roman propagandists upon the heretical islanders who had embraced the Protestant faith?

We must very rapidly advert to the subsequent events. The Artemise, Captain Laplace, proceeded from Tahiti to Howaii, where the doctrine of Romish toleration was imposed upon the Sandwich islanders by the French commander, and a guarantee was exacted of 20,000 piastres. Happily, the further designs of the French upon this important groupe were frustrated by a spirited, but unauthorised occupation of them, in the name of Great Britain, by Lord William Paulet, commanding H. M. ship Carysfort. This act, the British Government lost no time in disavowing; but, at the same time, the British minister at Washington was instructed to announce to the American secretary of state, that Her Majesty had 'determined to recognise the independence of these islands under their present chief.' 'It has not been the purpose of Her Majesty's government,' writes Mr. Fox, 'to seek to establish a paramount influence in those islands for Great Britain, at the expense of that enjoyed by other powers. All that has appeared requisite to Her Majesty's government has been, *that other powers should not exercise there a greater influence than that possessed by Great Britain.*' How different this language from that held by the Earl of Aberdeen to the French minister! Why, when Great Britain had voluntarily relinquished the occupation and sovereignty of the Sandwich islands, to obviate remonstrances from America, was France allowed to act so different a part?

On the return of Du Petit Thouars to France in June, 1839, he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral. It was not till Sept. 1, 1842, that he re-appeared at Papaiti, in the French frigate of 60 guns, the *Reine Blanche*. The Tahitians had been visited, however, in the May preceding, by the *Aube*, a corvette of 24 guns, Capt. Dubuset; and on that occasion, the Queen was subjected to the further humiliation of disbanding her police force, at the command of the French captain, because, in the discharge

of their duty, they had put the commander of a French whaler into confinement for drunkenness and riot. Mœrenhout had meantime been planning the seizure of the island; and in 1841, an abortive attempt had been made at his instigation, in concert with some malcontent chiefs, whom he had gained over. All was prepared by this unprincipled confederate for the French Admiral, who, immediately on his arrival, as before, published a long train of accusations against Queen Pomare, without any attempt to ascertain their truth, or waiting for any explanation, as a pretext for his outragous demands. 'Ill-advised, submitting to an influence fatal to her true interests, 'the Queen,' says Du Petit Thouars, 'will learn a second time that the good faith and loyalty of a power such as France, is not with impunity to be trifled with.'

Mr. Pritchard was not at this time at Tahiti, having in the interim visited this country. On reaching Sydney, on his return, December 8, 1842, he there learned, that the French had taken possession of the Marquesas, and of Tahiti and Eimeo. His despatch, transmitting this intelligence, was anticipated by information already received at the Foreign-office. Mr. Pritchard reached Tahiti, February 25, in the Vindictive, and found Queen Pomare 'driven from her proper residence by the continual threats made by the French to fire upon her.' Under the protection of Commodore Nicholas, however, she had returned, at the date of his despatch (March 13), to her own residence. 'Your lordship will perceive,' writes Mr. Pritchard, 'that Queen Pomare is now in those circumstances with another power, which lead her to look to Great Britain for the fulfilment of those promises of protection which have from time to time been made.' To this despatch, received August 4, 1843, the Earl of Aberdeen replies, by telling Mr. Pritchard, he has *misinterpreted* those passages in the letters of Mr. Canning and Lord Palmerston, which he refers to; and informs him, that it could not be supposed Her Majesty's government could have intended to engage themselves to interpose their good offices in behalf of Queen Pomare, 'in such a manner as to incur the almost certainty of collision with a foreign power;' recommends Queen Pomare to submit to the evil circumstances which her own fears and the intrigues of some of her corrupt chiefs have brought upon her; and enjoins on all Her Majesty's naval commanders who may visit the islands, 'as great a degree of forbearance in their conduct towards the French authorities established there, as may be consistent with the true maintenance of the dignity of the British crown and the efficient protection of British rights and interests.' The recal of Commodore Nicholas forms the best comment upon his lordship's expressions. In less than two months after the

date of this despatch, of course long before it could have reached Tahiti, Her Majesty's ship, Dublin, was exemplifying the forbearance enjoined, by witnessing the perfidious and ruffianly dethronement of Queen Pomare by this same Du Petit Thouars, on the pretext that she had violated the treaty which gave the sovereignty of the island to France; the main charge being, that she had hoisted on her own residence a flag made for her by the *British* Commodore.

We have come to the end of the documents before us. Others of later date, which are indispensable to a complete illustration of the question, have appeared in the daily papers. Among them is a letter addressed by Commodore Nicholas to Admiral Du Petit Thouars, dated, Papaiti Harbour, June 4, 1843, giving a plain seaman-like version of the part which the Commodore had felt it his duty to act, and giving his views of the Admiral's unexampled aggression upon the independence of Tahiti. Why this does not appear in the parliamentary papers, we are at a loss to say. In this letter, Captain Nicholas distinctly alludes to Mœrenhout as 'the main instrument of all the evils that have arisen of late in Tahiti;' and states, that he had been heard to say on more than one occasion, that it should not be his fault, if there was not a war between the two nations, France and England. Captain Nicholas protests against the validity of the treaty to which Queen Pomare's signature had been extorted under circumstances of the most unmanly cruelty; and he tells the French Admiral, that his course appears the more extraordinary after the letters written to Queen Pomare by Commodore Buglet, his immediate predecessor in the command of the naval forces of France in those seas, only six months before, and those of Captain De Bouzé, of the Aube, written but a few weeks before, (of which copies were in his possession,) 'in both of which were expressed the most perfect satisfaction with all the last measures pursued by the Queen with regard to French subjects in Tahiti.'

All this is in direct contradiction to the assertions made by M. Guizot, in his despatch to the Count de Rohan-Chabot, dated September 11, 1843; (*Correspondence in Continuation*, No. 8;) and imputations are thrown out in that letter, which must not, cannot be suffered to pass without being repelled. What, we beg to ask, is the meaning of the following insinuated charge?

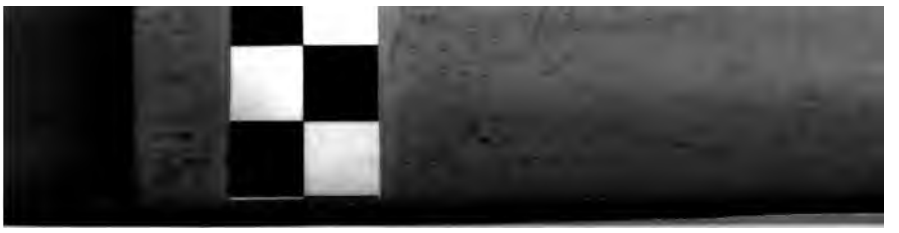
'We agree with Lord Aberdeen, that the acts of one individual missionary should not have the effect of depriving his brethren of the claim which they have to the protection of the king's government. He likewise agrees with us, that the profession of missionary ought not to protect from just punishment an individual who made it a weapon with which to attack established order, either by violence or by intrigue.

Religious zeal, ever sincere, ought never, and cannot in any case at the present day, serve as a veil to justify and protect criminal designs against governments.'

Is it possible that the Directors of the London Missionary Society can tamely suffer these dark accusations to be brought against any missionaries in connexion with that society, and not insist upon a full investigation of the evidence on which they rest? Of the utter falsehood of the implied charges, we entertain no doubt. There are individuals now in this country, who can at all events say what truth there is in them. Applied to the conduct of Laval and Caret, they would be indeed strictly true. But this cannot be the reference intended. If, however, 'the profession of missionary' cannot protect men of tried, exemplary, irreproachable character against criminal charges, malignantly invented by men of abandoned and desperate character; and if, upon such allegations, British subjects may be liable to punishment at the hands of foreign brigands, such as those to whose honour Lord Aberdeen has consigned the protection of Protestant missionaries in the South Seas; what security, we ask, can our missionaries derive from the delusive assurance, that they shall enjoy entire liberty in the exercise of their religious functions?

Abundant evidence has been afforded in the course of this article, that the seizure of Tahiti is only part of an extended design for the forcible establishment of Roman Catholic missions in all the islands of the Pacific, in which the labours of Protestant missionaries have proved successful; and not in that quarter only. But this does not fully describe the project. It is more particularly for the subversion and extinction of the Protestant heresy, that the Pope, by whom this design is patronised, demands the alms of the faithful. In 1842, the sums collected by the propaganda society of Lyons, amounted to more than three millions of francs; out of which, in the same year, there were granted to the Vicar Apostolic of Polynesia (or Eastern Oceania), for the Picpus missions, upwards of 150,000 francs.* Now this design of extirpating heresy in the South Seas has not been abandoned. It has the full approbation of Louis Philippe, who thereby seeks to gratify the religious zeal of his queen, to conciliate the Pope, and to pander to the almost fiendish hatred of this country breathed by the worst portion of the French press. M. Guizot, the great Protestant minister, the eulogist, in 1826, of Protestant missions—is faithfully following out the crafty schemes of his great master, 'the Napoleon of Peace,' by keeping as long as he can out of a war

* Lutteroth, pp. 231—2.



with this country, and doing England all the mischief he can at the same time. The hollow and harmless accusation brought against the French minister, of subserviency to England, enables him the more successfully to take advantage of the pacific pusillanimity and amiable confidence of good Lord Aberdeen, so as to secure a real subserviency of British interests to the *entente cordiale* with France. In this posture of our foreign relations, it would be absolutely fatuitous to suppose, that the recent disavowal of the late brutal aggression of Du Petit Thouars by Louis Philippe, which at the same time ratifies the French sovereignty over Tahiti, puts out of jeopardy the Protestant missions in the South Seas. A pretext for expelling the English missionaries will soon arise. We shall hear of it under a French version, a year afterwards. A deputation from Blomfield-street will then wait upon the Foreign Office with their complaints. Lord Aberdeen, if still its occupant, will express his concern and regret, and will write to our ambassador at Paris; and our ambassador will ask for a conference with M. Guizot; and M. Guizot will make explanations and assurances, and laugh in his sleeve. The Society of Picpus will, mean time, be singing Te Deum for the success vouchsafed to their pious projects for the extirpation of heresy by the august Virgin, the mother of God; and our Anglican clergy will chuckle over the ruin of missions rashly undertaken by unauthorised evangelical teachers, without a state warrant or a state stipend, without episcopal orders and sacerdotal thaumaturgic gifts. God grant that we may prove false prophets!

Brief Notices.

Annales Veterum Regnorum et Populorum, imprimis Romanorum, confecti a Car. Timotheo Zumptio. (Reprinted under the superintendence of Rev. T. Kerchever Arnold). London: Rivington. 1844.

We gladly direct attention to a little work, unpretending in form, but most valuable in substance, to all who are engaged, either as teachers or as pupils, in the study of ancient authors, especially the historians and orators of Greece and Rome. Much has of late been done for Greece: Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, though by far too cumbrous and expensive for school use, is nearly all that the advancing and wealthy university scholar can wish in that department; but there has been a deficiency of accessible books to assist the student of the Roman Annals. The great work of Pighius is very rare in England, and we

believe is nowhere to be purchased; few booksellers have either seen or heard of it: yet undoubtedly something has been done since it was written, and a mere republication of it, without judicious annotations, is hardly to be desired. The excellent commentary of Sigonius on the Fasti Consulares, was indeed reprinted by the Oxford Clarendon press in 1801; but so entirely has the most important period of Roman history been neglected at Oxford and Cambridge, (viz., that which intervenes from the death of Hannibal to the battle of Actium,) that this useful book is scarcely known. Some years back, when we desired to procure it, great difficulties were experienced; and at last it was obtained from Oxford *in sheets*; there being no sufficient demand for it to induce the booksellers even to put it in boards! Mr. Kerchever Arnold's timely republication of the small volume before us, we regard as a great boon; yet, since for conciseness all references have been omitted, it cannot supersede larger works. Especially we could wish to see Sigonius ably edited, and all his references filled up from the figures used in modern editions. But this will come in time; and we hail every mark that history is becoming a more prominent aim in our study of antiquity. Meanwhile, we wish that Mr. Arnold had added a few tables, which might easily have been extracted from accessible works: such as, a list of the Athenian archons, of the parishes of Attica, of the tribes of Rome, of the Chief Pontiffs, the Lustra, and the Principes Senatus, within the most important period. Five pages added to the 209, would have increased the utility of the work to young scholars, with little or no effort. Perhaps this may be done in a second edition.

The chronology of the Roman empire is here carried down to A.D. 476, or the extinction of the Latin sovereignty in Italy. Through a very large part of the volume, the yearly narrative is so full,—being in pure and very concise Latin,—that in reading it, we read no very meagre summary of the history. Zumpt has prefixed an excellent Introduction, containing a succinct account of the *sources* of ancient history, with brief criticisms on their respective value. We have no doubt that this instructive and sterling work will have wide circulation as soon as its nature is understood.

Shakspeare. Library Edition. Edited by Charles Knight. Vol. IX. London. 1844.

When this beautiful edition of our great dramatist was about half finished, we introduced it in a review of some length to the notice of our readers. We then entered pretty fully into Mr. Knight's merits as a critic and annotator, and can only say that the work still deserves the approbation we then expressed. Of the labours of the editor in his recension of the text, of the value of his critical *excursus*, and antiquarian and archæological annotations, we can only repeat what we then said. When the last volume is published, which is to contain the Life of the Poet, we shall find matter for some further observations. We wait its appearance with considerable interest.

Letters from the Virgin Islands, illustrating Life and Manners in the West Indies. London: Van Voorst.

We do not anticipate that many readers of the Eclectic will be pleased with this volume. It is not, indeed, without marks of considerable talent, but there is an unseemly flippancy, and an affected gaiety which lead us to suppose the writer to be what, in current phrase, is described as a man of the world. The remarks on the condition and character of the female sex, which are very frequently interspersed in the volume, display a freedom which too nearly approaches libertinism. Though according to its title, the book may illustrate life and manners in the West Indies, it is not likely to improve those of our own country. There are occasionally some useful observations on the subject of slavery.

Caste and Slavery in the American Church. By a Churchman. New York and London: Wiley and Putnam, 1843.

'Upright men shall be astonished at this,' is the appropriate motto borne by this pamphlet. It is a powerful denunciation of the guilt of the American Episcopalian clergy in their treatment of the coloured race, and their general connivance at, and silence respecting slavery. Episcopalians in England, who are fond of contemplating their church in America as sustaining towards them the relation of a daughter, might with propriety exercise on this matter parental fidelity and remonstrance.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Preparing for immediate publication.—Critical Essays, contributed to the Eclectic Review. By John Foster, author of Essays on Decision of Character, &c. 2 vols, 8vo.

A Visit to My Father-land; being Notes of a Journey to Syria and Palestine in 1843. By Ridley H. Herschell. 18mo. cloth.

On the 1st of May, 1844, will be published, price threepence, No. I of The Voice of Israel; a new Monthly Journal, conducted by Jews who believe in Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah.

Just Published.

Illustrations of the Theory and Practice of Ventilation; with Remarks on Warming, Exclusive Lighting, and the Communication of Sound. By David Reid, M.D., F.R.S.E.

A Series of Compositions from the Liturgy. By John Bell, Sculptor. No. V.

Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. By John Kitto, Editor of the Pictorial Bible. Part XI.

The Most Delectable History of Reynard, the Fox, and of his Son Reynardine,—a Revised Version of an old Romance.

Margaret, or the Pearl. By the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, M.A., Author of May You Like It.

The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, with the Manual of Epictetus, and a Summary of Christian Morality. Freely translated from the original Greek. By Hugh M'Cormac, M.D.

Linnæus and Jussieu; or the Rise and Progress of Systematic Botany. A popular Biography, with an historical Introduction and Sequel.

Smeaton and Lighthouses. A popular Biography, with an Historical Introduction and Sequel.

The Useful Arts employed in the Production of Clothing.

Amy Herbert. By a Lady. Edited by the Rev. W. Sewel, B.D.

Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, called by the Committee of The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and held in London, June, 1843. By J. F. Johnson, short-hand writer.

The History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné. A new translation (the only one containing the Author's latest improvements.) By Henry Beveridge. Vol. I. Second Thousand.

The Young Composer; or, Progressive Exercises in English Composition. Part I. By James Cornwell.

Letters from America. By John Robert Godley. 2 vols.

Western Africa; its Condition, and Christianity the Means of its Recovery. By D. J. East.

The Piedmontese Envoy; or, the Men, Manners, and Religion of the Commonwealth. A Tale. By Prothesia S. Goss.

The Sabbath Companion; being Essays on First Principles of Christian Faith and Practice. Designed especially for the Use of Young Persons. By Thomas Dale, M.A.

The Treasury of History; consisting of a Series of Separate Histories of the Principal States and Kingdoms in the World, preceded by an Introductory Outline Sketch of Universal History from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time. By Samuel Maunder.

Elements of Church History, Vol. I,, containing the External History of the Church during the first Three Centuries. By David Welsh, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Church History, New College, Edinburgh.

The Morning Exercises at Cripplegate, St. Giles's in the Fields, and in Southwark; being divers Sermons preached A.D. 1659—1689, by several Ministers of the Gospel in or near London. Fifth Edition. By James Nichols. In six Vols—Vol. I.

Horæ Aramicæ; comprising Concise Notices of the Aramean Dialects in General, and of the Versions of Holy Scripture extant in them; with a translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, from the ancient Peschito Syriac. By J. W. Etheridge.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR MAY, 1844.

Art. I. *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the Time of George III.* &c. Third Series. By Henry Lord Brougham. London: Knight & Co.

THERE are natural diseases and physical deformities, so repulsive to the sight, so disgusting, or so shockingly terrific, that most of the persons afflicted with them, very properly, shun the world, and hide in solitude their bodily and mental sufferings. Private and public sympathy conspire to alleviate the evils of their miserable existence, and even more, to procure them all the comforts they can enjoy. Some, however, of these sufferers, without any regard for general susceptibility, we may even say, for common decency, choose to expose their infirmities to the public gaze, the greatest part of them for the purpose of obtaining from the compassion, or extorting from the horror they inspire, a contribution too often denied to more deserving objects; and a few others, without any motive but that of terrifying their fellow-creatures, as if to avenge upon them the awful visitation of Providence. Against the impositions and the extortions of the second class of these unfortunate beings, the laws everywhere protect society; and in England, the tread-mill is the penalty of these speculative or boastful exhibitions.

Unfortunately, there are also moral diseases and deformities, equally and even more offensive to the community. Some affect the mind only, or rather annihilate the mind, and, depriving man of all consciousness, reduce him to the level of domestic or of ferocious animals. Here, again, the law interferes for the protection of the unfortunate patients as well as for that of the community;

public charity opens to them asylums; where, thanks to the unremitting care, inexhaustible benevolence, and superior abilities of the directors, the light of intelligence frequently rekindles, or where, at least, the sufferings of the inmates are not aggravated by want, insult, and tortures. But, as in physical, so in moral diseases and deformities, there is a second class. It is composed of men, whose minds are depraved without being sensibly impaired; whose hearts are callous to all kind, honourable, and virtuous feelings; whose inveterate habits of vice and wrong-doing have so completely obliterated all notion of decency, all sense of shame, that they can no longer distinguish truth from falsehood, right from wrong, or virtue from vice, but even go so far as generally to mistake the one for the other. Nay, more: some of them, the worst of all, take their stand in the highest ranks of society, rave in the senate, bluster in the council of the nation, shine at courts, and everywhere proclaim falsehood to be truth, vice to be virtue, apostacy to be consistency, populicide to be patriotism; and, while devoting the whole of their energies to blind, corrupt, and enslave mankind, they pretend to be the instructors, the monitors, the benefactors of the human race! And as there is no sound flogging now, as there was twenty-five years ago, there are no treadmills for these bare-faced incurables in corruption! So that society is left unprotected against their revolting exhibitions and their satanic propagandism!!

Such were our reflections after reading the volume before us; the most complete compound we have ever met with, of all the vile passions that can fill a human breast, and of all the malignant instincts that can derange a man's mind. We have long been prepared for this performance of Henry, now Lord Brougham; and this is not yet the climax he is doomed to attain; it is but another stone added to the monumental pillory which he is erecting to himself, and on which he must ere long finish his mischievous career, amidst the scorn of his fellow-men.

The people, so long deceived as to the character of this man, notwithstanding the warnings of one of their best friends, honest Major Cartwright, and of the sincere, though vain, Jeremy Bentham, have at last found out their error, and now despise the trickster who advocated their cause, and declaimed in favour of liberty, only so far and so long as it suited his own purposes, and was conducive to his own elevation. Lord Brougham, therefore, hates the people, from whom he has now nothing to hope and everything to fear; he is foremost among the enemies of reform, of any extension of electoral privileges, and of freedom in any shape, since all these would enable the people to avenge their wrongs, and to inflict severe but just penalties upon the wrongdoers.

The Whigs, for their party purposes, had the bad taste and the misfortune to introduce Brougham into political life; to cherish with fostering cheers his parliamentary essays; to applaud his energetic invectives, which they called eloquence and patriotism; to place him in the front line of their ranks, in their struggles for power. They had no sooner raised him to office than they had cause to repent and to distrust him; his blundering, imperious, and meddling disposition, and his vulgarity, made them ashamed of their creation. As a member of the ministry, his double dealings, his violence of temper, and his absurd pretensions, disgusted his own colleagues, who unceremoniously discarded him. Lord Brougham, therefore, hates the Whigs, and, above all, his late co-partners in the ministry.

The public press has mainly been influential in bringing him into notoriety, in over-estimating his abilities, and in establishing his reputation for patriotism. Thanks to the press, and to the press alone, Henry Brougham was the most accomplished scholar, the most complete linguist, the most acute philosopher of his age. Henry Brougham was a profound mathematician: mechanics, engineering, astronomy, had no mysteries to his comprehensive mind. The fine arts, music, and painting, were quite familiar to him; had he but condescended to enter into rivalship with Rossini or Lawrence, he would have completely eclipsed their fame. Henry Brougham was a light of jurisprudence: the Cicero of the bar, the Demosthenes of the senate. But, above all, Henry Brougham was the uncompromising and undaunted champion of the people. Now that the spirit of the dream is over, and that every one sees him as he really is, and as, if we can believe him, he has always been, the whole of the press is unanimous in branding with infamy the political renegade, in spurning his proffered allegiance, in blazoning his ludicrous antics and his rabid vindications of himself, and in laughing down the demi-god of a former time. Lord Brougham, therefore, holds the press in utter detestation.

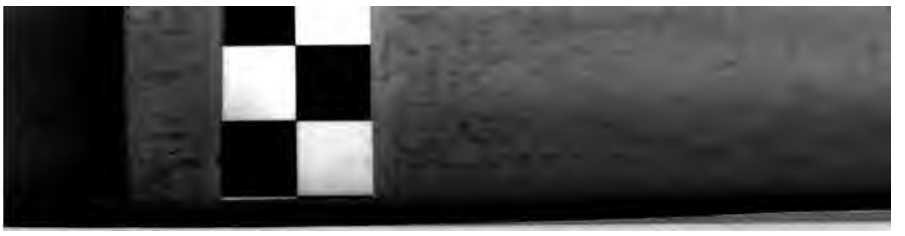
After the many examples of apostacy recorded during the last sixty years, the people are no longer disposed to be deceived by the semblance of patriotism, by which the leaders of the two political factions that have so long misruled and plundered the country, have hitherto succeeded in keeping themselves alternately at the head of affairs. The middle and the working classes, now equal in intelligence and education, and frequently superior, to most of the upper and aristocratic classes, and made wiser by a dearly bought experience, no longer lend their confidence and support to the scions or protegès of the nobility, on the pledge of their attachment to popular rights. They rely upon themselves; they look for champions and for leaders among

themselves; among those who have with them a community of principles, of feelings, and of interests. They trust in them, not for the violence of their language, but for their earnestness in the application of a few political principles, now well understood. The Burdetts, the Lambtons, the Broughams of old, are now replaced by a Cobden, a Bright, a Thompson, and a Sturge, who think, speak, and act like the people, for the sole advantage of the people, and with the unanimous approbation of the people. Of course, while the former were styled patriots, the latter are nothing but demagogues; and Lord Brougham detests demagogues!

Hatred of the people, hatred of the Whigs, hatred of the late ministers, hatred of the press, and hatred of the demagogues, are the five inspiring genii who have dictated this volume; and we cannot wonder, if, written under such inspiration, every page is full of malice, ignorance, misrepresentation, and falsehood; the whole seasoned with the superlative vanity of the author, which, however, does not sufficiently conceal his catch-penny propensities.

The first part of the volume is devoted to the French revolution, and to some of the French revolutionists. For its want of good faith and of truth, it is equal to any essay on the same subject in the *Quarterly Review*, though vastly inferior in knowledge of the matter and in arrangement. Lord Brougham's performance will not materially assist in its designs the oligarchic faction, who, for want of all arguments in favour of their encroachments on the liberties and property of the people, endeavour to place their usurpations under the protection of terror, and threaten universal pillage and revolutionary massacre as the consequence of any attempt, on the part of the people, for the recovery of their rights. Burke succeeded, more than fifty years ago, in playing this game; but the people know that the consequences were an addition of seven hundred millions sterling to the national debt; the death, in battle, of three hundred thousand of their fellow-subjects; the abridgment and suspension of their natural and constitutional rights; and the increase in wealth, authority, and strength of the oligarchy. The people, therefore, will not again be caught in the same trap. DIEU ET MON DROIT is their motto, as well as that of the crown; and, notwithstanding the bloody phantoms raised by daily, monthly, quarterly, or lordly showmen, they are determined to have it as a fact.

The obstinate resistance of the ruling powers to the legitimate demands of the people, has at all times, and everywhere, been the real cause of revolutions. History has unquestionably established this truth. Lord Brougham, however, chooses to



look for other causes of the French revolution. He might have been enlightened on the subject had he condescended to study the 'Collection des mémoires relatifs à la révolution Française;' all of them published by remarkable personages, who took an active part in that revolution; but the result of his investigations would have baffled his purpose. He therefore adopted another plan. He first takes for authorities, on the causes of the French revolution, the Abbé Baruel and M. Mounier. According to Baruel, every thing was exceedingly well regulated in France; and the only causes of the revolution were the philosophers, the encyclopædists, the free-thinkers, the illuminati, and the freemasons. Mounier, on the contrary, maintains that they had no share in bringing about that event; which was, according to this well-meaning, but weak-minded man, the result of comparatively trivial and accidental circumstances, and principally of the derangement of the finances; and of the vacillating conduct of the court and the ministers, after the convocation of the States-General. Having thus selected, among the most despised of the French writers, the two champions of opposite parties, Lord Brougham chooses for umpire, Mr., now Lord Jeffrey, and the decision is to be found in an article of that gentleman's in the *Edinburgh Review*, which our author proclaims the best authority upon the subject.

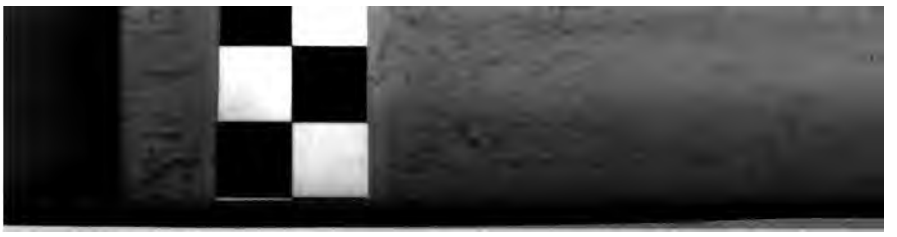
An honest writer, unless grossly ignorant, as Lord Brougham seems to be, in investigating the causes of the French revolution, would have consulted and mentioned Rabaud St. Etienne, Thouret, Necker, Grégoire, Puisaye, Bertrand de Molleville, Du Mouriez, Mde. de Stael, Gohier, and many others of all parties; but these authors would have led the inquirer to a conclusion which would have defeated the wicked object of the newly-made oligarch. Mignet, whom his lordship calls his honorable friend, and Thiers, both his worthy colleagues in the class of 'sciences, morales, et politiques' of the French Institute, have written histories of the French revolution, which, however one-sided they may be, would have enlightened him a little, if that were possible, after his discovery that 'the peasant felt more vexed at seeing the lord's pigeons trespassing on his crops, without the power of destroying them, than he did from paying a tithe of that crop to the church, and a third to the landlord,' (p. 8,) and that this was a principal cause of the French revolution. No wonder that, after this extraordinary discovery, the prime minister of England, taking the hint, should have resolved to maintain the corn laws, and issued a decree of extermination against the hares.

Lord Brougham explains, with the same sagacity and justice, how the revolution soon assumed a character of violence, con-

stantly increasing, until at last it merged into republican anarchy, pillage, massacre, and civil war. It was, according to him, the influence of the clubs, the weakness of the Constituent Assembly; the resolution, 'unexampled in human folly, that no one of the members of the first assembly should be capable of being elected to the second;' (p. 15;) 'the consequent election of unknown, inexperienced, untried men, who were more subservient to the club of Jacobins, and the mere instruments of a few agitators who had borne sway in the former assembly, and were acting through the mob of Paris;' (p. 17;) then, 'the greatest outrages committed with the money, and under the dictation of the Jacobins, by the affiliated societies, not in the capital at first, but in the south of France, at Nismes;' 'and the assembly, acting under the control of the mother club, did not bring to punishment some atrocious miscreants, whose cannibal ferocity had been proved before it;' (p. 19—20;) * finally, the establishment of a system of intimidation and terror, the destruction of the monarchy, the imprisonment of the Royal family, and the calling of the National Convention.

The twenty pages devoted by Lord Brougham to the reign of that assembly, are not new to us. We have repeatedly read them in the Quarterly, and in Blackwood's Magazine; and the editors would have had a right to bring an action for piracy against his lordship, had he not so garbled their statements, so coloured their prints, added so many inaccuracies of his own, and filled the whole with such startling contradictions, that, notwithstanding the monopoly they have long enjoyed in misrepresenting and abusing revolutions, they would be ashamed to claim, as their own, the second-hand goods hawked by their new competitor. Lest our readers should believe that we deal unfairly with our author, here are our proofs:—'The party of the Gironde, the earliest to declare for a republic, were all along conscious of their weakness in point of numerical strength, and *the necessity of preserving the majority by strong demonstrations of physical force.*' (p. 20.) 'The Gironde, composed chiefly of deputies from that district, and [who] thence derived their name, were men of respectable characters, *averse, for the most part, to violent proceedings.*' (p. 22.) 'The convention was the governing body of the state; but the number of its members was wholly incompatible with the function of a body which possessed the executive as well as

* In 1816 and 1817, a man of the name of Froment sued the Comte d'Artois (afterwards Charles the Tenth) in the courts of justice of Paris for payment of the sums of money he had expended, by order of His Royal Highness, in provoking those outrages; he afterwards, being nonsuited, dared to petition the Chamber of Deputies to obtain payment. So much for the veracity of Lord Brougham!



the legislative power, and even interfered with the judicial authority. *Hence the want of* a vigorous government' (p. 29.) 'A body (the convention) thus composed, and chosen by the nation, which, though acting under the influence of the clubs and the mob, yet gave their confidence to the deputies appointed, *certainly possessed resources and power abundantly sufficient for governing the country with vigour; and it soon showed that these powers were entrusted to able hands.*' (pp. 30, 31.) And thus, in almost every second or third page through this volume, does his lordship say the reverse of what he had said before.

With the unbounded assurance characteristic of Henry Brougham, we are told (p. 35), that they put Custine to death for having surrendered Valenciennes, where Custine never commanded; that they *prevented* a royalist insurrection at Lyons, by destroying a great part of that noble city and massacreing hundreds of its inhabitants, while the insurrection, not a royalist one, had taken place and succeeded; and that it was only after a heroic defence and the surrender of the town, that the vengeance of the convention began. The same accuracy prevails in every part of the volume, in which his lordship appears to have emulated the author of "Random Recollections."

In the middle and at the end of his fanciful miniature picture of the French revolution, our author suddenly turns poetical moralist:—

'Here let us pause,' says he, 'and respectfully giving ear to the warnings of past experience, as whispered by the historic muse, let us calmly revolve in our minds the very important lessons of wisdom and virtue applicable to all times, which these deplorable details are fitted to teach. In the *first* place, they show the danger of neglecting due precautions against the arts and the acts of violent partisans, working upon the public mind, and of permitting them to obtain an ascendant, by despising their power, or trusting to their being overwhelmed and lost in the greater multitude of the peaceable and good.' (p. 24.) 'Secondly, it is not merely the activity of agitation that arms them with force to overpower the bulk of the people; their acts of intimidation are far more effectual than any assiduity and any address..... The tendency of great meetings of the people is twofold: their numbers are always exaggerated, both by the representations of their leaders, * and by the fears of the bystanders; and the spectacle of force which they exhibit, and the certainty of the mischief which they are capable of doing when excited and resisted by any but the force of troops, scare all who do not belong to them.'..... (pp. 25, 26.) '*Lastly*, it becomes us to consider how powerful a voice is raised by these facts, in condemnation of the sluggish, the selfish, the pusillanimous conduct of those

* The Irish demagogues speak of addressing three and four hundred thousand persons in places where the whole population amounts to less than half the numbers.—*Note of Lord Brougham.*

who, by their acquiescence and neutrality, arm a despicable and unprincipled minority with absolute power.' (p. 26.)

The plain meaning of this is, Down with all sorts of political associations! Down with the Repeal Agitation! Down with the Anti-Corn Law League! Down with the Complete Suffrage Union! Down with the Anti-State-Church Conference! Down with all Public Meetings! Down with O'Connell, Cobden and Bright, Sturge and Sharman Crawford. Let all unite against these agitators, crush these demagogues; and every thing is safe; and the mob, the rabble, the people, will quietly lie down at the feet of oligarchy. For oligarchy is great, and Brougham is its prophet!

The salutary lessons proclaimed by the history of the French revolution, when that history is not falsified by mercenary scribblers, by profligate reviewers, by unprincipled lawyers, by apostate politicians, are vastly different. We also have studied that awful event. We have known most, and been familiar with many, of those who took a part, a principal part, in it. There is hardly a book, or even a pamphlet, upon the subject, which we have not read and meditated on during the last thirty-five years; from the mischievous '*Actes des Apôtres*,' by Peltier, to the still more malignant but much less amusing trash of our ex-Radical Chancellor: and our only object in taking up this book was to see the new light which the late demagogue, and friend of JULIEN, would throw upon the matter. We expected but little; we found none.

In opposition to the wilful and dangerous misrepresentations so impudently reproduced, let us rapidly sketch the causes of that revolution and of its deviation into that horrible anarchy, of which the enemies of freedom take so much advantage.

Louis the Fourteenth had carried to the last degree of endurance the exercise of the royal authority, by his wars of ambition, by his contempt for all laws, by his ruinous profusions and exactions; and, above all, by that revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which caused the death, the incarceration, or the exile of six hundred thousand families. Fear and hatred were the only feelings which royal authority thus exercised could inspire.

The same profusion, the same exactions continued during the reign of his successor, with the same contempt for all laws. But the abandoned life of Louis the Fifteenth, his infamous debaucheries, which were emulated by the nobility and the high clergy, changed fear into contempt; and, when he died, royalty was hated and despised. It was during his reign and in allusion to it, that, in one of the chapters of 'L'Esprit des Lois,' Montesquieu wrote this portentous sentence, 'Le principe de

la monarchie est detruit, quand l'honneur est mis en contradiction avec les honneurs et quand un homme peut être en même temps chargé de dignités et d'infamie.'

When the death of the profligate monarch left the throne to Louis the Sixteenth, respect for Royalty had long been extinct among the nobility and the higher clergy; and the timid character and bad education of the new king were not at all fitted to rekindle that feeling. Nay, more; the simplicity of his tastes, and the severity of his morals, increased the dislike of a depraved court, which, ranging itself under the banner of his younger brother, a worthy disciple of his grandfather, attempted to ruin the virtue and certainly tarnished the reputation of his unfortunate queen. The whole of Europe saw the head of the Catholic church of France, the cardinal grand almoner, Prince de Rohan, convicted of coveting his royal mistress, and offering for her favors a necklace of the value of 1,800,000 francs. And yet the King durst not inflict any other penalty upon the guilty prelate than his exile from the court. Such was the monarchy of Louis the Sixteenth in 1788. A great revolution, had, indeed taken place. The moral authority of the monarch had been destroyed; but not by agitators, not by demagogues, not by the people.

The governmental authority of the King was not in a much better condition. The ministers he had chosen on ascending the throne, Turgot and Malesherbe had been dismissed at the demand of the queen, instigated by the court; the first, for his economical views and the retrenchments he was making in the public expenditure, and for daring to propose that the nobility and the clergy, who possessed nearly three-fourths of the landed property of the country, should be subjected to the same taxation as the rest of the people; the second, for the reforms which he meditated in the administration of justice, and for his liberal views in religion, his favourable disposition towards the protestants, and the support he gave to the financial system of his patriotic colleague. All the ministers who were successively appointed, were more the subservient instruments of the court, than the councillors of the King. They continued the prodigalities which had already caused a large deficit, by means of loans obtained on exorbitant conditions; and, when they could no longer find capitalists disposed to advance more money, by increasing the existing taxes and by imposing new ones.

Here another difficulty presented itself. The parliaments of the kingdom, which had frequently been insulted and persecuted, even dissolved by the crown, and were now all arrayed against the court, refused to legalize the levy of the new taxes, and encouraged the people to refuse payment of them. Thus was the royal authority set at defiance, and the government

deprived of all means of supporting itself; but still, not by agitation, not by demagogues, not by the people.

An assembly of the notables of the kingdom, a mock representation of the people, was summoned to take into consideration the financial situation of the country; to see what new taxes could be imposed, and to decide upon the propriety of subjecting the nobility and the clergy to the same contributions as all the other citizens. After months of angry discussion the assembly, composed as to the great majority, of nobles and priests, rejected all the proposals; and the government, thus placed in a more precarious condition, after this unsuccessful attempt, and the continued resistance of the parliaments, was obliged to convoke a real representation of the people,—the Estates General of the kingdom.

Hitherto the people had had no share in the revolutionary movements which had taken place. The simple citizens first entered into political life, when called together in their electoral districts, but they carried with them a just dissatisfaction against the pretensions of the two privileged orders, and the resolution of choosing for their representatives none but men determined to claim an equal distribution of the taxes, upon all, according to their property, without excepting any class, and to claim in the laws, and in the administration of the country, all those reforms, the want of which had been acknowledged by the parliaments, and, on many occasions, by the government itself. In almost all the districts, the electors, before separating, delivered in writing, to their deputies, instructions upon all the concessions they wished them to discuss and obtain from the assembly. Most of these instructions were afterwards printed; and there is not one which does not contain expressions of love for the King, and the utmost confidence in his patriotism; or which indicates the least disposition to infringe upon the honours or just privileges of the nobility and clergy. If this moderation, this forbearance, on the part of the people, was gradually changed into distrust, hostility, and deadly hatred, it is not the people whom we must accuse, as we shall soon see.

No sooner was the session opened, than the nobility and the clergy insulted the third estate, and proved their determination to maintain all their abused privileges, by refusing to discuss and deliberate in common on the questions referred to the decision of the Estates General. Pride and avarice were the leading feelings of the two privileged classes. A few among them, and those of the highest rank, formed honourable exceptions, and would have voted with the deputies of the people, and secured a majority in favour of all necessary reforms, had the three estates deliberated in common; but being in a minority in

their respective orders, the majority of the two estates, in favour of the old abuses, would not only have neutralized the decisions of the third estate, but, as two against one, would have been able to impose new burdens upon the nation, and establish new immunities in their own behalf. This was too evident not to be clearly seen by all the deputies of the third estate, and not to induce them to insist upon a deliberation in common of the three orders. They did insist, and were supported in their views by their constituents, to whom they applied, and who, in every part of France, now began to consider the nobles, the prelates, and the priests, as their natural enemies.

The nobles, the prelates, and the priests, found at court a support which they expected would enable them to conquer the obstinacy of the plebeian deputies and of their constituents. Unfortunately, the court prevailed upon the King to side with the privileged classes, and to hold a royal sitting, in which he enjoined the deliberation by orders. The King had hardly retired, followed by the deputies of the nobility and of the clergy, when the deputies of the third estate passed a resolution confirmatory of their own previous proceedings, and remained in the hall, where they continued their operations. At the urgent request of the court and of the queen, who were indignant at this plebeian audacity, the King ordered the grand-master of ceremonies, Dreux Brézé, to repair to the hall, and to order the deputies to quit it instantly. That officer had hardly delivered the royal message, when he was thunderstruck by the reply of Mirabeau: 'Go, and report to your master, that we are here by the will of the people, and will leave only when compelled by force of bayonets.'

Thus royal authority was set at nought by the representatives of the people, as it had previously been, but not on such equitable grounds, by the nobility and the clergy. The miserable expedients which the privileged orders and the court afterwards resorted to, for preventing the meetings of the plebeian deputies, only increased their enthusiasm and zeal, and led to their ever memorable sitting in the tennis-court of the palace, where they proclaimed themselves a national assembly, and swore not to abandon their post until they had secured a constitution, and the liberty of their country. The King and the court, who were not prepared for this display of patriotic energy, finding themselves unable, for the moment, to repress or even to resist this formidable movement, thought it necessary to yield. The deputies of the nobility and of the clergy were ordered to join the deputies of the third estate. The majority refused; but, a small minority having already passed over to the national party,

the rest were finally compelled to submit, and to take their seats in the national assembly.

This is, in some sort, the opening scene of the appalling drama, called THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. It is evident that the people and their representatives were not the aggressors, but acted only in self defence against the attacks of their enemies. This was constantly the case in every one of those circumstances so grossly misrepresented by the enemies of freedom, as we are going in brief to show.

The dissolution of the national assembly was resolved upon by the court, at the very same time when the privileged orders were commanded to join the third estate, and as they were determined, as Mirabeau had declared, not to leave but when compelled by bayonets, all the regiments on which the courtiers could rely were assembled in Paris and the neighbourhood. The assembly remonstrated against the gathering around the capital of so many troops, most of them foreign. Their remonstrances were laughed at, and were considered as indications of fear. The courtiers loudly expressed their intentions, and the pleasure they anticipated in soon hanging Mirabaud, Necker, D'Orleans, and a dozen or two more of their enemies. The royalist newspapers and pamphlets of that time prove this fact. When about twenty-five thousand men were assembled, the execution of the plan began by the dismissal and the exile of Necker who, without being the author of, was held responsible for, the convocation of the Estates General. At the news of this event, the people of Paris expressed their indignation, and soon after paraded the street in a procession, headed by men carrying the busts of Necker and of the Duke of Orleans. The Prince of Lambese, at the head of the regiment Royal Allemand, attacked the defenceless citizens, many of whom were killed, and many more sadly wounded. The rumour of the attack soon spread over the capital, and filled with rage all the inhabitants. Many citizens, hitherto unknown, and among them Camille Desmoulins, entered political life on that day, by haranguing and electrifying the people, calling all the citizens to arms, to vengeance against the court and the aristocracy. On that same evening the courtiers, headed by the Count D'Artois, Prince of Conde, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Polignacs, the minions of the queen, who had expected that Paris soon would be subdued, heard that the people were triumphant, that the Bastile was in ruins, and that all the citizens were determined not to lay down the arms they had seized, but to form themselves into a national guard for their own protection and that of the assembly. And the princes with their sycophants instantly fled to foreign coun-

tries, basely abandoning their sovereign to the vengeance of a people whom they had compelled him to provoke.

In every other city of France, the example of the capital was immediately followed. National guards were established, to resist the attacks of the regular troops, and to support the execution of the decrees of the national assembly, against the joint opposition of the aristocracy and the clergy. Thus, as the unjust, imprudent exercise of royal authority by the sovereign had caused, in the first scene, the ruin of that authority; in the second scene, the appeal of the sovereign to the physical force at his disposal, caused the annihilation of that force, and the creation of another, much superior, for the sole purpose of compelling him and the privileged classes to submit to the sovereign will of the people.

The King, the nobility, and the clergy, then, but too late, perceived, not only that all resistance was useless, but also that the only chance they had of allaying the just hatred of the people, was, not merely to assent to an equality of taxation, which it was no longer in their power to oppose, but voluntarily to abandon all their other feudal and honorary privileges and distinctions, of which, three months before, nobody dreamed of depriving them. It was on the 4th of August, 1789, that dukes and prelates, members of the assembly, proposed the decrees which proclaimed general equality among the French citizens.* Of course, these decrees were passed unanimously, with the acclamations of the assembly; and the whole of France adopted them with enthusiasm. Concord reigned for a time in the assembly and in the country.

It was not allowed to reign long. The court and the queen prevented the King from sanctioning the last mentioned decrees. The correspondence of the fugitive princes and their followers encouraged them in their blind resistance, by representing all the courts of Europe as indignant at the conduct of the national assembly, and ready to march on a rebel population, to avenge their royal authority insulted in the person of the French King. At the same time they recommended, as a precaution for the safety of the King, who might run some risks in case of an invasion, that he should seize the first opportunity of making his

* Lord Brougham says, (page 9,) 'Just half a century after these events, I happened to be travelling in a remote district of Provence, when, reposing in the heat of the day under a porch, my eye was attracted by some placards whose letters were preserved by the great dryness of that fine climate, *though they had been there for fifty years.* These papers were *the official promulgation* of the several decrees for secularising the clergy, abolishing the monastic orders, and abrogating all feudal privileges, signed by the several presidents of the assembly, Bureau de Pusy, Camus, and Sieyes." We greatly doubt the accuracy of this statement, and should like to know the place to which his Lordship *refers.*

escape, and of repairing to a foreign country. This plan was adopted. It was openly spoken of,—boasted of, by the always imprudent courtiers. The time was determined; and, at a festival given at Versailles, when all the arrangements were considered as complete, the court and their minions, excited as much by their hopes as by copious libations, openly proclaimed their hatred against the new order of things, and their approaching vengeance. On the next morning, the whole population of Paris marched on Versailles, and the following day the King was brought prisoner to Paris. Such were the 'Journées d'Octobre,' 1789.

The national assembly endeavoured to soften, and succeeded in calming, the public irritation, and pursued with incomparable activity and dignity, its constitutional labours, without allowing itself to be carried too far in limiting the authority of the monarch by the well known disposition of his council to abuse all the powers left to him, or by the menaces of the fugitives, whose numbers had increased to thousands, and by the hostility of all the sovereigns of Europe, or even by the attempts of the royalists, particularly in the south of France and Brittany, to excite a civil war.* Even after the flight of the King and his return from Varennes, where he had been arrested, the assembly, which was closing its labours, persisted in these dispositions so favourable to the monarch; and, with Lafayette, risked all their popularity in resisting and punishing those who claimed the deposition of the King. If the legislative assembly did not follow that example, it was not, as Lord Brougham and his wily compeers pretend, owing to the influence of the clubs, but to the conduct of the King himself, to the intrigues of his court, and to the menacing attitude of the emigrants, of their friends in the interior, and of the foreign governments. When the constituent assembly was elected in 1789, love for the King and confidence in his good intentions were the general feeling in the country. They were, to the last, that of the majority of the assembly, in spite of all that the King personally had done to alter their opinion. The second assembly had been elected under the influence of distrust and hostility, and that gave its character to the assembly. Let us remember, that the flight of Louis the Sixteenth took place at the beginning of the general election; that, at the end of May, that flight had been publicly announced in a letter from Coblentz, inserted in the *Moniteur*, and which contained the itinerary he intended to adopt; that, in the beginning of June, the King ordered his minister for foreign affairs to go to the assembly, and to protest in his

* Memoires du Comte de Puysaie.

name, that the project attributed to him was an infamous calumny; that the editor of the *Moniteur* had been threatened with a criminal prosecution for publishing the letter; finally, that, notwithstanding this solemn declaration, it was but a few days afterwards, on the night of the 21st of June, that the King fled. To confide in the King, was now impossible; but this is not all. After the failure of the project, Bouillé wrote a most insolent letter to the assembly, declaring that he himself was the author of the plan, telling them to satiate their vengeance upon him, (he had then fled to Germany,) and threatening to come, in a short time, at the head of the armies of Europe, to punish the rebels and to annihilate Paris. Almost at the same time, the treaty of Pilnitz, for the invasion of France, in the name and on the demand of the French King, was made generally known. Was not all this sufficient to exasperate the people, the electors, and the deputies, without the influence of the clubs?

Yet the legislative assembly, after having at first treated the King with some roughness, began to show less diffidence, as he appeared reconciled to the new order of things; but the intrigues of the court, and new breaches of faith on the part of the King, soon revived the suspicions and the hostility of the assembly and of the nation. The reverses which attended the first military operations after the declaration of war, and which were attributed to the treachery of the generals appointed by the court; and the invasion of the territory by the Duke of Brunswick, preceded by his furious proclamation, with the co-operation of 20,000 emigrants,—caused the insurrection of June, 1792, and that of the 10th of August, which precipitated the misguided King from his tottering throne into a prison, and caused the arrest of all the known partisans of the court. Finally, the surrender of Verdun and Longwi, was the signal of the massacres of September, and of the assembly of the convention.

It is not a justification, it is an explanation of the facts which in the foregoing pages we have attempted; and those of our readers who are in a position to study the matter,* will find that every one of the catastrophes of that revolution was provoked by its enemies, and that had France been left alone, none of the revolutionary horrors would have taken place. Yet, Lord Brougham cannot see this. He cannot even find an explication of the decree of the national convention, by which the assis-

* Among the books which may be consulted, as the most impartial, we can recommend, 'The introduction to the History of the Wars of the French Revolution,' by Stephens, 2 vols. 4to. London: 1808; 'The Memorial Révolutionaire de la Convention,' by Levasseur. 4 vols. 12mo. Paris: an. 7; 'Dumouriez et la Révolution Française,' by Le Dieu. 1 vol. 8vo. Dupont. Paris: 1826.

tance of France is promised to all people who will rise against their princes, in the fact that, at that very time when the decree was issued, all the frontiers of France had been invaded, and all the princes of Europe had united to subject the people to the despotism which she had overthrown!

The crimes committed during the French revolution, we deplore as much as, nay, more than Lord Brougham, and all those who at the present time seem to take such singular pleasure, not in simply relating, but in magnifying those crimes. We know too well the injury they have done to the cause of freedom, not to lament the advantages they really give to its enemies. We are not of those who, at the reminiscence of that momentous epoch, exclaim with a sort of despair: '*Excedat illa dies.*' On the contrary, we admit, we proclaim the necessity of constantly keeping in view the convulsions of past ages, in order to prevent their return among us, and to avert them from our posterity, by a just appreciation of their causes and of all the concomitant circumstances; but we cannot repress the disgust and indignation with which we are filled, when we think of the men who pretend to extract, for our benefit, from the history of those times,—history which they frequently falsify,—the lessons of morals and duty which ought to direct our conduct in our present agitated situation. Here is one, who, without any other qualification for public notice than his persuasion of his own superiority, his unsilenceable loquacity, and insatiable ambition, has passed the whole of his life in advocating indifferently right or wrong, truth or falsehood; who has insulted and defamed in turn kings, ministers, aristocracy, and prelates; who, himself once a violent agitator, now, while receiving thousands a year from a starving population, turns absolute oligarch, and dares to aim at the people the most abominable calumnies, under the pretence of investigating the French revolution!

We will not follow the author in his remarks,—we ought to say pilferings,—on the French convention. We find in those few pages all that confusion, incoherence, and violence, which we have continually remarked in Lord Brougham. He is wrong in almost every sentence, and it would require a volume, not to set him right,—that were impossible,—but to confute all his errors. We will pass on to the biographical part of the volume. The first of his personages are Roberspierre and Danton.

Marat, Roberspierre, and Danton, are the three principal characters, and, in some sort, the personification of the second part of the French revolution, as Mirabeau, Bailly, and Lafayette are of the first; and the circumstances in which they all were placed had a greater influence upon their character, than their character upon those circumstances. During the first epoch,

the object was to vindicate and restore the liberties of the people, and to establish the national will as the law of the land. Those who undertook this task, having on their side reason, justice, and the moral and physical support of the people, could afford to be calm, moderate, and even indulgent towards their opponents; and they had a right to expect, that, by adopting this policy, they would conciliate the majority of the privileged classes to the constitutional system, and to the principles of equality. But, at the second epoch, when not only the hope of conciliation was completely gone, but also the princes, the aristocracy, and the hierarchy had called all the kings and armies of Europe to the defence of their cause, and had marched at their head, threatening the annihilation of the constitution, vengeance upon its authors and supporters, nay, even the partition of the empire, and its subjection to a foreign yoke;—then calmness, moderation, and mercy, were no longer possible. The motto of the invaders and of their friends in the interior was, 'submission or death,' and it rendered it compulsory for the people to proclaim, 'liberty or death.'

Danton, a man of gigantic bodily frame, of undaunted mind, and but little inclined to cruelty, thought that the display of national energy would suffice to conquer both internal and external enemies. 'Be daring! terrify them!' *'Effrayez les. De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace;'* was his advice to the convention. Marat, who, from the very first struggles in the national assembly, had foreseen the war which followed, and had been goaded to a sort of frenzy, by persecutions, some of them not undeserved, proclaimed that three hundred thousand heads ought to be cut off, if the country were to be saved; and, after the death of Marat, Barrère, in justification of the revolutionary executions, said to the convention: *Il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas**.'* But Roberspierre was the very last of the leaders of the convention to adopt these violent and merciless doctrines. A man of meditation, of retired habits, of a weak constitution, and without any violent passions, he was not calculated, by the nature of his mind or of his body, for the exertions indispensable to resolve upon, and to direct, a system of extermination; and even when, with the *'Montagne,'*

* In October, 1830, we called upon Barrère, who, on his return from exile, had taken apartments in a house, Marché de Jacobins, near the Rue St. Honoré. He well knew that our opinions, publicly expressed, were quite the reverse of those he had advocated. When we entered, we found the old man in his bed, suffering from a severe cold. After a short preliminary conversation, 'Eh! bien,' said he, with a voice so weak that we could hardly hear him, 'n'avais je pas raison de dire qu'il n'y a que les morts qui ne reviennent pas? La France a vu les revenants, pendant 16 ans; voyez ce qu'ils ont fait! Jugez moi comme vous voulez; mais vous me trouvez toujours fidèle aux Jacobins.'

he led the attack against the *'Gironde,'* and carried the proscription of that party, as well as during the whole reign of terror which followed, with a few exceptions, in which he gratified his personal jealousies and animosities, he sanctioned, rather than ordered the arrests, which too frequently were equivalent to a sentence of death.

The biographic sketches of Lord Brougham are but garbled compilations from the biography published by the ultra-royalist, Michaud, with, now and then, some new facts of his Lordship's invention, and his grandiloquent inferences. According to our author,—

' Robespierre had no depth of intellect, no mental force, no firmness of purpose, not a vestige of any such kinds of excellence, and only as much firmness as was consistent with a feeble and cowardly nature.' (p. 51.) In all probability ' his vices had in the peculiar crisis, a chief part in the mastery which he obtained. . . . . The perfectly unscrupulous nature of his mind, the total want of all kindly or gentle feelings, the destitution of even common humanity, enabled him to satiate that thirst, first of destruction, then of fame, which swiftly became a fiercer thirst of power.' (p. 52.) 'The frame of his mind was eminently fitted for sustaining, as well as devising, the part which he played. From his earliest years he had never been known to indulge in the frolics, or evince the gaiety of youth. Gloomy, solitary, austere, intent upon his work, careless of relaxation, averse to amusement, without a confidant, a friend, or even companion, it is recorded of him, that, at the College of Louis le Grand, where he was educated with Camille, Frèron, and Lebrun, he was never seen once to smile,' &c., &c. (p. 53.) 'With these defects, and that entire want of generous or kindly, or even ordinarily human feelings, he possessed some *qualities* which mainly contributed to his elevation, &c. His thirst, first of distinction to gratify his *inordinate* vanity, and then of power, to feed the ambition that had grown up in so rank and poor a soil, was *inordinate.*' (p. 54.)

Such is the character of Roberspierre, as given by Lord Brougham.

Our readers will have observed how irreconcilable are the statements we have quoted, and they will not easily conceive how a man of such studious habits, of such constant application, could be without mental force, without depth of intellect; but we can assure them, upon much better authority than that of Lord Brougham, that the foregoing picture is not Roberspierre. He began his studies at the college St. Vaast, of Douay, a dependency of the abbey of St. Vaast, at Arras. His success in this college won for him a scholarship founded in the college Louis le Grand, at Paris, by the same abbey. There he remained, not only until he had terminated his classical studies, but also, on account of his successes and of his good conduct, during the course of his legal studies. We have heard upon the subject,

his professor of rhetoric, M. Noel, since general inspector of the university, and many of his school-fellows; amongst others, M. De la Place, then professor of eloquence at the Academy of Paris,—Abbé Morel, until lately the grand vicar of the Bishop of Arras,—and M. Bachelard, a barrister of the Royal Court of Paris; and all of them, though of different parties, spoke of Roberspierre's success in his studies, and of the mildness of his disposition, as having won for him the regard of all, notwithstanding his moroseness.

As to his vices, Lord Brougham himself tells us that 'Roberspierre was no drunkard, that he never was known to partake of any sensual indulgence, that he spurned all ordinary pleasures, that he had no avarice, and that it would have been as hard to bribe him from his path, with money, as to make him compromise his principles, or assumed principles, for place.' (p. 56.) What, then, were his vices? But this is one of the many instances in which Lord Brougham contradicts himself. We read, (p. 61,) 'We are not left to conjecture on his powers as a speaker, and even as a debater. Inferior he certainly was to the greatest who appeared during the French revolution, as Mirabaud, Barnave his successor, and Vergniaud, perhaps the highest of the three; but we have abundant proofs of his coming very near them, at least in effective declamation, and proof that, in readiness, he was not easily surpassed.' After quoting two passages in Roberspierre's speeches, his Lordship adds: 'No one at all acquainted with the rhetorical art can deny to these passages merits of the highest order. . . . . The speaker who thus delivered himself, was plainly gifted with extraordinary eloquence,' &c. (p. 64.) Finally, after another extract from the speech of Roberspierre of the 8th of Thermidor, our author ends his laudatory observations with this sentence: 'His great eminence as a speaker and an occasional writer stand entirely indisputable.' (p. 66.) And this of a man of 'no mental force,' of 'no depth of intellect,' of 'no firmness of purpose,' of 'not a vestige of any kind of excellence.' And in other parts of this notice we are told with the same sort of consistency, that this man, 'destitute of, common honesty,' seriously injured his power by his indulgence, and that it hastened his downfall. (p. 54.)

Danton is rather a favourite of our author:—

'His nature was dauntless, his temper mild and frank, his disposition sociable; naturally rather kind and merciful. . . . . His natural endowments were great for any part in public life, whether at the bar or in the senate, or even in war: for the part of a revolutionary leader, they were of the highest order. A courage which nothing could quell; a quickness of perception, at once and clearly to perceive his own opportunity, and his adversary's error; singular fertility of resources, with the power of

sudden change in his course, and adaptation to varied circumstances; a natural eloquence, springing from the true source of all eloquence—warm feelings, fruitful imagination, powerful reason, the qualities that distinguish it from mere rhetoricians' art; but an eloquence, hardy, caustic, masculine; a mighty frame of body, a voice overpowering all resistance; these were the qualities which Danton brought to the prodigious struggle in which he was engaged.' (p. 73, 74.)

In a note, (p. 75,) his lordship says, 'In a former volume I had expressed myself respecting Danton, with a harshness which a more minute study of his conduct and character makes me regret.' From this, we were inclined to infer, that our author, satisfied with contradicting what he had said in a preceding volume, would surely not contradict himself in the same notice. We expected, however, too much. We see that the mild temper of Danton did not prevent him from allowing the dreadful massacres of September, though he could have stopped them, as minister of justice, (p. 79,) and from establishing the revolutionary tribunals, for 'the erecting of which he asked pardon of God and man,' (p. 82,) though he had no belief in God; since, on his interrogatory by that same tribunal, he answered to the first question, '*Je m'appelle Danton; mon sejour sera bientôt la neant; mon nom vivra dans le pantheon de l'histoire.*' (p. 80.) Then we read, that the man of 'a dauntless nature, whose courage nothing could quell, was forsaken by his habitual boldness, by his quickness of perception;' (p. 81;) that 'his supineness in providing for his safety by attacking the committee first, must have proceeded from the ascendant which the triumvirate had gained over his mind;' (p. 83;) that 'his fear of a conflict with Roberspierre made him distrustful of himself, and that his hesitation enabled his adversaries to begin the mortal fray, and win the last victory.' (p. 84.)

The real cause of the quarrel between Roberspierre and Danton, who had so long acted in concert, has never been publicly and clearly explained. Carnot, Grégoire, Garat, Second, Merlin de Thionville, and Merlin de Douay, Barrère, Tallien, and Barras, whom, in former days, we consulted upon the subject, could not satisfactorily account for the deadly hostility which, almost on a sudden, succeeded to their union. In 1827, we became acquainted with a brother-in-law of Danton, M. Lerouge, a modest and mild gentleman, who, although a sincere republican, had never had any share in the horrid transactions of those times; and with Laignelot, a member of the convention, and the most intimate friend of Roberspierre. We seized the opportunity for pursuing our inquiries. Both related to us the same fact. Danton, being told of some severe remarks made by Roberspierre upon the laxity of his morals and his sensuality, re-

joined by a most gross insinuation. *Inde iræ.* The memoirs left by these two gentlemen at their death, would have thrown, some light upon this epoch; but the son of the former was employed in the ministry of the interior; and Colonel Laignelot, the son of the second, was attached to the ministry of war; and the memoirs were suppressed.

In the short notice upon Camille Desmoulins and St. Just, Lord Brougham displays his ignorance, more than in any other part of his work. St. Just was nothing but a fanatic, whose youth, ignorance, presumption, and violence, were his only titles to the confidence of the Montagnards; as his unbounded admiration for Roberspierre, as well as his intimacy with the younger brother of the dictator, placed him, in some sort, foremost among his familiars; an advantage which of course he frequently abused, so as to commit his leader, who, on many occasions, said to Laignelot, '*Arrêtez, donc, cet extravagant.*' As to Camille Desmoulins, the very first who proclaimed his republican opinions, he never was 'a trusty and devoted follower of Danton, as St. Just was of Roberspierre.' (p. 87.) Camille never was the follower but of his own conscience, acting at times with Roberspierre or Danton; at other times, in opposition to one or the other, or to both, according to his opinion of the utility or the justice of their measures. Thus, at the time of the trial of Louis the Sixteenth, he joined the Gironde, and that part of the assembly which demanded that the sentence should be submitted to the ratification of the people. He emulated Lanjuinais, in courage and in humanity; and, when the former had been torn from the tribune, by the most violent of the Montagnards, amidst the vociferations of the rest, the noble-minded Camille rose to renew the attempt, in spite of Roberspierre, Danton, and Marat; and, after reproaching the assembly with their usurpations and confusion of all legislative, administrative, and judiciary powers, he concluded in these words:—'I leave you. I abdicate my portion of that tyranny which you arrogate to yourselves, and in which I will not share.' From that time, his doom was sealed; the Montagnards and Roberspierre could not forgive him.

Danton, after marching at the head of the Montagnards, and directing their atrocious proceedings, felt, on a sudden, the want of relaxation from the excitement, which shook even his herculean organization; he repaired to his birth-place, Arcis sur Aube, where the confidential tears of some of his former friends fell upon his heart, and softened its obduracy. On his return to Paris, he was another man. He adopted the views of Camille, so well expounded in the hemistich of Laya,—*Des lois, et non du sang.* But it was too late; and their tardy community in principles only led them to a community in death. They were not

heard in their own defence, and were condemned without evidence.

Lord Brougham, the flatterer of the King of the French, after mentioning this fact and a few others, makes the following observation:—'That no such scenes could now be renewed in France, we may very safely venture to affirm, though much mischief might still be wrought by undue popular excitement.' (p. 101.) Have we not seen, in 1834, a French tribunal trying the pretended authors and abettors of an insurrection concocted by the police, refusing to listen to the prisoners, to admit evidence, to hear their counsel, sentencing two of those counsel to prison, in order to silence the others; finally, trying the accused parties in their absence, and condemning them unheard? And this 'mischief' was not 'wrought by undue popular excitement,' by a revolutionary tribunal, but by the French house of peers! But peers have the privilege of trying the mob, the rabble, the people, as they think proper.

In the same page Lord Brougham says, that 'such scenes could not take place in this country.'

'But he adds, (p. 102,)

'It is impossible to say the same thing of all parts of our people. It would be most false to assert, for example, that the Irish people are safe from such influence. On the contrary, they manifestly do not think and judge for themselves. . . . . They leave to others, their spiritual and their political guides, the task of forming their opinions for them. . . . . They never are suspicious of a person's motives, merely because they see he has an interest in deceiving them. . . . They may be deceived by the same person nine times in succession, and they believe him just as implicitly the tenth; nay, were he to confess that he has wilfully deceived them to suit a purpose of his own, they would consider this a proof of his honesty, and lend an ear if possible more readily to his next imposture. . . But such a people . . would easily be moved to witness, and to suffer the grossest violations of justice, would let themselves be hallooed on to the attack of their best friends by any wily impostor that might have gained their confidence, and would suffer men as base and as execrable as Marat to usurp the honours of the Pantheon.'

After these malignant accusations, come three pages on Marat, whom 'Danton most unaccountably and preposterously called the Divine Marat, boasting after his assassination, of having long before given him that very absurd appellation.'(p. 109.)

Sieyes and Fouché are the last of the notices on the French revolutionists. Lord Brougham makes a great man, a very great man, of the first, for the evident purpose of showing, that, however great, he was nothing comparable to Henry Brougham. (p. 116.) The titles of Sieyes to his renown are—three pamphlets, one

very smart: '*Qu'est-ce-que le-tiers-Etat?*' published in 1789; only seven or eight sentences which he uttered, on as many occasions, in the assembly, and which had some point; and, lastly, his general muteness, which, by many, was considered as proof of his superiority,—an opinion which he carefully cultivated, and with such success that, a member of the Convention once urged him to expound his views, declaring that 'his silence was a public calamity.' We sincerely wish Lord Brougham had ever deserved such a compliment. It is not true that Sieyes originated the three grand measures of the revolution, 'the joint verification of the powers, the formation of the national guards, and the new system of provincial division and administration.' (p. 112.) But enough upon this subject.

The notice upon Fouché is, we are told, from the pen of Lord Stanhope. We protest that we supposed it to be an extract from Mrs. Trollope. It is utterly beneath our notice.

This first part of the book closes with some more reflections upon the revolution and the revolutionists, whom the noble author has passed in review. One of these reflections deserves to be quoted. 'The portion of history which we have been examining, reads an impressive lesson. No one, endowed with even an ordinary share of prudence, can be extravagant enough to prefer the twelve months' possession of power which the decemvirs obtained, as the price of all their struggles, their perils, and their crimes, to the fortune which, slowly gained, would have been long and securely possessed under a regular government.' (p. 128.) In plain English, this means: Those French revolutionists were great fools! Had they been unaspiring, temperate, kind, honest, consistent, and loyal like myself, they might have retired on a pension of five thousand a-year, as I did. Therefore, people of England, you have got all you can wish for; be quiet and contented!

The second part of the volume is quite in keeping with the first. Though the subject be different, the object is the same; and the British statesmen are but pegs on which his lordship hangs his rigmaroles on the licentiousness of the press, on agitators, on demagogues, on revolutions, and on his late colleagues. John, fourth Duke of Bedford, opens the march.

'The purpose of the following observations is to rescue the memory of an able, an amiable, and an honourable man, long engaged in the public service, both as a minister, a negociator, and a viceroy, long filling, like all his illustrious house, in every age of our history, [quære?] an exalted place among the champions of our free constitution,—from the obloquy with which a licentious press loaded him when living, and from which it is in every way discreditable to British justice, that few, if any attempts have, since his death, been made to counteract the effects *of calumny audaciously* invented, and repeated till its work of defama-

tion was done and the falsehood of the hour became confounded with historical fact. Besides the satisfaction of contributing to frustrate injustice and deprive malice of its prey, there is this benefit to be derived from the inquiry upon which I am going to enter. We shall be enabled to test the claims of a noted slanderer to public confidence, and to ascertain how little he is worthy of credit in his assaults upon other reputations. *But we shall also be enabled to estimate the value of the class to which he belongs, the body* of unknown defamers, who, lurking in concealment, bound by no tie of honour, influenced by no regard for public opinion, feeling no sense of shame, their motives wholly inscrutable, gratifying, it may be, some paltry personal spite, or actuated by some motive too sordid to be avowed by the most callous of human beings, vent their calumnies against men whose lives are before the world, who in vain would grapple with the nameless mob of their slanderers, but who, did they only know the hand from whence the blow is levelled, would very possibly require no other defence than at once to name their accuser. That the efforts of this despicable race have sometimes prevailed against truth and justice; that the public, in order to indulge their appetite for abuse of eminent men, have suffered the oft-repeated lie to pass current without sifting its value; and have believed what was boldly asserted, with the hardly credible folly of confounding with the courage of truth the cheap daring of concealed calumniators, cannot be doubted.' (pp. 133-134.)

Our object in giving this quotation, is to assist his lordship in exposing to the public gaze the tortures which he endures, and in acquainting the public press, so unanimous in inflicting the lash on an unfortunate victim, with the revenge he has taken of their 'foul slander and unscrupulous calumnies.' It is clear that the Duke of Bedford is less the real object of Lord Brougham, than the modern Junius, called We, who take such unpardonable liberties with his lordship; for nobody now cares whether the Duke of Bedford was or was not a betrayer of his trust as a negociator; an avaricious man, a bad father, and a coward; and, if any one did care about the complete exculpation of his Grace, upon these four points, the special pleading of Lord Brougham would not at all gratify his desires. But in every one of the twenty-two pages apparently consecrated to this object, we have a repetition of some part of the complimentary reflections upon the press with which he began, and which we have given *in extenso*.

The notice on Lord Camden is, in some sort, an introduction to a notice on John Wilkes, and to a dissertation on 'Demagogue Arts.' In the foregoing pages, we have constantly had occasion to point out the inconsistency and the contradictions of our author; but, in his sketch of Lord Camden, he goes much further—indeed, beyond all we could expect from Lord Brougham himself. Let our readers judge.

'Among the names that adorn the legal profession, there are few

which stand so high as that of Lord Camden. His reputation as a lawyer could not have gained this place for him; even as a judge, he would not have commanded such distinction; though, on the bench, he greatly increased the fame which he brought from the bar; but in the senate he had no professional superior.' (p. 156.) After waiting in vain for nine years the arrival of clients, he was on the point of retiring from Westminster Hall, when the accidental illness of his leader 'threw upon Mr. Pratt the conduct of the cause: and his great eloquence, and his far more important qualifications of legal knowledge, and practical expertness in the management of business, at once opened for him the way to a brilliant fortune.' (p. 157.) 'Of his forensic talents no records remain beyond a general impression of the accuracy which he showed as a lawyer, though not of the most profound description; *par negotiis, neque supra.*' (p. 158.) 'In 1749, when in his forty-sixth year, he had been chosen to represent the borough of Downton, but during his short experience of the House of Commons, he appears not to have gained any distinction.' (p. 158.) 'He was, however, fully more eminent in the senate than in the forum. He brought into parliament a high professional reputation.' (p. 165.)

After these instances of the thoughtlessness, and of the utter aberration of Lord Brougham's mind, we need not care much about his opinion on Lord Camden. Fortunately for the memory of that upright judge and constitutional minister, he has left behind him official and private acts which protect his name even against the injurious praise of our author.

We will say nothing of the notice upon Wilkes, except that it is just such a malignant, and in many parts, false representation of that man, as might be expected. Lord Brougham's object in this performance is to attack another gentleman, much more odious to his lordship, as we conclude from the following extract:—

'Never man more pandered to the appetites of the mob than Wilkes; never political pimp gave more uniform contentment to his employers. Having the moral and sturdy English, and not the voluble and versatile Irish, to deal with, he durst not do or say as he chose himself; but was compelled to follow, that he might seem to lead, or at least to go two steps with his followers, that he might get them to go three with him. He dared not deceive them grossly, clumsily, openly, impudently—*dared not tell them opposite stories in the same breath*—give them one advice to-day and the contrary to-morrow—pledge himself to a dozen things, at one and at the same time; then come before them, with every one pledge unredeemed, and ask their voices and their money too, on the credit of as many more pledges, for the succeeding half year.' (p. 193.)

In his sketches on demagogue arts, Lord Brougham inveighs against the base adulation of the people, more base than the adulation of kings; against the treachery of candidates for popular favour, in making violent speeches to pander

to the passions of the mob, and yet, frequently afterwards, when they have gained their point, turn round against their late friends and associates, and proclaim contrary principles. Nobody knows this better than Lord Brougham himself; and, had he condescended to favour the public with the results of his own experience, the short chapter upon the subject would have swollen into a large volume. If his memory fails him, we can come to his assistance.*

Our remarks upon this volume have already extended beyond the limits we had imposed upon ourselves, and certainly beyond the importance of the work. Had it been the production of an unknown author, nobody would have condescended to notice it; and, for our own part, after reading the first twenty or thirty pages, we would fain have cast away the book with the disgust which it inspired. But when a man of the social rank of Lord Brougham, relying upon his undeserved elevation, and upon the gullibility of a certain class of the public, dares to publish such a mass of misrepresentations, and contradictions, to gratify his wounded vanity, his vindictive instincts, or his sordid interests; it is a public duty to signalize his wickedness, and ignorance. This we have, we suppose, sufficiently done, without pursuing any further our review and our criticism. The notices on Lord Ellenborough, on Lord Chief Justice Bushe, on Jefferson and the American democracy, on the Marquess Wellesley, and on Lord Holland, have all the same purpose and the same character of selfishness, and incoherence, that mark the preceding ones; and we should but repeat ourselves, when constantly meeting with the same mis-statements, the same hatreds, and the same contradictions.

Yet our task would not be completely fulfilled—the whole of our case would not be clearly made out, if we silently passed over the notice on Sir Robert Walpole, in the appendix. We entreat our readers to read with the utmost attention the following extracts:—

'Few men have ever reached and maintained for so many years the highest station which the citizen of a free state can hold, who have enjoyed more power than Sir Robert Walpole, and have left behind them less just cause of blame, or more monuments of the wisdom and virtue for which his country has to thank him.' (p. 349.)

'He was sent to the Tower upon an accusation of having received £900 from a contractor; was expelled the House of Commons; and on being re-elected in the same parliament was declared ineligible by a majority of the House.' (p. 354.)

* We may, by and by, give our readers a supplement to the work of Lord Brougham, under the title of 'Life of a Statesman of the reigns of George the Third, George the Fourth, William the Fourth, and Victoria the First.'

'When he quitted office, a charge of a different complexion, though connected with pecuniary malversations, was made against the veteran statesman. A sum of between £17,000 and £18,000 had been received by him upon two Treasury orders, two days before he resigned; and, to raise the money before the Exchequer forms could be gone through, they were pawned with the officer of the bank. Now, Walpole never would give a detailed explanation of this transaction, but began to draw up a vindication of himself, alleging that the money was taken with the King's approbation, for the public service..... The reason for his desisting from the completion of the paper is, that he must either leave it incomplete, or betray the secret of the crown.' (pp. 355, 356.)

'The general charge of peculation, grounded on the comparison of his expenditure with his means, appears more difficult to meet. With a fortune originally of about two thousand a-year, and which never rose to more than double that amount, he lived with a profusion amounting to extravagance; insomuch, that one of his yearly meetings at Houghton, 'the Congress,' as it was called, in autumn, and which lasted six or eight weeks, cost him three thousand a-year. His buildings and purchases were estimated at £200,000, and to this must be added £40,000 for pictures. Now, it is true, that for many years, he had his own official income of £3,000, with £2,000 more of a sinecure, and his family had between £3,000 and £4,000 more in places of like description. Still, if the expensive style of his living be considered, and that his income was, at the very outside, only £12,000 clear, including the places of his sons, it is quite impossible to understand how above £200,000, or nearly twice the average value of his whole private property, could have been accumulated by savings..... On the whole, we must be content to admit that some cloud hangs over this part of his history; and that the generally prevailing attacks against him in this quarter have not been so successfully repulsed.' (pp. 356, 357.)

'It has been much more generally believed that he carried on the government with a profuse application of the influence derived from patronage; and that the most open bribery entered largely into his plan of parliamentary management. That in those days the men were far less pure who filled the highest places in the state, and that parliamentary, as well as ministerial virtue, was pitched upon a lower scale than it happily has been, since a prying and a fearless press, and a watchful people scrutinize the conduct of all persons in any situation of trust, may be at once admitted. It may be further granted that the period of Walpole's power was one likely to introduce extraordinary forces into the political system, since the stake was not always a ministry alone but oftentimes a crown. When such is the game, measures are readily resorted to, which in ordinary measures or matches of politicians would be reluctantly, if at all adopted,' (pp. 357, 358.)

After a justification of this corruption, Lord Brougham continues—

'Having cleared away the ground from the entanglements with which *contemporary prejudices* and interests had encumbered it, we may now

the more distinctly perceive the merits of this great statesman; and we shall easily admit that he was one of the ablest, wisest, safest rulers who ever bore sway in this country.' (p. 362.) 'A better or more successful minister could not preside over any country in times of peace.' (p. 363.) 'We have to thank his *wise and virtuous* policy, ... stedfast in desiring peace.' (p. 364.)

'With his merits, however, were joined defects or weaknesses which broke in somewhat upon the respect that severe judges require a great statesman to be compassed with round about. His mirth was somewhat free, and apt to be coarse. . . . . He regarded not the decorum which sober habits sustain; and he followed, in respect of convivial enjoyments, rather the fashion of his own day than of ours. He indulged too in gallantry, more than beseemed either his station or his years; and he had . . . . the weakness of affecting to be less strictly virtuous in this respect than he was, and considerably more successful in his pursuit of such recreations.' (p. 373.)

'To hold up such men as Walpole, in the face of the world, as the model of a wise, a safe, an honest ruler, becomes the most sacred duty of the impartial historian.' (p. 377.)

Thus, at last, we have the notions of honour, honesty, wisdom, virtue, entertained by Henry Lord Brougham, *Member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute of France!* We have them under his own hand! He considers it as a duty, to hold up to the admiration of all statesmen, to present as the model of an honest, wise, and virtuous minister, the man who, on his own showing, was dishonest; who enriched himself by extortions and peculations; who ruled by bribery and corruption; a man of dissolute habits; coarse in his manners; a libertine, who prided himself in his seductions, and even dishonoured, by his mendacious boasts, the women who had resisted his corrupting artifices! A writer who dares to offer such an outrage to the morality of our country is, as Lord Brougham in his book has said of others, callous to all virtuous feeling, and dead to all sense of shame.*

One word more. This volume is dedicated to Monsieur Guizot, 'in token of the great respect of the author.' This is right. M. Guizot, the book, and the author, are all worthy of each other.

* Lord Brougham, in his notice of Walpole, p. 363, after representing him as qualified in the highest degree 'to guide the course of human affairs,' &c., says in a note, 'It is gratifying to me that I can conscientiously rank Lord Melbourne among those to whom this description applies in most of its essential points. His faults belong to others; his merits are his own.'

Will it be equally gratifying to Lord Melbourne to be thus assimilated to the profligate Walpole? Will he not plainly see, in this, the rancorous malice of his right honourable friend? For our own part, were we in the situation of the Viscount, we should be disposed to bring an action for defamation against the noble libeller.

Art. II. *The Anglican Church in the Nineteenth Century: indicating her relative position to Dissent in every form; and presenting a clear and unprejudiced view of Puseyism and orthodoxy. Translated from the German of F. Uhden.* By W. C. C. Humphreys, Esq. 8vo. pp. 248. London: Hatchard.

WHEN really well executed, there are few works which we may read with greater profit—though not always with equal pleasure—than those which contain an intelligent foreigner's estimate of our country. The well known lines of Burns are as applicable to nations as to individuals:

> 'O wad some power the giftie gie us
> To see oursels as others see us;'

for the distortions of vanity and self-love are almost as great and as ludicrous in the one case as the other, and, we may add, corrected with far greater difficulty in the former than in the latter. It is well, therefore, now and then to sit to a foreign artist, to get some one out of the sphere of our home-born sympathies and prejudices to make a study of us and faithfully tell us the result. In spite of some ludicrous inaccuracies and unavoidable deficiencies, a statement of this nature can hardly be read without profit. Though it may tell us no facts but what we knew before, and even far more intimately than does the writer—though it may omit to tell us as many more which *we* know and which he knows not,—though in many points erroneous, and in others superficial,—it is likely to repay us by the novel lights in which familiar objects are presented, and by dissolving, for a moment the continuity of old and inveterate prejudices. We attain, with the impartial foreigner, a point of view exterior to the whole system of thought and feeling in which we habitually move, and learn at least in some measure, 'to see oursels as others see us.'

But it must be confessed that the task demands qualifications of no ordinary kind; of which, impartiality is not the least important. Without this, (possessed at least in good measure,) the foreigner may interpose as many prejudices of his own as he would correct in us, and cloud the whole subject with as thick a haze as that in which we were already enveloped. The mirror, instead of presenting a true reflexion, will resemble those perverse 'looking-glasses of Smyrna,' to which Jeremy Taylor alludes in his 'Discourses on Scandal,' and 'which had the property of shewing the fairest faces as ugly and crooked.' To impartiality, the writer must add competent

knowledge of the subjects of which he has undertaken to treat; and how difficult it is to attain this during a brief residence in a foreign country, where he has to learn everything through an imperfect medium, where the objects to be studied are all novel, and their relations at the same time most complicated,—we need not say. Hence the strong dissatisfaction with their foreign critics, which nations and communities, subjected to this ordeal, have so generally expressed.

How far the author of the little work which stands at the head of this article, and which professes to treat of England under one aspect exclusively, (but that the most important,) may have succeeded in his arduous task of giving an intelligent account of the present state of religious parties amongst us—we find it extremely difficult to form an exact judgment. We have not seen the *original* work—and though it is evident, even from the present translation, that it is the composition of a fair and impartial mind, and evinces a laudable and truly German diligence in the collection and arrangement of facts—we desiderate a much greater degree of clearness than we can honestly concede to the volume before us. How far the defects are to be attributed to the original and how far to the translation, we cannot, in the absence of the former, decide. That the work is far from being well translated, is but too evident; but in many places we fear that the true German love of mysticism, of tracing profound analogies and 'developing' occult relations, of generalizing on insufficient data, and of speaking even of plain things in very unintelligible language, has had much to do with the obscurity to be found in those portions of the work which were obviously intended as the more philosophical. In such sentences as the following, we find it difficult to trace any intelligible meaning; but whether the fault be more that of the author or the translator, we decline stating, for the reason already assigned. Probably in the greater number of cases we shall not err in equitably dividing the blame between them; while in others, the translator is evidently alone in fault.—'The activity of freedom of mind amongst the reformers must have operated on the teachers in the church in conjunction with the German desire to learn, in order to understand that all points of theology were sought after and handled; this very knowledge, when she was first advancing, settling, and assuring herself, notwithstanding the elements retained by her elasticity, has certainly split on the very main point of her existence.' (p. 30.) 'It was against such a neglect and departure from the principles of the German reformation that the Pietests and Hernnhutters directed their efforts. Meanwhile, these opinions did not lead to a dissent or a separation, as in England; the

difference shewed itself in the subjectivity conquering, and the contest receded into the strong anti-pelagianism of the universal character, and into the endeavour to adopt and carry through all God's ordinances.' (pp. 30, 31.) 'It may be imputed to the puritanic movement, that it demanded a certain one-sidedness in spiritual, mental, scientific and artistic comprehension, in the contemplation of life, to the exclusion of other individual and national phenomena.' (p. 37.) 'The religious instruction of youth being, by the way, in a country situated like England, a question not easy to decide, at least as far *as not scholastic education bears upon it.*' (p. 118.) 'This would be the place in which to consider more clearly that peculiar trait of the English character—viz., the annoyance experienced by an Englishman at being placed among peculiarities foreign to him; yet this is only the result of the prevailing organization-talent, or rather the fault natural to those endowed with it. The defect is overcome when it is announced, that a little application to their misunderstanding of foreign peculiarities would act as a check to the whole. This extends itself to colonization, particularly in more recent times. But then it is only leaving foreign peculiarities to themselves, not abusing or attacking them.' (p. 40.) 'We cannot ascribe to Englishmen in general the talent required to enter into the necessities morale of a foreign individuality.' (p. 142.) 'One essential trait in the English morale is, their demand in all matters of change for justifying authority; but ignorance or deficiency of perception evinced all the influence of publications on religion at once, the same being the case with political writings, under similar circumstances.' (p. 191.) Surely the translator must imagine that he is at liberty to take the words of the original just in the order in which they stand. In p. 31 we find a well-known German idiom thus rendered:—'Will the German church, however, continue faithful to her peculiarity, she must preserve such a belief,' &c. In p. 184, 'that equally valid formulæ *is* not unconditionally performed.' The whole sentence is unintelligible. In one place we are told of 'the ordinations and institutions of the mother country;' and in p. 143, of 'consolating exhortations.' In p. 77, we find, that in 1585, Hooker 'came to London as Master of the Temple, *which post was the successor* of that of the abbot of the suppressed priory.' In p. 96, we read to our astonishment, 'that the most important of the *pamphlets* which have appeared is called, 'Tracts for the Times.' A pretty decent pamphlet, it must be admitted, which extends to five bulky octavo volumes.

Many of the obscurities unquestionably are fairly to be attributed to the translator. He has altogether failed, in numberless

instances, to translate into the corresponding idiom, and has apparently taken no trouble to do so. The oppressive verbiage, too, with which German style is so sadly loaded, he has taken no pains to prune, though it may almost always be done by a translator from that language, not only without detriment to the sense or spirit, but with manifest advantage to both.

In other respects, we cannot say the work is well edited. There is no account whatever of the author, whose name appears in the title page in a naked simplicity very unusual with the writers of that erudite nation: there is no long roll of academic titles, no appendage of learned office, no reference even to any university, or intimation that the author has ever studied at one. It is plain 'F. Uhden,' and who 'F. Uhden' is, it is hard to say. The information, which the modesty of the author might have induced him to suppress, has not been supplied by the editor. We are not even told where F. Uhden lives, or what is his profession, standing, or reputation in his own country. These particulars might surely have been easily obtained, and are so universally obtained in like cases, that we are surprised beyond measure at the omission. There are, indeed, two little advertisements or prefaces, but they tell us absolutely nothing, except that the author had considerable 'opportunities, during a prolonged residence in England, of observing the church of that country.' Both seem to have been written by the author, so that the editor does not appear to have thought it worth while to utter a single syllable, in relation either to his author or himself. Negligence is evinced throughout. Two or three of the notes have Tr. attached to them, to shew their origin; but others, which seem also to have been written by the translator, and one long one at least, which *must* have been written by him, have no such authentication. Even in the text, there seem to be interpolations which are indicated only by being enclosed in a parenthesis, and in one case there is a paragraph which would seem to be the translator's, without even that slight distinction. On the whole, we cannot say it has often been our lot to hold our critical assize on a version of a foreign work more inefficiently translated, or more negligently edited.

And yet, from what we have learned since the appearance of the volume, some particulars well calculated to excite curiosity in the reader, might easily have been prefixed. If we have been rightly informed, the work originated in some such circumstances as the following:— In the spring of 1842, the King of Prussia, as many of our readers will recollect, paid a visit to this country for the purpose of 'standing godfather,' as it is curiously called, to the infant Prince of Wales. We have reason to believe, that during that visit no effort was spared to impress

his Prussian Majesty with the excellence of that 'episcopal regimen,' of the inestimable advantages of which his protestant subjects are still destitute; and in many quarters strong hopes were entertained that on his return to his dominions he would exercise his prerogative in the establishment of this only true system of ecclesiastical polity,—the only infallible channel for conveying the spiritual blessings of Christianity. Some of the things, which the Oxford tractarians had said of the reformed churches of the continent, were not very well calculated, it is true, to enamour the monarch of a system, which, if embraced at all, must be embraced in the belief that his protestant ancestors for so many generations, must all be consigned to the 'uncovenanted mercies' of God.—It was in the spring of the same year—though we have no reason to believe that his lordship had any special reference to the case of the King of Prussia, that the bishop of London published his three sermons on the church. In these he took occasion to rebuke what appeared, and still appears to us, the consistent bigotry of the tractarians, and to defend the foreign reformed churches, at whatever expense of logic or common sense, from the anathemas of his less charitable brethren;—still affirming, however, the 'inestimable advantages' of that ecclesiastical polity of which those churches were, according to him, *involuntarily* deprived, and heartily commending it to universal adoption. In spite of such powerful recommendation, his Majesty does not appear to have been quite convinced of the propriety of imposing the yoke of episcopacy on the consciences of his subjects; and if we have been rightly informed, those doubts and misgivings were confirmed by statements elicited by his own inquiries on occasion of the presentation of a congratulatory address by the deputies of the three denominations of protestant dissenters. After the forms of presentation were concluded, his Majesty honoured the gentleman* who had been appointed to head the deputation, with a conversation; in the course of which, we are told, facts were stated which somewhat surprised his Majesty, and provoked the doubts of at least one of his courtiers.

Whatever may have been the cause of it, certain it is, that in the spring of the same year there appeared in our country several Prussian clergymen, sent, in a manner, to 'spy out the land,' and to inform themselves, by the widest possible survey, of its ecclesiastical affairs. They arrived just in time for the religious anniversaries of May, and appear to have discharged their functions with perfect impartiality. Their visits to Exeter Hall alternated with those to Lambeth; they gravely attended

* We believe Dr. Vaughan.

the meetings of the Congregational Union, and then repaired with as much gravity to those of the Methodist Conference, or the General Assembly of Scotland; they were now in London, now at Edinburgh, now at Cambridge, now at Oxford; they were at consecrations, ordinations, visitations, confirmations; in cathedrals, in parish churches, in universities, in Scottish kirks, in dissenting chapels, and on the platforms at religious meetings. Nothing came amiss to them.

To interpret aright the very complicated phenomena which were thus suddenly and rapidly submitted to their analysis, and truly to ascertain the relations amongst them must have been no doubt a very difficult and perplexing task. Nor can we wonder if they fell into some inaccuracies of a minor kind, and even in the more important points attained only an approximation to the truth.

Amongst the gentlemen thus deputed, was a Dr. Herman Ferdinand Uhden, whom we take to be the author of the little work thus unpretendingly ushered into the world.

Of the defects of the translation, we have already freely spoken, some of which, we have also said, there is reason to fear, are but a too faithful reflection of the German original. That there must be obscurity about many parts we cannot feel a doubt. That the views, on many points, are superficial, and the generalizations too hasty, we can have as little. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the volume is far from being destitute of claims to attention; though inaccuracies may attach to matters of detail, there has evidently been great industry, and true German perseverance, in the accumulation of facts. Of some few of them, we confess we were previously ignorant—an ignorance we doubt not in which many of our readers participate. There are many things always within our reach, which we nevertheless never learn, because they *are* always within our reach. It is with the mind as with the eye; the objects may be too near to be seen. The rustic who visits the capital once in five years, often sees more of its sights and rarities, than he who lives in the midst of them.

Dr. Uhden's work is divided into eight chapters, which respectively treat of the following subjects:—I. Of the character of the Anglican Church. II. Of the Clergy, and of the Ecclesiastical Constitution. III. Of the Sects within the Church. IV. Of the Common Prayer Book. V. Of Preaching, and the cure of souls. VI. Of the Revenues of the Church, and the erection of new Churches. VII. Of Religious Life, Habits, and Manners. VIII. Of the Relations of the Church to the Dissenters.

We shall now proceed to extract a few sentences here and

there on those topics in which the majority of our readers may be reasonably supposed to take a special interest, and on which accordingly they would feel most curious to learn the opinions of an intelligent foreigner.

Of the principles of the Congregationalists and Baptists on the subjects of ecclesiastical polity and discipline, he speaks with great impartiality and respect. He speaks in the like tone of respect of the 'Voluntary System', which from some sentences (though he is very cautious and reserved), would seem to have his own approval. But on these points we find nothing that particularly calls for citation.

When treating of the formation of the Congregational Union (and his remarks of course apply, by parity of reasoning, to similar unions), he shows a very correct appreciation of the groundlessness of those fears of ecclesiastical usurpation which for a little time prevailed in some quarters, and which even now are not wholly allayed. After referring to the absolute necessity of cordial sympathy between the pastor and his flock under the voluntary system, and the impossibility of the former assuming independence of the latter, he remarks, 'Perhaps the union above mentioned, in which at present the congregations take no part,' [not strictly correct, by the way] 'may lead to a greater independence in the clergy;* at the same time such an idea, if it be even entertained by some few, is not in the slightest degree expressed.' [As it does not exist, it would be strange indeed, if it were expressed.] 'Were such an attempt made known, it would encounter watchful antagonists in the zealous champions of the voluntary principle, who, on that very account indeed, have attacked a principle† which has become established in the lapse of time, and which, in some cases, has laid the foundations of a considerable independence of the clergy.'

But the chapter to which the reader will naturally turn with most interest, is the third, on 'sects within the church', and especially to that part of it which refers to the origin, progress, and present prospects of Puseyism. The facts, of course, are all very elementary, and fully known to the majority of our readers. They derive all their interest, as here stated, from the aspects under which they are viewed, and the estimate which is formed of them. A few of Dr. Uhden's reflections we shall accordingly extract. They are characterised by great moderation

* So our author designates dissenting ministers, a title, assuredly, not affected by themselves, and little likely to be approved by their episcopal brethren.

† He refers to the attacks on the Regium Donum, and the opposition often expressed to endowments of all kinds.

of tone, and yet he does not hesitate to proclaim his belief, that the whole system is absolutely Romanist in its essence and tendency, and that it will never 'realise' its perfect 'development' (whether its first projectors be the conscious or unconscious instruments in this disastrous revolution), till it has effected a re-union with the papacy. At the very commencement of his observations he remarks, 'One special difficulty hampers us in the delineation of this party, namely, that as yet they have not reached their maturity, and that the ultimate object of the struggle, or the last realization of its doctrine, can only be laid down conjecturally.' He hesitates not to say, however, even now, 'Its tendency to Romanism is its most striking trait, which forms a ground of reproach against it by antagonists of all sects, and which has created the special difference between its followers and the principal members of the high church party.' After giving a brief account of the circumstances which originated this 'persuasion,' as he truly terms it, and which, as being familiar to our readers, we shall not trouble them with, he remarks:—

'The propositions of Mr. Newman as already given, contain the fundamental tenets on the points of apostolic succession and the liturgy; in the subsequent realization of those theories Puseyism proved her analogy to Romanism. There can be no salvation other than in that church whose clergy can shew their ordination in lineal descent from the apostles. By imposition of hands is the bishop invested with the power of the Holy Ghost, with equal authority to impart the same to others. If even the founders and teachers are cautious in their expressions on this head, the relation is regarded by the greater number, and especially by those laics disposed to Puseyism, as most extraordinary, yet well understood. Hence fundamental errors in doctrine no longer afford a valid justification for a separation from the church; on the contrary, those Christians who are on the continent, and are desirous of availing themselves of the means of grace, are referred to the Romish church, beyond whose pale there are no other facilities for their purpose. The acts of the clergy make the sacrament efficacious; and baptism by them produces regeneration. All the protests against individual abuses of the Romish church proceed from the same point. . . . All the difficulties and improbabilities in historical certainty are thus set aside by axioms which would not stand a scientific examination of church history.'

Further on he states his convictions yet more strongly:—

'The English,' says he, 'have just ground for opposing innovations, such as introducing images or pictures into churches, and restoring the sacerdotal vestments of olden times; which are all the offspring of superstition. *But all this is merely the outside.* It must ultimately happen that Puseyites will admit their catholicity is merely assumed and

secondary, their main question being—Rome, or no Rome. This is clear from other facts, besides the assertions of persons inimical to Puseyite doctrines. Some of the most zealous Puseyites have decidedly gone over to the Romish communion, and have succeeded in overcoming their English Calvinistic prejudices against pomp and ornament in the worship of God, adoration of the virgin, and the pope. Others will follow them; and even the most conforming of them state, that the secession from the church of Rome is not in principles, but merely on certain facts, and in their treatment. Those who express themselves most loudly against the Romish church, go no further than seeing in the creeds of Pope Pius IV. corrupt additions made to the catholic faith, and practices arising therefrom. It may be observed that it is only in solitary cases that usages are attacked, or where some weighty cause prompts the movement,—such as supporting the weak in faith; moreover, the most decided steps have been taken towards an accommodation on a matter which, under existing circumstances, is the most difficult of all; namely, the recognition of the—papal authority. They style the church of Rome an elder sister church, to which at least a certain consideration is due. In a tract written professedly by a secular pen, but certainly belonging to one of the most able advocates of Puseyism, a deduction is drawn in favour of infallibility, which is declared to be a '*jus de non appellando*' on earth. Finally, while above all things they endeavour to preserve the catholicity of the Anglican church, they openly state their apprehensions, lest by facts and declarations emanating from the heads of the church, and which tend to a more extended Protestant feeling, some more decided steps may become advisable. . . The Puseyites take no part in the annual assemblies of the month of May, at which clergy and laity from all parts of the kingdom attend; they account these meetings as innovations and unauthorized departures from the institutes of the church, the more so as the dissenters assist in most of these associations. In 1842, there was scarcely one speech which did not contain allusions unfavourable to Puseyism, and these remarks were universally greeted with the warmest approbation.'

These last remarks would apply still more forcibly to the meetings of the year 1843. Indeed, a stronger feeling of alarm and a more energetic spirit of resistance in relation to Puseyism, both in the church and out of it, were evinced during the past year than at any previous period since its first promulgation. In fact, partly from a wide-spread indifference to religious truth and partly from contempt of what were supposed obsolete follies, the nation was at first but too ready to let the Oxford 'sappers and miners' have it all their own way; little dreaming what extensive effects (though they may be but transitory, it is true,) well-organized, concentrated, and unopposed effort will produce on a thing so pliable, ignorant, and averse to reflection,—so credulous, stupid, and fantastic, so fickle,—so willing to trust its eternal interests to any who will take the charge of them—as that very queer thing called 'the popular mind.'

The fourth chapter, containing little or nothing but a very elementary history of the 'common prayer,' and an account of the order of service as performed in the English church, presents little scope for extract or comment. It will be read, we doubt not, with interest in Germany, but contains only what is very familiar to the majority of our readers. One observation, however, on the facility with which the very contrarieties in the public formularies and documents of the church are reconciled by the parties who have all sworn an *ex animo* assent to them, is worth extracting. 'The Puseyite,' says our author, 'relies upon certain expressions in the formularies, and maintains that such are laid down in the catholic church according to his views, while your man of evangelical persuasions has no reason to dread any such interpretations in his church while the articles make a part of the common prayer book, by which the formulæ and material dogmas of the Reformation are so unquestionably upheld.'

The chapter on the revenues of the church is, on the whole, both interesting and important, and does great credit to the industry of the writer, who seems to have spared no pains in the collection of facts, and has arranged them with considerable clearness. Some of his statements, however, seem to us more than doubtful. Thus he affirms that 'the church rates are about £500,000 per annum, *of which about* £40,000 *is obtained from dissenters of all parties.*' On what authority this last statement is made we know not; it certainly ought not to have been omitted. Whatever it be, we are much mistaken if 'the dissenters of all parties,' forming as they do so considerable a portion of the population in those great towns in which church rates are most heavy, do not pay a much larger proportion of that obnoxious tax. Dr. Uhden's general views, however, on the injustice and inexpediency of demanding church rates from dissenters, are decided, and are indeed precisely what might be expected from any impartial looker-on.

'In 1841 there was a decision of the Lord Chief Justice Tindal, which is regarded by most parties as an authentic and final exposition of the law. According to it, the church is to be upheld just as well as the highways and bridges of a parish: it may very well happen to a given individual that he shall not cross a certain bridge, or to a person not to have any business on a certain road; nevertheless he must share in the cost of their preservation; and it is equally the bounden duty of an individual to contribute towards the repair of the church, whether he goes there or not. *Considering that the same political rights have been conceded to all religious parties, there is in this a certain injustice;* and last year a decision was pronounced in a case of the kind, where the principles above advanced were not quite carried out. The excitement on this relation—[why, in the name of common sense, could not the

translator say, 'in relation to this,' or 'on this subject?'] is constantly increasing, and eventually it must become the subject of legal enactment. A motion to abolish church rates altogether was negatived in June, 1842, by an overwhelming parliamentary majority.'

It is evident that our author, with the majority of reflecting persons amongst Englishmen themselves, considers that however long the present establishment may last, the essential principle of establishments—that of providing for the religious instruction of the whole population by a prodigal employment of public money—is virtually abandoned. That parliamentary grants for these twenty years past have afforded little compared with what the voluntary system has yielded, both within and without the establishment; that such grants are viewed with increasing jealousy and dissatisfaction, and met with a sterner and more uncompromising opposition, is undeniable. Whatever driblets may yet flow from the treasury for such objects, they will be obtained with increasing difficulty; and must, in our judgment, and we believe in the judgment of all except Sir R. Inglis, cease altogether, at no very distant date. On this important subject the author has the following remarks:—

'With the grants mentioned and other pecuniary aids, the commissioners have at present built wholly, or partially established 259 churches. But the parliamentary grants have been for some time quite exhausted. Additional proposals have been made in the House of Commons, *but times have changed.* The dissenters regard the increase which has already taken place in the Anglican churches not without jealousy. They consider the sums of money drawn from the public purse for such purposes, as so much taken from their pockets to be given to their opponents. In the house itself, the members seceding from the episcopal church are much more numerous (their influence being of course in a corresponding degree) than at the period of the last grant; and besides, any proposal for further advances has been considered as incompatible with the financial condition and general state of the country in late years. Sir Robert Inglis, the member for Oxford, in 1840, brought forward a motion of the kind, since which he has however abstained from any further attempt, possibly owing to his probable want of success. It is worthy of observation that former grants were made at an epoch when that catholic spirit of which we have made mention, was rife; but so long as the existing antagonism of the sects continues, scarcely any ministry will be found to enter heartily into a project in which they are not materially interested, and by which they might in all probability have to stand or fall.'

The chapter on 'religious Life, Habits, and Manners,' contains much interesting matter—chiefly interesting of course, from conveying the opinions and feelings with which a foreign observer regards us. The general observance of the Sabbath amongst us seems to have struck him forcibly, as it usually does our continental visitors, whose more lax notions of the obli-

gations of that sacred day lead them even to exaggerate our pious strictness and austerity. What we regard as but a very indifferent exemplification of our theoretic views of the day, they are apt to consider as a sort of supererogatory sanctity, and excess of rigour. At all events, we fear that the following picture is too highly coloured; and sure we are that it would be difficult to find a parallel to the case of the American traveller referred to. We may add, that we are not at all anxious to discover amongst us any such examples of what we cannot but call spiritual prudery.

'The retention of old customs is generally supported by public opinion. In the larger towns, a great decrease in the usual noise and bustle becomes perceptible soon after ten o'clock on Saturday evening, and about midnight, two or three hours earlier than common, everything is quiet,' [As far as *our* experience goes, the noise and bustle are certainly *as* late on Saturday evenings as on any day in the week.] 'On Sundays, during the hours of service, streets even are closed to carriages if in the immediate vicinity of the churches.' [Out again, Dr. Uhden, or your translator.] 'All ordinary occupations are suspended; and even bread is not baked,' [but pies, puddings, and meat are] 'some families taking cold repasts; (indeed, at a public *déjeune à la fourchette*, given by the Lord Mayor to the King of Prussia on a Sunday, all the viands were cold) and except in the vending of food and drink, there is not one instance in one hundred of business being done by working at the desk, or behind the counter; such a thing is seldom heard of! Theatres and places of amusement are all closed; custom forbids all parties, otherwise than in the bosom of one's family. * * * In Scotland travelling on Sunday is not permitted; conveyance even by railway is rare. On the Edinburgh and Glasgow line, trains run before morning and after evening services. Even this is deplored by many as a desecration of the Sabbath; and the Scotch regret that the shareholders on that line are principally Englishmen, whose views on the subject are not so strict, and who compel the directors to make these journies.' [To *permit* them, we suppose the translator means.] 'In New England, a steam boat runs from Boston in Massachusetts to Portland, in Maine; the starting time being at such an hour on Saturday as would enable passengers to reach the place of destination at ten the same night. On one occasion the voyage was not completed at past eleven. A clergyman on board requested that the boat might be stopped in case they should not have arrived by midnight, and that he might be put ashore, as he could not on any account travel on Sunday. The request excited no surprise either in the captain or his fellow-travellers. These feelings may be met with in England among individuals, but are not to the same extent an integral part of the general conscientious conviction.'

Very far from it, we should say.

Next to the general observance of the Sabbath, the religious festivals of May seem to have been that feature of our religious condition which most struck the imagination of our author.

The reader will find an account of them in pp. 179—182; but as it contains nothing but what they are perfectly familiar with, extract and remark are needless.

We must now draw our observations to a close, and we do not know that we can better do so than by extracting one or two amusing anecdotes which we find here and there inserted in the notes. The following is said to have been the laconic reply of a certain bishop to a Puseyite clergyman, who was anxious to justify sundry innovations by no less authority than that of Ambrose, against whose venerable name he probably thought his diocesan would hesitate to commit himself.

'We may be allowed,' says our author, 'to give an example of the style of English correspondence, which is generally distinguished for its conciseness and its coming to the point. One of the bishops had heard of certain new-fangled practises which one of his clergy had introduced, and wrote to him enjoining their discontinuance. The parson replied, that the holy Ambrosius had sanctioned such usages. The reply of the bishop was couched in these words; 'Reverend Sir,—The holy Ambrosius was not bishop of E——; I am; and as such command you to lay aside your innovating practices. I am, reverend Sir,' &c,'

A curious specimen is given of the dilemmas in which those who hold high-church principles are involved, supposing they retain the slightest particle of charity. If they can succeed in getting rid of *that*, they may of course hold the said principles with ruthless consistency. The following is the mode of extrication of one who does not seem to have been able quite to extinguish his charity; it must be admitted, however, that the inconvenient remnant of that grace has left his logic in a most pitiable condition:—

'A secular person,' [the English of which is a *layman*, Mr. Translator,] 'who had always made himself acquainted with the questions of English theology, declared that none but those who were baptized in the true church can be esteemed members of Christ. On being asked whether he would exclude all others from salvation, his reply was, 'By no means; they may be saved, but God has not accorded them the privilege of being Christians.' Consequently it may fairly be assumed as an ecclesiastical tenet, that there is some other path to salvation than that of Christianity.'

After noticing the abuses and iniquities inseparable from the system of 'patronage,' our author remarks:—

'These monstrosities—the personal nature of the advowson, the freedom from all impositions, and the want of veto, also flourish in the Scottish church, and have led to a vigorous controversy in the Presbyterian constitution, now culminating to its extreme point. The author was in Edinburgh during the General Assembly of 1842, when it was resolved to petition for the abolition of the patronage as a grievance.

He laid before a clergyman an exposition of the limitations on the rights of patronage in Germany, and was informed that that would satisfy them. 'Then why go to such extremities?' 'Sir,' was the reply, 'If you cannot tame a beast you must kill it.' *

Art III. *Novum Testamentum Græcum, Editio Hellenistica.* Londini: Gulielmus Pickering. 1843.

THE style of the New Testament is a powerful evidence of its genuineness. It is the precise species of composition which would be used by persons in the condition in which the apostles are known to have been placed. An acute forger may imitate many features of the language of past periods or other lands, yet there are not a few peculiarities which are beyond his power. A genuine book bears upon it the 'form and pressure' of the times; something so indefinable and yet so marked, so impalpable and yet so characteristic, that the impostor exposes himself to suspicion by the absence of such criteria, or by an extravagant accumulation of them. The marks of genuineness to which we refer are by no means mysterious or difficult to be apprehended. They resemble those modes of recognition which we apply instinctively and universally to the portrait of a friend, when we pronounce upon its correctness, not from the features of the countenance singly, but from the expression; not from the stature, but rather from the attitude; not from the colour or form of the dress in themselves, but from the general effect of their arrangement—all these forming a 'tout ensemble' which at once strikes and fascinates the eye of the beholder. So the style of the sacred writers is Greek, but not classic Greek, Greek of the later era, but not quite that of the writers of the Macedonian period: Greek written by Jews, yet not exactly that of the Alexandrian colonists. It is Greek acquired through conversation, and such Greek modified by being made the vehicle of thoughts which that language had never before conveyed. True, indeed, the Hebrew oracles had been translated into it, yet many ideas original and peculiar were revealed to evangelists and apostles. They were commissioned to proclaim

* We have ventured on a conjectural emendation in the pointing of this last sentence. As it stands in the translation, it is mere nonsense. The 'reply' oddly enough is represented as the 'question,' and the 'questioner' is made to answer it himself. It reads thus:—'Then why go to such extremities, Sir,' was the reply; 'if you cannot tame a beast you must kill it.' We sincerely regret that Dr. Uhden has not found a more accurate translator. Though we have not seen the original, it is manifest that much injustice has been done him.

a dispensation in which the love of God to the world, Christ's atonement for human guilt, faith as the means of pardon, purity, and peace, holiness as the result of spiritual influence, life and immortality as brought to light, are frequent and familiar topics of illustration and enforcement. What other species of idiom than that to which we have referred could be employed? Such, and no other, might you expect in the New Testament, written in the age in which it professes to have been composed. Greek either more graceful or more awkward, more classic or more Hebraized, would justly be suspected. Greek more rythmical and rounded, less abrupt and parallelised, would have indicated an affectation of fine writing quite unworthy of that earnestness and dignity which we instinctively ascribe to men of God, recipients of inspiring impulse.

But though the Spirit was upon them, their style is natural. It differs somewhat in the various writers, yet the same elements are everywhere conspicuous. The style of John may be more Hebraized than that of Paul, Matthew's more than Luke's, a result which we at once anticipate, a minor shade of distinction arising from education and mental peculiarity. We enter not into the question, how far the Greek language was prevalent in Palestine in the time of Christ. It may be that the truth is between the theory of Pfannkuche* and that of Hug†. The learned Christian world owes its deep thanks to Mr. Dobbin for his beautiful re-publication of Diodati's Treatise on this interesting subject.‡ It is not with the question, to what extent Greek was spoken by various classes in Judea during the Roman domination, nor with the question, why the New Testament was written in Greek, that we have now to do. It is with the Greek before us; Greek as we have it in the pages of the New Covenant. The theory of Aramaic originals of any of the books is now obsolete. Even as relates to the gospel of Matthew, the idea of a sole Greek original is fast becoming the prevailing sentiment.

The genius of New Testament Greek, as we have briefly described it, will be apparent to any one who turns from the pages of Xenophon or Thucydides to those of Paul or Luke. Their style is Greek in language, but Hebrew in sentiment; the words are Greek, but the structure of the sentence is Hebrew. Greek words with a meaning entirely Jewish, idioms which are

* American Biblical Repository, Vol. i., p. 317, originally published in Eichhorn's Allgem. Bibliothek der Bib. Lit., Vol. iii., p. 472.

† Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T., part II. chap. 1, § 10.

‡ Dominici Diodati. De Christo Græce Loquente, &c. Neapoli, MDCCLXVII. Edited, with a Preface, by Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.B., Trinity College Dublin. London, 1843.

a direct imitation of Hebrew *usus loquendi*; Greek phrases with tropical meanings, such as the classics had never used, but which the corresponding Hebrew terms were generally employed to denote, meet the eye in every paragraph. The style of the sacred writings of the New Testament reminds one of the aspect and gait of a Jew dressed in a Grecian costume, which he had not long assayed.

How is the knowledge of this peculiar Greek style to be acquired? Surely the Hebrew of the Old Testament must be mastered, and the spirit of its oracles imbibed. But the language of the New Testament in its foundation is still the rich and flexible tongue of Greece. Thorough acquaintance with the variety, power, and idioms of that wonderful instrument of communication, is therefore essential to the correct interpretation of evangelists and apostles. Few there are who will not admit our statement, and the training of our students proceeds upon the admission. Yet, in the majority of cases, Greek learning is sadly neglected, and a wrong method of tuition is pursued. The simpler portion of some meagre elementary grammar being committed to memory, the student is set down to the New Testament to translate and parse. Aided by his own reminiscence of the English version, and by the pages of Schrevelius, he soon feels himself qualified to render Greek into English, as far as regards most of the books of the New Testament. Too often is he tempted to imagine that his Greek learning is now perfected. It may be that he is attracted by the pages of a Collectanea to skim over a few excerpts from classic authors, or obliged to read in a college class-room some portions of Greek literature. Now whatever proficiency may be afterwards made, our ground of complaint in such a method of discipline is, that the student never acquires a correct taste, so as to relish the beauties either of classic or sacred Greek composition. He has been brought far too soon to the New Testament. The rhymth and elegance of classic Greek are unknown. The peculiarities of New Testament Greek cannot be comprehended. When he is told of that peculiar style which prevails in the New Testament, he cannot feel or perceive it. He has no standard by which to compare it. We would not make a young man toil his way through the subtleties of the Tragedians, or force him through the compact and sententious Thucydides (though no one who has thus disciplined himself will regret the labour), we would not insist on his familiarizing his spirit with the lyrics of Pindar, or the garrulous compositions of Herodotus, but we would demand that the ordinary writers, and especially such as have used the Attic dialect be mastered. Let him first proceed through the Odyssey, that delightful picture of the olden time. Let him study the

authors of the pure Attic—the transparent prose of Xenophon, the more intricate dialogues of Plato, and the severe beauty, and penetrating intensity of Demosthenes. Let him next descend to such writers as wrote in Attic after the wars of Alexander. He will find both information and philological assistance in many of the tracts of Plutarch, the anecdotes of Diodorus, and the descriptions of Strabo.* Let him be trained to understand what classic Greek is, especially in its Attic and its Alexandrine peculiarities! Let him enter into the *spirit* and style of Grecian literature. Let him not be content with tracing forms in a grammar, or meanings in a lexicon. Let his soul be so imbued with the language, that as he reads, a formal translation into his own tongue will be felt to be a diminution of his pleasure, a useless and cumbrous process. Bring him now to the New Testament, and he will at once realize the contrast. At once he will understand that the writers of the New Testament lived not in Attica though they use the tongue of Hellas, and were not natives of Alexandria though they employ the modified Greek of the later era. He will find that they were foreigners, born beneath an oriental sky, whose associations centered around Sion, and not Parnassus—whose God dwelt in the Temple, not in the shrines of the Parthenon—the city of whose affections was Jerusalem, and not Athens. In a word, we would have the interpreter of the New Testament study Kühner before he come to Winer, and be at home in the pages of Passow, ere he consult those of Wahl or Robinson.

We look back with no little amusement to the fierce conflicts of former times about the nature of the New Testament Greek. The hostile parties were ranged under the name of Purists on the one side, and Hellenists or Hebraists on the other. The Purists maintained the classic purity of the New Testament, argued that its style was as unmixed and thoroughly elegant as that of the most illustrious writers of Athens, and laboured to find parallels to its stranger idioms and more peculiar usages and meanings, in the wide range of Grecian literature. Hebraisms, they regarded as a barbarism which disfigured the sacred writings, and so they toiled to prove that the apostles were not singular in the use of certain vocables and forms of syntax. They regarded the New Testament as a piece of composition having the chasteness and finish of the age of Pericles. They thought it derogatory to the Holy Spirit to have used any other than the most accomplished style. They would not permit the New Testament to be outdone in point of linguistic beauty and

* Vide Sturz.—De dialecto Alexandrina, Lips. 1809.

In 1810 Planck published his Essay, De vera natura atque indole Orationis Græcæ N. T. Comment. An Essay, to praise which is now superfluous.

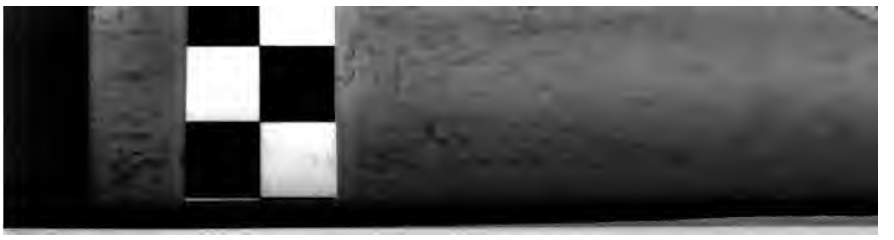
grace by any uninspired production. They counted upon miraculous influence as having been given in sufficient amount to secure such a result.

The Hellenists maintained again, that the New Testament abounded in Hebraisms, in forms of speech quite solecistic, quite at variance with the models of Grecian refinement. They contended that such peculiarities sprung from an insensible imitation of Hebrew idiom, yet they multiplied instances to a very rash and unwarranted extent, and certainly depreciated to a very undue excess, the grammatical accuracy of the New Testament writers. They charged upon the style of the New Testament many faults which by no means belong to it. Joseph Scaliger, in his Notes to Eusebius, was the first who styled the Greek of the New Testament, Hellenistic, deriving the epithet from the supposed usage of the New Testament itself, in styling Jews who spoke the Greek tongue,—Ἑλληνισταί. The term was then given to the party who asserted the Hebrew colouring of New Testament Greek.

Beza and Stephens, with great critical sagacity, forestalled the judgment of modern scholars, and anticipated the rational decision of the present day. The whole matter, as Moses Stuart says, is now brought very near to that middle ground which those consummate Greek scholars, Robert Stephens and Theodore Beza seem first to have occupied.* But this result has been the consequence of a varied and protracted struggle, in which talent and temper were frequently exhibited.

It was a severe contest, and much ink was shed. The antagonists sometimes waxed rabid, and bitter personalities were not unfrequently mixed up with the debate. French gallantry was pitted against Dutch prolixity, English bravery against German inflexibility. The Purists were not slow in ascribing unworthy motives to the Hellenists, in branding them as heretics, and deniers of the divine inspiration of the New Testament; while the Hellenists retorted with similar weapons. The Purists, in fighting for the Attic purity of the New Testament, debated every inch of ground with manful pugnacity, and when about to be worsted, summoned the Greek poets to their assistance, as if their use of a term would justify its prosaic application, and fell back on the doubtful territory of the Byzantine historians in order to cover their retreat. The Hebraists claimed much which they could not keep, ascribing to Jewish origin what is common to every tongue, and pressed into their service not a few allies who ought to have been treated with the respect

* Grammar of the New Testament Dialect. Second Edition. Andover, 1841, p. 18.



due to a neutral power. From 1629, when Pfochen led the attack, down to 1752, when Palairet feebly attempted to rally their broken forces, the Purists were engaged in busy warfare.* Any years of tranquillity were those of an armed peace. Jung met Pfochen in 1640, and was challenged in return by Grosse, who raised up a new opponent in Wolfer. Wolfer's armour-bearer was Musaeus in 1641, and he proved so stiff and intractable, that Grosse got the length of a *Quarta defensio!*

Alternaque jactat
Brachia protendens et verberat ictibus auras.

Heinsius now entered the ranks of the Hellenists, and made a bold defence in 1643, but was confronted by the furious Salmasius, of whom it may be sung:—

Thrice he routed all his foes,
And thrice he slew the slain.

Spumea tum primum rabies vesana per ora
Effluit.

In his Gallican vanity he imagined that his first treatise settled the question:—*Commentarius contraversiam decidens.* His foes being slain, in his second tract he buried them:—*Funus linguæ Hellenisticæ.* But his rage was not bounded by the grave, for in a third publication he disinterred their remains, and made a triumphal pyramid of their bones:—*Ossilegum linguæ Hellenisticæ.* But Gattaker, 1648, a host in himself, with Vorstius, 1658, and Werenfels, about the same period, came to the side of the Hellenists. Others sought peace by recommending a middle course, such as Bœcler, 1641, Olearius, 1668, and Leusden; and to some extent also, J. H. Michaelis, 1707, and Blackwall, 1727. But the combat was revived in 1732 by Ch. Sieg. Georgi, was faintly followed up by Schwarz in 1736, and at length expired in the effort of Palairet in 1752. The style of the New Testament is not the only subject on which men's minds have been prejudiced, the truth concerning which they have only gradually discovered. There are few errors which men retain with such pertinacity, as those which are connected with Scriptural themes. The text of the New Testament is now universally acknowledged to be such as we have briefly described it in a preceding paragraph—Hebrew Greek, Greek of the Alexandrian dialect (if such an appellation be proper), of which the Attic was the basis.

What, then, are the best sources for the illustration of the New Testament? Certainly, the writers who composed in a similar style, who wrote in the Hellenistic dialect. So far as

* Vide Winer. Grammatik der Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, p. 14. Stuart, p. 8.

the Greek itself is concerned, the authors who flourished after the Macedonian conquest are the best authorities, and who wrote in the κοινη διαλεκτος. Appeals cannot be safely made to the authors who lived prior to this period. The value of many of the earlier philological commentators is on this account greatly reduced. Ernesti says, that in Elsner he got not more than ten observations of real practical value. Bos, Albertus, Raphelius, Kypke, Palairet, while containing much that is valuable in a philological point of view, yet abound with irrelevant quotations, in which we discover similarity of sound, not similarity of meaning; in which violence is done to the citations from Greek authors, in order to harmonize them with that portion of the New Testament which they are intended to illustrate. Yet there are particles of gold amidst the rubbish, and these works, as Dr. Robinson has remarked, have assisted in the formation of our best New Testament lexicons.* Contributions, however small, to a work so laudable and necessary as a good New Testament dictionary, deserve our fervent gratitude. Classic quotations so sanctified are an acceptable oblation. Every student of the New Testament will thankfully own himself 'debtor to the Greeks.' In the lexicons of Wahl, Robinson, Bretschneider, in the grammar of Winer, in the best of the modern German commentaries are to be found many acute, sound, and pertinent references to the writers of the later Attic.

The Hebrew element of the New Testament Greek has also attracted considerable attention. Many treatises have been written upon it, though generally they err in excessive application of Jewish idiom. Many large publications have also collected Talmudic customs and forms of speech, in order to illustrate the New Testament. Leusden and Vorstius have laboured in the latter department. Lightfoot, Schoetgen, and Wetstein too, in the former.

But especially is the style of the New Testament in its complex actual form to be illustrated. To investigate any of its component elements by itself may be of good service; but, surely, it is better still to find apposite illustration from authors who have used the Judæo-Grecian idiom themselves. Not from the Greek without the Hebrew colouring, or from the Hebrew without the Grecian costume, but from the Hebrew-Greek in actual existence is the best and most appropriate assistance to be fetched. So we have Philo, Josephus, the Old Testament Apocrypha, and the Septuagint, in all of which, with some variation, is found that Hellenic style which prevails in the books of the New Testament. Josephus does, indeed, indicate

* Preface to his New Testament Lexicon.

a nearer approach to the polish of Grecian literature than do the apostles. He Atticises, the effort to do so being often apparent in the historical portions of his works. The style is felt to be a laboured imitation. Yet the style of Josephus is not without many similarities to that of his apostolic contemporaries, both in Greek and Hebrew idiom. Many apposite remarks and elucidations, philological and historical, selected from Josephus, are spread through the pages of the well-known treatises of Ottius and Krebs.* Philo too affects a pure Greek style, but occasionally overdoes it. The old woman said to Theophrastus that she knew him not to be a native of Athens by his speech, with all its studied accuracy. The fine ear of the old crone declared his language to be too Attic. He spoke αττικωτατως. A similar judgment may be pronounced on the style of Philo. Yet his style, when treating of religious topics peculiar to his people, does instinctively approximate to the New Testament usage. More than two thousand quotations from the Septuagint are scattered throughout his writings. Lœsner's collection of illustrations from Philo is not so full as it might have been, and many useful extracts have also been gathered from him by J. B. Carpzoff in his Sacræ Exercitationes in S. Pauli Epistolam ad Hebræos ex Philone Alexandrino. But the whole harvest is not yet gathered. There may yet be culled from the pages of these two writers many clusters of critical and exegetical illustration. The gleaning may prove better than the vintage.

The books of the Apocrypha still more closely resemble the style of the New Testament, being composed in Alexandrine Greek by authors of the Jewish nation. Their philological value is incalculable. Bretschneider and Kuinoel† have done little more than point out the way to useful investigation and discovery. The Apocryphal books of the New Testament are also not without their value.

The Septuagint claims a close affinity with the New Testament, though it be not like it, an original work, but only a translation. It has moulded to a considerable extent the Greek style of the New Testament. It was the sacred book which our Lord and his apostles quoted and consulted. It is the translation of Hebrew thoughts into a Greek dress. So is the New Testament. In the case of the Septuagint the Hebrew thoughts rendered into Greek had been written on parchment and in Hebrew character; in the case of the New Testament, they were translated at once from the fleshly tables of the heart. The similarity of process in the formation of the two works is very

* Ottii Spicilegium Lugd. Bat. 1741. J. T. Krebsii Observat. in N. T. e Fl. Josepho. Lips. 1755.

† Observationes ad N. T. ex Libris Apocryphis. Lips. 1794.

close. We may expect great likeness in modes of expression, frequent recurrence of similar phrases, the same general construction of sentences, with all that variety of minute resemblances which is instinctively produced by a relationship so close—a relationship at once literary and religious, national and ecclesiastical. So that for the illustration of the New Testament we naturally recur to the Septuagint, and we believe it to be more useful for the New Testament than for the elucidation of those Hebrew oracles of which it is a very unequal version. In our best grammars, lexicons, and commentaries, the Septuagint is the great source of illustration.

It is the object of that publication, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, to apply the Septuagint as a primary means of philological illustration, uniformly and systematically, to the words and clauses of the New Testament in continuous order. The work consists of two large octavos, of fifteen hundred pages. It exhibits the Greek text of the New Testament, for the most part according to Mill's edition, while under each verse are arranged the corresponding words, phrases, modes of expression, or other sources of illustration to be found in the Septuagint. Philo, Josephus, the Apocrypha, are also often referred to in the same manner. The text of the Septuagint which the editor has used is the Vatican edition of Bos. The book of Daniel is also preferred by him in its original version* to the ordinary translation of Theodotion. In the references to the Septuagint, which are printed in a smaller text, care is taken first to adduce similar phraseology, then any other citations which can throw light on the verse. In this way more than thirty thousand doctrinal and grammatical illustrations of the New Testament are supplied. It would be folly to expect that all the references are either apposite or correct, as the editor himself says modestly in his preface:—'Multa tamen prætermissa, multa minùs apta, et non pauca fortè prorsus aliena, nullus dubito quin in eâ invenienda sint. 'Verùm opere in longo,' ut Horatianis verbis utar, 'fas est obrepere somnum;' et ubi tam multa, tam pretiosa, è sacrosanctis aurifodinis nunc primùm eruta nitent; 'maculis, quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura,' veniam ab omnibus bonis et benevolis facilè concessam fore sperandum est.'

Yet the plan is a good one. If the selection of references be ample (as it appears to be in this case) we may pardon a few which are irrelevant. It is said of Barnabas (Acts xi. 24.) Ὅτι ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ πίστεως καὶ προσετέθη

* First published at Rome 1772, reprinted at Gottingen 1774, and at Utrecht 1775.

οχλος ικανος τῳ Κυριῳ. Now the editor of the Hellenic New Testament has adduced under this, Neh. vii. 2, ὁτι αυτος ην ανηρ αληθης και φοβουμενος τον Θεον παρα πολλους, a clause which has only a vague similarity of sentiment. Jos. ix. 16, και εγενετο μετα τρεις ἡμερας, has no connection with Acts xxiv. 1. μετα δε πεντε ἡμερας κατεβη ὁ Αρχιερευς Ανανιας, κ. τ. λ. But many thousand appropriate references are interspersed. As a specimen of the work we may give the first verse of Matthew.

'Βιβλος γενεσεως Ιησου Χριστου, υἱου Δαβιδ, υἱου Αβρααμ.'

'Αὐτη ἡ βιβλος γενεσιως ανθρωπων, (Gen. v. 1.) αὐται αἱ γενεσεις Κορε (Exod. vi. 24.) Κατα γενεσεις αυτων, κατα πατριας αυτων. (Num. i. 18.) Αχαρ υἱος Χαρμι, υἱου Ζαμβρι υἱου Ζαρα. (Jos. vii. 1.) ἑνεκεν Δαυιδ του δουλου σου μη αποστρεψῃς το προσοπον του Χριστου σου. Ωμοσε Κυριος τῳ Δαυιδ αληθειαν, και ου μη αθετησει αυτην, Εκ καρπου της κοιλιας σου, θησομαι επι του θρονου σου. (Ps. cxxxi. 10, 11.) και ενευλογηθησονται εν σοι [Αβραμ] πασαι αἱ φυλαι της γης (Gen. xii. 3.—Conf. Luc. iii. 23.) [τις επ' ακριβειας εὑρε την πρωτην καταβολην της τουτων γενεσεως.—Philo. T. ii. p. 124. Edit. Mangey.]—Conf. Num. xxiii. 10.

Or we may take the 18th verse of the same chapter.

'Του δε Ιησου Χριστου ἡ γεννησις οὑτως ην. Μνηστευθεισης γαρ της μητρος αυτου Μαριας τῳ Ιωσηφ, πριν η συνελθειν αυτους εὑρεθη εν γαστρι εχουσα εκ Πνευματος ὑγιου.

'καθως ἡμερα γενεσεως αυτης. (Ose. ii. 3.) ὁτι οὑτως εποιησαν. Eccles. viii. 10.—Gen. xlii. 25.) ὁστις μεμνηστενται γυναικα, και ουκ ελαβεν αυτην. (Deut. xx. 7.) παρθενος μεμνηστευμενη ανδρι. (xxii. 23.) πριν γνωναι αυτον. (Esa. vii. 15.) πριν πλανηθηναι με.—Sir li. 13. [συνελθειν αυτῃ. (Test. xii. Patr. p. 600.) μετα δε ταυτα ὡς γαμετῃ νομίμῳ συνερχου. Philo. T. ii. p. 393.] εὑρεθη. (Deut. xxii. 20. Dan. i. 19. LXX. Sir. xliv. 17.) εν γαστρι εχουσα. (2 Reg. xi. 5.) το Πνευμα το ἁγιον σου. Ps. l. 11. Esa. lxiii. 10, 11.) ὁτι παιδιον εγεννηθη ἡμιν, υἱος και εδοθη ἡμιν ὁυ ἡ αρχη εγενηθη επι του ωμου αυτου, κ. τ. λ. (Esa. ix. 6, 7. Conf. Gen. iii. 15.) ἑως Χριστου ἡγουμενου—συν τῳ ἡγουμενῳ τῳ εργομενῳ. (Dan. xi 25, 26.)—την γενεαν αυτου τις δἰηγησεται. (Esa. liii. 8.)

The last reference to Isaiah liii. 8, is doctrinally incorrect. The phrase יִצְחָק means contemporaries, and cannot at all refer to what is termed eternal generation. So it can have no connection with the facts as stated in the verse under which it has been placed.

The editor, in an elegant Latin preface, briefly gives his reasons for undertaking this work. No book of the same kind has as yet appeared—'nemo, quod sciam, hanc planam facilemque viam, quâ ad Palæstinam et propè ad Christi et Apostolorum societatem, per veteres patriarchas et prophetas, recto itinere et sine ullo circuitu eatur, monstravit.' Again, page viii. 'Hæc via per Hierosolymam et Sionis montem est aperta, simplex, directa; illa per Romam aut Athenas devia, et ni fallor, sæpiùs periculosa.

Sic ab omnibus sacrarum literarum studiosis ad Novi Testamenti interpretationem veram et pristinam, Christo duce, accedendum.' And again, reprobating an indiscriminate reference to classic writers, he adds, somewhat poetically—'Nequaquam credendum est grammatistis, qui voces et phrases sacrosanctas ex auctoribus profanis interpretentur, et Jordanis flumina cum Tiberis aut Arethusæ aut Alphei limo et colluvione, ut ita dicam, contaminare elaborent.' We accede heartily to such statements. His plan of illustration is one of facile and extensive application. He has come to his work too in a proper spirit, a spirit of dependence on the Holy Ghost, the giver of inspiration. What a refreshing contrast to the dry infidelity, intellectual pride, and philological self sufficiency of German critics! 'Sed quis mortalium ad hæc idoneus sit? Sine lumine divino precibusque ad Patrem luminum assiduis, omnis noster effusus labor. Descendes, oremus, Sancte Spiritus et obscuriora tua Tu ipse illumines!' Ten years have been faithfully and laboriously spent by the editor in the preparation of this work. We doubt not the statement; yea, ten years more of ardent study, in minute and patient collation would have enjoyed a rich reward. The original plan has not been completed, 'sed volenti vires naturæ deficiunt, et anni senescentes nobis tam ardua, quamvis desideranda, recusant.'

We might have entered more fully into the varied sections of this excellent work, but our limits forbid. What fault it has appears to be principally in the selection of illustrative clauses, not so apposite and pertinent as might in all cases be desired. Clauses of the New Testament, needing no illustration, may occasionally too have an exuberance of it, repeated at every opportunity. The Greek is printed without accents, which gives a tame and unscholarly appearance to the pages. Yet the printing and execution of the work are neat, accurate, and elegant. But so happy are we at finding such a contribution to the exposition of the sacred oracles, that we welcome it with sincere satisfaction, and are by no means desirous of exposing any trivial fault in a book which in plan is so judicious and seasonable, and in preparation must have cost such time and pains. To its minor defects the editor is sensible himself, and places his apology before the competent scholar. He has trodden a path which we urge all students to prosecute. If he has not secured every advantage, others coming after him may seize them. It is an honour to be first in an enterprize, even though successors may reap ampler rewards. The Septuagint has indeed been often referred to, but the idea of such a compilation as this, is novel. Students without the requisite means of extended investigation, will find it a safe guide. We hope it will imbue many

with the love of searching the Septuagint, (we have all along called it by its best known name, though it sprang from a romantic falsehood,) and initiate them into the best mode of applying its peculiar style to the study of that book, which contains the last revelation from heaven. Such results are contemplated by the editor, and we trust his desires may be accomplished. We thank and honour him for this self-interpreting New Testament—self-interpreting in the best and truest sense of the term. May he live to conclude in the same pious spirit, and with equal success, his projected undertaking. He has not obtruded his name on the title-page, he has only recorded it at the end of his preface; but Mr. Grinfield may rely upon the approbation of him to whom this book is humbly dedicated, and for the advancement of whose cause it has been specially intended. 'Tibi, interea, Deus Opt. Max. pro valetudine et viribus animi corporisque hosce inter longos labores concessis, gratias maximas nos tenues agimus. Tibi, omnes conatus nostros, quantulicunque sint, ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ profectum et ad crucis Christi gloriam, supplices lubentesque dicatos et consecratos volumus.'

Art. IV. 1. *The Neighbours: A Story of Every-Day Life.* 2 vols.
2. *The Home, or Family Cares and Family Joys.* 2 vols.
3. *The President's Daughters, and Nina.* 3 vols.
4. *A Diary, and Strife and Peace.* 2 vols. By Frederika Bremer. Translated by Mary Howitt. London: Longman and Co.

Far too little attention has hitherto been paid to the changes which from time to time pass over our popular literature. This, however, is not surprising, if we remember how little attention has hitherto been paid to that literature itself, by those who claim to be the leaders of opinion and taste. Addressing itself to the multitude, exhibiting the peculiarities of the day,—often tinged too with the prevailing foibles and errors of the generation which it seeks to amuse,—popular literature has been looked upon, not merely by learned men, but even by some deep thinkers, of as little importance as the worn-out garment, or the passing gossip of a bygone age. A more philosophical spirit is now beginning to prevail; for a closer enquiry has shewn the inseparable connexion between the character of a people, and that of its popular literature; that the ballad, the legend, the romance, the novel, supply traits of national character, and exhibit the peculiarities of national mind, with a force, a truthfulness, and minuteness, which the enquirer could obtain from no other source.

And that this should be the case, is so natural,—we had almost said, so self-evident,—that we feel astonished how the importance of this class of literature should not have been fully recognized, not only by the philosopher, but by the moralist himself. If we only turn to the novels of the past century, however unfit some of them may be for general amusement, we shall find, that each, and all, are most valuable auxiliaries to the philosophical historian,—to the writer who feels that history has been hitherto by far too exclusively the record of courts and camps, rather than that of the human race.

How fully and clearly is the formal, passionless, yet comfortable *dolce far niente*, every-day life, of the more respectable classes, about a hundred years ago, mirrored forth to us in Richardson's 'Sir Charles Grandison,' and 'Pamela;' and the coarse profligacy of the squirearchy, the vulgarity and gross ignorance of the country parsons, the general laxity of morals, the debased standard both of religious and intellectual attainment, painted in Fielding's and Smollett's novels? Drawing nearer to our own times, how vividly are the fanciful affectations of the super-delicate ladies, the 'infinitessimal' small-talk of the beaux, and the 'much ado about nothing' of both, depicted in Miss Burney's 'Evelina,' and 'Cecilia?' But a change was at hand. 'The force of' weakness 'could no farther go,' and the French revolution burst like a tremendous storm, and shook society to its foundations. Then arose deep thoughts of social rights, and earnest, and passionate questioning of the future; and these again are reflected with mirror-like truthfulness, in gifted, but unhappy, Mary Wollstonecraft's novel, 'Woman's Wrongs,' and in Godwin's singular, but most powerful—most painfully powerful—'Caleb Williams.'

But the first shock of the French revolution passed over; and the popular mind again sunk into inanity, and a mawkish sentimentality prevailed. And how truthfully is this state of the popular taste—when Wordsworth and Coleridge were viewed as half fools, half madmen; when Dr. Blair, with his criticisms and his sermons, was the 'magnus Apollo' of a generation, spoon-fed with the very thinnest intellectual water-gruel—how truthfully is this state depicted in 'The Children of the Abbey,' 'Delicate Distresses,' and such like; the very essence of silliness, which, under the name of the 'Minerva Library Novels,' are not, even now, quite forgotten.

A better seed had, however, been sown. The lake poets, through evil report, we can scarcely add, 'through good report,' also, laboured on, shewing, that much which might charm the poet, and interest the philosopher, could be found 'in huts where poor men lie;' and then, clear-sighted, clever Maria Edge-

worth introduced the Irish peasant, and the Irish shopkeeper, into her pleasant tales, and readers soon began to find, that pictures of real life, were actually more amusing than vapid sketches of lords and ladies, living among impossibly good or bad people, and undergoing all manner of impossible adventures. The 'Waverley Novels' completed the change, and from that time, the novel, while it still reflects the peculiarities of our age, and its social condition, has become an important engine; a most important one, for good or for ill.

It is a curious fact, that by a very similar process, popular literature among the chief continental nations, has undergone a like change. In France, Germany, and Italy, the novel is now no longer the mere amusing story, no longer the mere tale of intrigue, and love adventure; nor is it the production solely of writers who have dedicated themselves to what is termed, 'light literature.' The first literary men of the age, have entered this field, and have there stood, prepared to do battle for their favourite opinions; and thus on the continent, as well as among us, we find moral, political, historical, and 'psychological' novels. This last species, indeed, finds greater favour among the readers of 'young Germany,' than among Englishmen; and yet, the novel, has always seemed to us, admirably suited to trace the development of mental and moral character, and to exhibit those workings of 'the inner life,' as the Germans phrase it, which impel the outward conduct. In passing, we may just remark, how characteristic of the *moral* state of each country at the present time, are its novels. The chafing of free spirits under a galling yoke, the scorn of power, unaccompanied by mental or moral worth, the seeking about for rest and finding none; how are these characters of 'young Germany' shewn forth in all its novels. And then, France, what need is there to enquire into the statistics of Parisian crime? when the works of Balzac, Sand, and Eugène Sue, furnish such fearful exhibitions of the deep depravity of its inhabitants? It has, indeed, been a just cause for regret, that in this class of literature, foreign lands have offered so much that was positively evil; so very little of what with the utmost stretch of charity, could be termed even unexceptionable.

It is the widely different character of the works at the head of this article, no less than their high literary excellence, that renders us anxious to call the attention of our readers to them. The first two works on the list, have indeed, already received a short notice and commendation; but they are deserving of a more extended review.

We have been rather amused with the opinions of many of

our contemporaries respecting these Swedish tales. By some they have been compared to the novels of Richardson, by some, to those of Miss Austen; and the term 'homely Frederika Bremer,' has been applied to their author, as though she were the very artist of the kitchen, or the brew-house. We, therefore, took them up, prepared to find much lively and pleasant delineation of homely scenes, and every day people, a sort of Dutch painting, indeed, of common life. And 'common life' certainly, by if that be meant—

> 'Some natural tale of joy and pain,
> That hath been, and will be again,'

is delineated in these novels; but there is nothing commonplace;—none of the prosings in which amid their acknowledged excellencies the two before-mentioned writers indulge; but there is much descriptive talent, which strongly reminds us of delightful Miss Mitford, combined with a depth of reflection, and an eloquent earnestness, to which that justly admired writer has no claim.

The tales before us are remarkably simple in their general construction, for the aim of Frederika Bremer, is rather to paint character, than scenes; and turning over the nine volumes before us, we have been struck with the variety of character, of female character especially, which they present. The first of these works, 'The Neighbours,' is in some respects more interesting to the English reader than the others, from its more minute delineation of Swedish manners. 'Ma chere Mere,' with her high opinion of household duties, her quarterly visitation of every nook and corner, from garret to cellar, her strict discipline combined with so much hearty kindness, her strong practical sense, her sententious discourse so plentifully adorned with quaint proverbs, even her violin, and her 'helmet cap,' prove her to be an original with whom Miss Bremer has conversed, and yet she is an original which England in the present day could not produce. The picture of the aged couple too, who celebrate their 'golden marriage,' and the heartfelt gratulations of their fellow townspeople, afford a most favourable glimpse of Swedish domestic life; and the address, presented by the town council to them, brought to our minds the more simple, but more social days of old England, when neighbours strewed flowers in the bride's pathway, or joined in the procession of the Flitch, or welcomed with song and rejoicing—indeed with the selfsame observances—the completion of the fifty years of married life. We may here remark, that the state of society among the middle classes in Sweden, frequently reminds us of the state of the same classes in England during the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries. The mistress of the family is strictly the 'housewife;' superintending the bakings, and the brewings, the spinning, and the weaving; but still she is not the *mere* housewife; music beguiles her leisure hours, and she talks on French, and German, and English literature, with a feeling that shews a cultivation of mind, certainly beyond what the middle classes of women in England can shew.

The chief character in the second work, 'The Home,' strongly exhibits this; the family belong to the middle classes; and the mother is engaged in household duties, but her sitting room is adorned with paintings, her bookshelf exhibits an interesting collection of works, and her piano is not neglected, although 'citron cream,' and tea-cakes, and sugar-drops, sometimes occupy her morning. The two principal characters of these works, afford indeed a very pleasant picture of the Swedish lady; the lively, hearty Franziska, in the 'Neighbours,' worrying her 'bear' out of his quire of paper, and playing twenty girlish pranks, and then sitting patient and watchful by the bedside of 'ma chere mere;' and the gentle, earnest, poetical mother in the 'Home,' watching the opening minds of her children, and especially that of her 'summer child,' with those mixed feelings of hope and fear, which the delicate health of her darling and gifted boy awaken in her breast.

The most carefully written of Miss Bremer's works is, 'The President's Daughters;' and in this, too, the number and variety of her female characters are admirably arranged and brought out. The beautiful sister Adelaide loved, admired, and sought after; the plain and reserved sister Edla, conscious of her superior powers, but denied a sphere for their development, are in admirable contrast. The elegant Countess Natalie, rich in everything but feeling; the poor neglected Clara, rich in this alone, are another admirably contrasted pair; while the strong good sense and practical wisdom of Miss Greta, and the poetic imaginings of the gifted, but too highly wrought, Angelica, form a third pair of contrasts. Let not the reader, however, suppose that these contrasts are brought out formally; on the contrary, there are few writers who bring their various characters before us, with the ease and simplicity of Frederika Bremer. The quiet, matter of fact, propriety-loving, President, is admirably drawn too. Many of our readers will recognize his arguments against giving daughters a learned education. 'Women should remain in their own sphere, they should follow their destination' says the President, when urged to allow his daughter Edla opportunities for study: but the manner in which Mademoiselle Rönnquist answers them, speaks well for the superior education of women in Sweden.

The President is at length persuaded by good Mademoiselle Rönunquist to yield to Edla's wishes; and the gradual development of her mind is painted with great force and eloquence in the subsequent chapters. A character somewhat similar to Edla, is Petrea, in 'The Home;' and she also chooses a single life, and one of contemplation—indeed, this class of character seems to be a favorite one with Frederika Bremer.

After fourteen years the same party assemble together at the marriage of the President with the still lovely countess; and from the friendly gossip of Baron H. and Miss Greta, in the intervals between ices, jellies, and the superb supper, we learn all the changes that have taken place. The beautiful little twin Nina has now became a lovely young woman, and might have been a happy one, but for the dark shadow which Count Ludwig, one of the most unnatural of Miss Bremer's characters, casts over her prospects. Baron H——., by the way, one of the most natural male characters in the book, and Miss Greta, however, make sunshine with their quiet humour, and most characteristic courtship, which at length ends in marriage; and the third volume exhibits the President setting out for a warmer climate, attended by the noble-minded Edla; and the other *dramatis personæ*, assembled at the country seat of the countess in Nordland. The following extract, characteristic alike of Swedish customs, and of the general and practical feeling of the writer, although long, we must find space for:—

'They say in the north, that 'nature sleeps,' but this sleep resembles death; like death, it is cold and ghastly, and would obscure the heart of man, did not another light descend at the same time, if it did not open to the heart a warmer bosom and animate it with its life. In Sweden they know this very well, and whilst every thing sleeps and dies in nature, all is set in motion in all hearts and homes for the celebration of a festival. Ye know it well, ye industrious daughters of home, ye who strain your hands and eyes by lamplight quite late into the night to prepare presents. You know it well, you sons of the house, you who bite your nails in order to puzzle out 'what in all the world' you shall choose for Christmas presents. Thou knowest it well, thou fair child, who hast no other anxiety, than lest the Christman should lose his way and pass by thy door. You know it well, you fathers and mothers, with empty purses and full hearts: ye aunts and cousins of the great and immortal race of needle-women and workers in wool—ye welcome and unwelcome uncles and male cousins, ye know it well, this time of mysterious countenances and treacherous laughter! In the houses of the rich, fat roasts are prepared and dried fish; sausages pour forth their fat, and tarts puff themselves up; nor is there any hut so poor as not to have at this time a sucking-pig squeaking in it, which must endeavour, for the greater part, to grow fat with its own good humour.

'It is quite otherwise with the elements at this season. The cold reigns despotically; it holds all life fettered in nature; restrains the heaving of the sea's bosom; destroys every sprouting grass blade; forbids the birds to sing and the gnats to sport; and only its minister, the powerful north wind, rolls freely forth into grey space, and takes heed that every thing keeps itself immoveable and silent. The sparrows only—those optimists of the air—remain merry, and appear by their twittering to announce better times.

'At length comes the darkest moment of the year; the midnight hour of nature; and suddenly light streams forth from all habitations, and emulates the stars of heaven. The church opens its bosom full of brightness and thanksgiving, and the children shout full of gladness, 'It is Christmas! it is Christmas!' Earth sends her hallelujah on high!'

'And wherefore this light, this joy, this thanksgiving?' 'A child is born!' A child? In the hour of night, in a lowly manger, he has been born; and angels have also sung, 'Peace on earth!' This is the festival which shall be celebrated—and well may ye, you dear children, sound forth your cries of joy; Welcome, even though unconsciously, the hour in which this friend, this brother, was born to you; who shall guide you through life, who shall lighten the hour of death to you, and who one day shall verify all the dreams of your childhood; who shall stand beside you in necessity and care, and shall help to answer the great questions of life. Rejoice ye happy children, whom he blesses! Rejoice, and follow after him! He is come to lead you and all of us to God!

'These are inexhaustible, love-inspiring, wonderful, entrancing thoughts, in which man is never weary of plunging. The sick soul bathes in them as in a Bethesda, and is made whole; and in them the healthy find an elevating life's refreshment. Of this kind are thoughts on that child—his poverty, his lowliness, his glory!' — President's Daughters, vol. iii. pp. 6—9.

The many pictures of Swedish life, and Swedish scenery, render this third volume more interesting to us than the two preceding; and more interesting, because more characteristic, than even that pleasing story of 'The Home.' Here is the spectacle of 'the sun at midnight':—

'At Mattaränghe, in the parish of Tortula, not far from Tornea, the travellers had engaged rooms. From one of the hills there they proposed to view the solemn spectacle. The whole inn was surrounded by tents. Numbers of Lapland families, half wild hordes from Finnmark, stream at this season of midsummer towards this country, in order to feast here three days by the light of the never-descending sun, to play, to dance, and to go to church. Here the Frenchman saw with rapture, not indeed the originals of Victor Hugo's tragedy, but wild, strange, original shapes, with little twinkling eyes and broad hairy breasts, the miserable children of want and wretchedness, whose state of culture and inward life no romance writer has truly represented; because, indeed, the romance built on the reality of this district would turn out tolerably

meagre, and because love, this marrow of all romances, knows here no nobler, fairer aim than that which Helvetius would vainly attribute to it. The spirit of the earth holds the people here in captivity, and mole-like they creep only in the sand and about the roots of the tree of life. Sometimes, however, in their clear winter nights, by the indescribable splendour of the snow and of the stars, when they fly forth in their snow-shoes to chase the bear and the reindeer, then awakens in their bosoms a higher life,—then breathe they to pensive airs deep and affectionate feelings in simple beautiful love-songs. But they soon relapse again into their dark Laplandish night.

'In the mean time the German was in the third heaven at this sight, and at its lively contrast with the civilized world. Lady Louisa found all this 'rather curious,' and noted it down in her journal.

'The weather—strange enough—favoured all the undertakings of the travellers. The sky was clear, and a silent midnight saw all our travellers assembled in glad sunshine on one of the green hills. Slowly descended the sun; it extinguished one beam after another. All eyes followed it. Now it sank—lower—ever lower;—suddenly, however, it stood still, as if upheld by an invisible hand. Nature seemed, like them, to be in anxious suspense; not an insect moved its humming wing; all was silent; a death-like stillness reigned, while the sun, glowing red, threw a strange light over the earth. O wonderful almighty power! It began now again slowly to ascend; it clothed itself again with beams, like a pure glorified spirit; it became every moment more dazzling.

'A breath! and nature lives, and the birds sing again!— Ib. pp. 170-2.

The conclusion of this interesting tale is painful and disappointing. The marriage of Nina to Count Ludwig is an absolute injustice, which we wonder Frederika Bremer's clear mind did not intuitively perceive. There is also rather too much of the Quietist doctrine of the necessity, not only of deep suffering, but of welcoming it as a thing in itself good—a doctrine which has done, we think, much injury to religion among a certain class of characters. It were well if its advocates would remember, that scripture has said, 'Now no suffering for *the present* seemeth to be joyous, but grievous;' and that it is its *after* effects that produce 'the peaceable fruits of righteousness.' The conclusion of 'The Home' is certainly managed better than that of 'The President's Daughters.' The regrets of the mother over the loss of her 'summer child' are softened by the sight of the happy circle around her, and we feel that although willing to meet again her darling first-born, she cannot hail death as her only refuge from misery. But for Nina, we feel that her hopes are so wholly crushed, and her future so dark, that death would indeed be her best friend.

The lugubrious, however, is not Frederika Bremer's favorite style, her mind is too strong, her perceptions too clear; above

all, she possesses too bright a well-spring of poetic feeling,—to look abroad on creation with sorrowful eyes, and refuse to pronounce it 'good.' And in a pleasant, spring-tide spirit are her two last tales written. The first, entitled 'A Diary,' is the record of a lady who, after a ten years' absence, returns to Stockholm, on a visit to her mother-in-law. The following picture of the new year's ball at the Exchange, may well excite surprise in England. What would be said if Queen Victoria and her court paid an annual visit to Guildhall? not to sit listlessly under a crimson canopy, and talk only with her own court attendants, but to walk about conversing freely with all —and Prince Albert to begin the first quadrille with the daughter of some city tradesman? And yet this is done in Sweden. This 'new year's ball' is held in the Exchange, and the nobles take their seats at the upper part, the mercantile classes lower down, and the arrival of the royal family is the signal for the ball to begin.

'Slowly now began the quadrille to form itself at the upper end of the saloon. The royal chamberlains had gone round, and given out gracious invitations in the name of the illustrious guests. Now the Crown-princess, majestic and glittering with jewels, was seen to open the quadrille with Baker N., a little, stout old man, whose good-tempered polite behaviour shews how easily true moral education effaces every distinction in all, even in the greatest difference of ranks.

'The Crown-prince danced with a young lady of the citizen class; and Prince Carl with ——, our little new friend, who had feared so much that this evening she should not dance at all, and who now, on the hand of the young prince, beamed with the charm of youth and innocent lovely delight.

'She was pointed out as the eldest daughter of the wholesale dealer M——. In my own mind I saw her thinking, 'what will my sisters say to this!'

'Towards eleven the royal party went out into the large ante-room on the right, to receive and reply to the compliments of the diplomatic corps. When they again entered the saloon they began to make the great round of it, and I actually pitied them for the many unmeaning words which they must address to and hear from the many hundreds of people unknown to them. Yet the procession was beautiful and splendid to look at. The gorgeous dress of the Queen (she was almost covered with jewels) and her courteous demeanour occasioned deep bows and curtseys; people looked up with so much pleasure to the high and noble figures of the Crown-princess and her husband, and nobody noticed without joy and hope, the two young tall-grown slender princes; the one so brown and manly, the other fair and mild, and both with the bloom of unspoiled youth upon their fresh countenances.

'My eye, however, rivetted itself especially upon the Crown-princess. I remember so well, how I saw her twenty years ago make her entry as bride into Stockholm; how I saw her sitting in the gilded coach with

transparent glass windows; the delicate figure in a dress of silver gauze, a crown of jewels on her head, with cheeks so rosy, and eyes so heavenly blue, so beaming, greeting the people who filled the streets and houses, and thronged themselves around her carriage, and with an unceasing peel of shouted huzzas saluted in her the young lovely hope of the country. She was the sun of all eyes, and the sun of heaven looked out in pomp above her. Certainly, the heart of the young princess must have beaten high at this universal homage of love and joy—at this triumphal procession into the country—into the hearts of the people. Life has not many moments of such intense splendour.

'Signora Luna has told me, that when towards the end of the procession through the city, the princely bride came before the royal castle, and the carriage drove thundering through the high arched gateway, she suddenly bowed her head. When she raised it again her eyes were full of tears—with still devotion entered she her future habitation.

'I thought of all this as the royal train approached us by degrees. I thought how the hopes which the young princess had then awakened, were fulfilled; how her life since then had passed; thought how she had worked on in quiet greatness, as wife and mother—as the protectress of noble manners—as the promoter of industry—as the helper of the poor and suffering; as she now stood there an honour to her religion, to the land where she was born—to the people who now called her theirs,—and I loved and honoured her from the depths of my heart. I thought that I saw in her large expressive eyes that she felt the annoyance of the empty speeches which she had to make and to hear, and it seemed to me absurd, that merely for the sake of etiquette, that not one cordial word should this evening reach her ear. I therefore let my heart emancipate itself, and greeted her with a 'God bless your Highness!' The large eyes looked at me with some amazement, which, however, now took a colouring of friendship, as she pleasantly greeting us, past by and paused at Selma, whom she knew, and with whom she spoke with the utmost familiarity for some time, pleased, as it seemed, with the graceful and easy manner of my young sister. The Queen and my stepmother spoke French together, as if they had been youthful acquaintance. The Crown-prince talked with Lennartson, who now for some time had joined himself to us.'—A Diary, vol. i. pp. 120, 126-8.

We have something to learn from Sweden:—something, indeed, to learn from days of yore in our own land; for then there was a far freer interchange of friendly and familiar intercourse among different ranks, than we meet with in the present day. The history of society in most peoples' minds goes no farther back than the days of the Tudors, and then commenced 'right royal' formalities; but in the days of our nobler Plantagenets it was not so, kings and queens mingled in the pastimes of the people.

The following anecdote illustrative of 'Finnish obstinacy,' is interesting.

'When the Russians, in the year 1809, conquered Finnland, there

lived in the city of Wasa, two brothers, one the judge of the court of justice, the other a merchant, who, when the residents of the city were compelled to swear an oath of fidelity to the Emperor of the Russias, alone and stedfastly refused it.

' ' We have sworn an oath of fidelity to the King of Sweden, and unless he himself released us from it, we cannot swear obedience to another ruler,' remained their constant answer to all persuasions, as well friendly as threatening. Provoked by this obstinacy, and fearing the example which would be given by it, the Russians threw the stiff-necked brothers into prison and threatened them with death. Their answer remained always the same, to the increasing severity and multiplied threats of the Russians. At length the sentence of death was announced to them, as well as that, on a fixed day, they were to be conducted out to the Gallows-hill, and there be executed as criminals, in case their obstinacy did not give way and they took the required oath. The brothers were immovable. ' Rather,' replied the judge, in the name of both, ' will we die, than become perjured.'

' At this answer, a powerful hand struck the speaker on the shoulder. It was the Cossack who kept watch over the brothers, and now exclaimed with a kindling glance, ' Dobra kamerade' (' bravo comrade!')

' The Russian authorities spoke otherwise, and on the appointed day permitted the brothers to be carried out to the place of execution. They were sentenced to be hanged; but yet once more at this last hour, and for the last time, pardon was offered them if they would but consent to that which was required from them.

' ' No!' replied they, ' hang, hang! We are brought hither not for speech-making, but to be hanged.'

' This stedfastness softened the hearts of the Russians. Admiration took place of severity, and they rewarded the fidelity and courage of the brothers with magnanimity. They presented them not merely with life, but sent them free and safely over to Sweden, to the people and to the king to whom they had been true to the death. The King of Sweden elevated them to the rank of nobles, and after this they lived greatly esteemed in the capital of Sweden to a great age.'—Ib. pp. 188-9.

The 'Finnish obstinacy' of the heroine of the 'Diary' is, however, not quite so enduring as that of the brothers; for it yields to the ardent love of the Viking Brenner, and the story closes with her taking charge of his household, and his six small children.

The last tale, ' Strife and Peace,' places us in Norway, among its simple, strong-minded, deep-hearted people.

The following little scene introduces the hero and heroine of the tale. Susanna is feeding her poultry — she is a haughty Swede—Harald a no less haughty Norwegian.

' In that very moment a strong voice just beside her broke forth—

' How glorious is my fatherland,
The old sea-circled Norroway!' '

'And the steward, Harald Bergman, greeted smilingly Susanna, who said rather irritated—

'"You scream so, that you frighten the doves with your old Norroway."

'"Yes," continued Harald, in the same tone of inspiration—

'Yes, glorious is my fatherland,
The ancient rock-bound Norroway;
With flowery dales, crags old and grey,
That spite of time eternal stand!"

'"Old Norway," said Susanna as before; "I consider it a positive shame to hear you talk of your old Norway, as if it were older and more everlasting than the Creator himself!"

'"And where in all the world," exclaimed Harald, "do you find a country with such a proud, serious people; such magnificent rivers, and such high, high mountains?"

'"We have, thank God, men and mountains also in Sweden," said Susanna; "you should only see them; that is another kind of thing!"

'"Another kind of thing! What other kind of thing? I will wager that there is not a single goose in Sweden which could compare with our excellent Norway geese."

'"No, not one, but a thousand, and all larger and fatter than these. Every thing in Sweden is larger and more excellent than in Norway."

'"Larger? The people are decidedly smaller and weaker."

'"Weaker? smaller? you should only see the people in Uddevalla? my native city!"

'"How can anybody be born in Uddevalla? Does anybody really live in that city? How can anybody live in it? It is a shame to live in such a city! it is a shame also only to drive through it. It is so miserably small, that when the wheels of the travelling-carriage are at one end, the horse has already put his head out at the other. Do not talk about Uddevalla!"

'"No, with you it certainly is not worth while to talk about it, because you have never seen anything else besides Norwegian villages, and cannot, on that account, form any idea to yourself of a proper Swedish city."

'"Defend me from ever seeing such cities—defend me! And then your Swedish lakes! what wretched puddles they are, beside our glorious Norwegian ocean!"

'"Puddles! Our lakes! Great enough to drown the whole of Norway in!"

'"Ha, ha, ha! And the whole of Sweden is beside our Norwegian ocean no bigger than my cap! And this ocean would incessantly flow over Sweden, did not our Norway magnanimously defend it with its granite breast."

'"Sweden defends itself, and needs no other help! Sweden is a fine country!"

'"Not half as fine as Norway. Norway reaches heaven with its mountains; Norway comes nearest to the Creator."

'"Norway may well be presumptuous, but God loves Sweden the best."

' ' Norway, say I!'

' ' Sweden, say I!'

' ' Norway! Norway for ever! We will see whose throw goes the highest, who wins for his country. Norway first and highest!' and with this, Harald threw a stone high into the air.

' ' Sweden first and last!' exclaimed Susanna, whilst she slung a stone with all her might.

Fate willed it that the two stones struck against each other in the air, after which they both fell with a great plump down into the spring around which the small creatures had assembled themselves. The geese screamed; the hens and ducks flew up in terror; the turkey-hens flew into the wood, where the turkey-cock followed them, forgetting all his dignity; all the doves had vanished in a moment,—and with crimsoned cheeks and violent contention as to whose stone went the highest, stood Harald and Susanna alone beside the agitated and muddied water of discord.'—vol. ii. pp. 69—72,

From this day forward there is strife, a strife such as Benedict and Beatrice waged, and of which Shakespere told us long ago; a strife which brings out the noble qualities of each disputant, who fall in love, even while professing bitter hostility. The whole of this part is admirably written, and the quiet humour with which Harald's pretended extravagancies are told, shows that Miss Bremer's *forte* is not merely in the pathetic. But the 'strife' was not without occasional peace.

'At intervals the spirit of peace also turned towards them, although as a timid dove, which is always ready soon to fly away hence. When Susanna spoke, as she often did, of that which lived in the inmost of her heart; of her love to her little sister, and the recollections of their being together; of her longings to see her again, and to be able to live for her as a mother for her child,—then listened Harald ever silently and attentively. No jeering smile nor word came to disturb these pure images in Susanna's soul. And how limningly did Susanna describe the little Hulda's beauty; the little white child, as soft as cotton-wool, the pious blue eyes, the white little teeth, which glanced out whenever she laughed like bright sunshine, which then lay spread over her whole countenance; and the golden locks which hung so beautifully over forehead and shoulders, the little pretty hands, and temper and heart lively, good, affectionate! Oh! she was in short an angel of God! The little chamber, which Susanna inhabited with her little Hulda, and which she herself had changed from an unused lumber-room into a pretty chamber, and whose walls she herself painted, she painted now from memory yet once more for Harald; and how the bed of the little Hulda was surrounded with a light-blue muslin curtain, and how a sunbeam stole into the chamber in the morning, in order to shine on the pillow of the child, and to kiss her little curly head. How roguish was the little one when Susanna came in late at night to go to bed, and cast her first glance on the bed in which her darling lay. But she saw her not, for Hulda drew her little head under the coverlet to hide herself from her sister. Susanna then would pretend

to seek for the little one; but she needed only to say with an anxious voice, 'where—ah, where is my little Hulda?' in order to decoy forth the head of the little one, to see her arms stretched out, and to hear her say, 'here I am, Sanna! here is thy little Hulda!' And she had then her little darling in her arms, and pressed her to her heart; then was Susanna happy, and forgot all the cares and the fatigues of the day.

'At the remembrance of these hours Susanna's tears often flowed, and prevented her remarking the tearful glow which sometimes lit up Harald's eyes.'—Ib. pp. 95, 96.

The arrival of Harald's sister, Alette, a young woman of superior talents, and carefully educated, awakens poor Susanna's anxieties; and not without jealousy does the strong-minded and upright, but uncultivated Swedish maiden, watch the graceful movements, and fascinating manners of the new comer. One evening, when assembled in the sitting-room, an animated conversation arises, on the discovery of America, and the prophet's spirit which guided Columbus in his discovery of a new world—topics which prove the high cultivation of the Norwegians, even among the agricultural classes; Alette expresses herself with much eloquence, while poor Susanna sits unnoticed. But Susanna is religious, and the struggle of her better nature, and its victory, are beautifully painted.

'Great and beautiful scenes had, during the foregoing conversation, arisen before her view;—she felt herself so little, so poor beside them. Ah! she could not once speak of the great and beautiful, for her tongue was bound. She felt so warmly, and yet could warm no one! The happy Alette won without trouble, perhaps even without much valuing it, a regard, an approval, which Susanna would have purchased with her life. The Barbra-spirit boiled up in her, and with a reproachful glance to heaven she exclaimed, 'Shall I then for my whole life remain nothing but a poor despised maid-servant?'

'The heaven looked down on the young maiden mildly but smilingly; soft rain-drops sprinkled her forehead; and all nature around her stood silent, and, as it were, in sorrow. This sorrowing calm operated on Susanna like the tenderly accusing glance of a good mother. She looked down into her heart, and saw there envy and pride, and she shuddered at herself. She gazed down into the stream which waved beneath her feet, and she thought with longing, 'O that one could but plunge down, deep, deep into these waves, and then arise purified—improved!'

'But already this wish had operated like a purifying baptism on Susanna's soul; and she felt fresh and light thoughts ascend within her. 'A poor maid-servant!' repeated now Sanna; 'and why should that be so contemptible a lot? The Highest himself has served on earth; served for all, for the very least; yes, even for me. O!'—and it became continually lighter and warmer in her mind—'I will be a true maid-servant, and place my honour in it, and desire to be nothing else!

Charm I cannot; beauty and genius, and beautiful talents, I have not; but—I can love and I can serve, and that will I do with my whole heart, and with all my strength, and in all humility; and if men despise me, yet God will not forsake the poor and faithful maid-servant!'

'When Susanna again cast her tearful eyes on the ground, they fell on a little piece of moss, one of those very least children of nature, which in silence and unheeded pass through the metamorphoses of their quiet life. The little plant stood in fresh green, on its head hung the clear rain-drops, and the sun which now shone through the clouds, glittered in them.

'Susanna contemplated the little moss, and it seemed to say to her: 'See thou! though I am so insignificant, yet I enjoy the dew of heaven and the beams of the sun, as fully as the roses and the lilachs of the garden!' Susanna understood the speech of the little plant, and grateful and calmed, she repeated many times to herself, with a species of silent gladness—'a humble, a faithful maid-servant!''—ib pp. 169-171.

From henceforth Susanna goes on in her appointed round of simple duties, unconscious of the improvement of her mind, and the increasing delight with which she is viewed, both by the lady to whom she acts as housekeeper, and by Harald, whose 'strife' now assumes a more playful form. In the sequel, a journey to Bergen is undertaken, and the travellers would have perished in the snow-storm, but for the energy and faithful service of Susanna. This, however, costs her dear, and after an illness of many months, she returns with Mrs. Astrid, but prepared to bid her farewell.

'They arrived now in Semb, and were greeted by Alfiero with barkings of clamorous delight.—Susanna, with a tear in her eye, greeted and nodded to all beloved acquaintances, both people and animals.

'The windows in Mrs. Astrid's room stood open, and through them were seen charming prospects over the dale, with its azure stream, its green heights and slopes, and the peaceful spire of its church in the background. She herself stood, as in astonishment, at the beauty of the grove, and her eyes flashed as she exclaimed—

'See Susanna! Is not our dale beautiful? And will it not be beautiful to live here, to make men happy, and be happy oneself?'

'Susanna answered with a hasty yes, and left the room. She felt herself ready to choke, and yet once more arose Barbra in her, and spoke thus—

'Beautiful? Yes, for her. She thinks not of me; troubles herself not the least about me? Nor Harald neither! The poor maid-servant, whom they had need of in the mountain journey, is superfluous in the dale. She may go; they are happy now; they are sufficient to themselves. Whether I live or die, or suffer, it is indifferent to them. Good! I will therefore no longer trouble them. I will go, go far, far from here. I will trouble myself no farther about them; I will forget them as they forget me.'

'But tears, notwithstanding, rolled involuntarily over Susanna's cheeks, and the Barbra wrath ran away with them, and Sanna resumed—

''Yes, I will go: but I will bless them wherever I go. May they find a maid equally faithful, equally devoted! May they never miss Susanna! And then, my little Hulda, then my darling and sole joy, soon will I come to thee. I will take thee into my arms, and carry thee to some still corner, where undisturbed I may labour for thee. A bit of bread and a quiet home, I shall find sufficient for us both. And when my heart aches, I will clasp thee to me, thou little soft child, and thank God that I have yet some one on earth whom I can love, and who loves me!'

'Just as Susanna finished this ejaculation, she was at the door of her room. She opened it—entered—and stood dumb with astonishment. Were her senses yet confused, or did she now first wake out of year-long dreams? She saw herself again in that little room in which she had spent so many years of her youth, in that little room which she herself had fitted up, had painted and embellished, and had often described to Harald;—and there by the window stood little Hulda's bed, with its flowery coverlet, and blue muslin hangings. This scene caused the blood to rush violently to Susanna's heart, and, out of herself, she cried—'Hulda! my little Hulda!'

'Here I am, Sanna! Here is thy little Hulda!' answered the clear joyous voice of a child, and the coverlet of the bed moved, and an angelically beautiful child's head peeped out, and two small white arms stretched themselves towards Susanna. With a cry of almost wild joy Susanna sprang forward, and clasped the little sister in her arms.

'Susanna was pale, wept and laughed, and knew not for some time what went on around her. But when she had collected herself, she found herself sitting on Hulda's bed, with the child folded in her arms, and over the little, light-locked head, lifted itself a manly one, with an expression of deep seriousness and gentle emotion.

''Entreat Susanna, little Hulda,' said Harald, 'that she bestow a little regard on me, and that she does not say nay to what you have granted me; beg that I may call little Hulda my daughter, and that I may call your Susanna, my Susanna!'

''O yes! That shalt thou, Susanna!' exclaimed little Hulda, while she with child-like affection threw her arms about Susanna's neck, and continued zealously: 'O, do like him, Susanna! He likes thee so much; that he has told me so often, and he has himself brought me hither to give thee joy.'—ib. pp. 258—261.

We have been rather unsparing in our extracts, but amid so much that is excellent, it is difficult to determine what to leave out, and it is long indeed since we have met with seven volumes so replete with amusement and instruction—instruction of the highest and most delightful kind. The genius of the far north has often, in the earlier periods of our history, exercised a brotherly influence upon us, for the Scandinavian and the Englishman alike derive their origin from the great Teutonic family; and thus the heroes and heroines of Swedish

life, appear to us as kinsfolk, wearing a slightly different garb, and speaking perhaps a slightly different language, but true in tastes, and home feeling to the people of our land. 'Sweden is a poor but noble country,' says Frederika Bremer, 'England is a rich and noble one; but in spirit they are sisters, and should know each other as such.' In this declaration we heartily join, and as heartily thank the author for her delightful tales:—many valuable gifts have we received from our northern brethren, but few more valuable than these.

Art. V. *Arts, Antiquities, and Chronology of ancient Egypt: from observations in* 1839. By George H. Wathen, Architect. With Illustrations from Original Sketches. London: Longman and Co. 1843.

With Abraham the Hebrew, and his brief sojourn in Egypt, the religious interest of that country may be said to begin. Our previous knowledge of it, so far as gathered from the inspired scriptures, may be summed up in three facts: that it was peopled by the descendants of Mizraim, Ham's second son, at a very early period after the dispersion from Babel: that it was resorted to as a corn country; and that it was under the dominion of the Pharaohs. The two latter facts we learn from the narrative of Abraham's journey thither, in Gen. xii., 10—20. Till very recent times, nearly all the light which had been thrown upon its early history was emitted from the Hebrew scriptures, or in those doubtful stories which Herodotus (whom we might call the Grecian Froissart, but that the comparison would be too injurious to the modern) collected with so much pains in their mother-land, and recorded with equal simplicity in his history. What else there was lay buried, for the most part, in grottoes, tombs and ruins—an impenetrable secret, as it seemed, of which the colossal Sphynx was at once the guardian and the symbol. The nether part of Milton's 'Sin' was 'as distinguishable in member, joint, and limb,' as this portion of Egyptian history remained for ages. But of late, these fragments have assumed some appearance of form and organization. Light, long latent, has, by the hand of science, been liberated from the dust, or struck out from the rock, or disentangled from the hieroglyph; and the papyrus, and mummy chest, and 'chamber of imagery,' and obelisk, and slab, and sarcophagus, and ancient native chronicle, genealogy, and tradition, long hopelessly preserved in foreign digests, have been compared together, and with whatever was possessed before of trust-worthy history, have at length filled many a long void with probable

facts and yield fair promise of a much closer approximation to historical completeness.

All this, in common with all who are aware of the importance of the facts which may be considered as already established, we view with the liveliest gratification. There is, and we suppose there always will be, a class of men—we had well nigh said reasoners, and we have no objection to call them such, if our so doing be not understood to imply that we consider them sound reasoners — to whom no 'sermons' are good but those they find 'in stones,' and to whom a very old inscription recently found or decyphered, or a very new theory composed of very old and previously unconnected materials, is 'confirmation strong as proof of holy writ,' and stronger than all those supernatural evidences by which holy writ is attested. To such minds, Egypt supplies, in reference to the various parts of the history of ancient Israel, documents above suspicion; so that he who would have read with a sneer the biblical narrative of Shishak's invasion of Palestine, will shut his mouth before the commemorative pictures of it at Karnak; and the battle in the plain of Megiddo, at which Josiah fell, through his unadvised opposition to Pharaoh-Necho's passage to the Euphrates—a mere object for the quibbles of the sceptic, as it is narrated in the Book of Chronicles—is a historical fact, as represented in its issue, or supposed to be so, on the pictured walls of the conqueror's sepulchre.

Results of this description, constituting the exterior bulwarks of the inspired books of our religion, and therefore of the faith itself, have imparted to Egypt and Petra, in recent times, an interest which may be called religious. And in this way the land where the family of Mizraim settled—where Abraham was a sojourner, and Joseph a captive and a prince—where Israel was in bondage, and Moses was cradled in the rushes—whence Jehovah made a path for his people through the sea, and a way for them amidst deep waters—where their subsequent humiliation was imperishably recorded, in the sealed sepulchres of kings —and where an asylum was found for his incarnate Son, 'the Child of Bethlehem,' is only second in historical interest to that favoured one

> 'Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
> Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed,
> For our advantage, on the bitter cross.'

The work before us is the production of an architect, who visited Egypt, as he tells us in his preface, 'partly for professional improvement, and partly to satisfy that curiosity to explore her wonders, which, from the times of the venerable historian of Halicarnassus to our own, has attracted so many to her shores.' It is therefore principally devoted to the arts and

antiquities of the country; and among these, architecture is the prominent subject. The kindred arts of sculpture and painting are dispatched in one section; but five sections are devoted to the architectural monuments of Egypt, besides one which treats of architectural construction. We have met with no account of these ancient monuments so satisfactory as that which Mr. Wathen's volume furnishes. It is succinct, but sufficient. The descriptions, which are themselves very lucid, are further illustrated by several excellent lithographs. Considerable pains have been taken to justify the dates ascribed to those remains whose origin is more than usually obscure. And for the express purpose, as it would seem, of rendering the evidence which is alleged in support of the author's views, as the remains are severally treated, more instructive and satisfactory to the reader, the first part of the work (pp. 28—91) is devoted to the 'Chronology of ancient Egypt,' and this is ushered in with a preliminary chapter 'on the genealogical character of the royal ovals.'

As it is our principal intention, in this paper, to avail ourselves of Mr. Wathen's professional skill in describing some of the most remarkable remains by which Egypt is so distinguished, we shall not allow ourselves to be tempted into any discussion of the various chronological questions mooted in the first part of his work. There is, however, one subject treated of in this part—the age of the pyramids—which is of too great interest to be entirely omitted. On this, therefore, and the more especially on account of the important light which, in our opinion, Mr. Wathen has thrown upon it, we shall give a brief account of his views, and, for the same reasons, we shall extract some thoughts from his preliminary chapter on the genealogical character of the royal ovals. We shall follow the author's order, in taking the latter subject first.

'Two important facts,' says Mr. Wathen, 'have hitherto escaped the notice of Egyptian antiquaries. 1. The construction of the hieroglyphic names and standards of the ancient monarchs bore a remarkable resemblance to the quartering of arms in modern heraldry. On analysing them, we find what is strictly analogous to arms of descent, arms of alliance, arms of adoption, and of dominion. Hence, from the names and standards of a king, we may often learn his extraction, paternal and maternal, and, when descended from the reigning family, what was his claim to the throne. 2. Different physiognomies, each characteristic of a different royal family, are distinctly traceable in the portraits of the kings, preserved on the walls of the ancient monuments. The Egyptian physiognomy, the Ethiopian, and the mixture of the two, may each be plainly recognized. Even the characteristic lineaments of the different families, purely Egyptian, are accurately given.

'The facts deducible from these two sources confirm and illustrate each other. Together they throw a new light on the whole period of

monumental history, commencing within a few centuries of the flood; render plain and certain what was before doubtful and obscure in notices of ancient Egypt scattered in sacred and profane history; and furnish a clue to the mazes of the Manethonian dynasties. We can now understand why the 'new king' who arose in Egypt 'knew not Joseph' and his family. We can explain how the Ethiopians came to be united with the Egyptians under Shishak's banners in his expedition into Asia, and why Ethiopia was so commonly associated with Egypt by the sacred writers. [Nahum, iii. 8, 9; Isa. xliii. 3; Jer. xlvi. 8. 9] We can ascertain, with tolerable accuracy, which were the eighteen Ethiopians who, Herodotus was told, had reigned in Egypt in ancient times. We can explain the dissensions between Amenof III., and Amun-Toonh, the supposed Danaus; can satisfactorily account for the omission of the first king of the nineteenth dynasty from the monumental lists; can discover how the great Ramses [the Remeses] acquired the traditional name of Sesostris; why Nectanebo, nearly the last of the Pharaohs, assumed the prenomen of Osirtasen I., one of the very earliest; and on what the short-lived dynasty that ruled Egypt in Isaiah's time might have rested their claim to be 'the sons of ancient kings,' Isaiah, xix. 11.'

We cannot follow the author through the details by which he illustrates the 'two important facts' above specified. It must suffice to state, that he makes it very probable that the hieroglyphic ovals were genealogical, and that in the first of the two ovals by which the name and style of every Egyptian monarch were expressed, 'were blazoned the bearings derived from the prenomen of the father; in the second, those derived from the second name of the father, or from the name of the mother, or mother's father, or in some cases from the wife, or her father.' This investigation is greatly assisted by the fact, that the ovals comprise the titles of the Roman emperors, some of which, as for example those of Titus, when compared with Vespasian's, and those of Geba and Caracalla, when compared with those of Severus, strongly corroborate the results presented by the earlier ones. Some extant portraits also come in aid. 'Thus the oval of Ames-nofreari, the queen of Amenof I., indicates her descent from Nofre-ftep, or Osirtasen III., a monarch of the Ethiopian race: her portrait displays the lineaments of Cush, and she is painted *black*.' The characteristic physiognomies of different royal families as indicated in the preceding extract, are also rendered obvious by six portraits represented on page 10, and plate 2.*

* Mr. Wathen has also given copies of the principal ovals in plate iii. The originals may be seen on the celebrated tablet of Abydos, now in the British Museum, and of which an accurate woodcut occurs in the Religious Tract Society's beautiful and attractive work entitled 'The Antiquities of Egypt,' &c., 1841. The ovals in that cut are not all of them so complete as

The preliminary chapter concludes with an attempt to trace our shields as blazoned by the heralds up to these Egyptian ovals. The author supposes that the templars, and other secret orders, may have obtained it from the Druses of Mount Lebanon, who are 'said to be a Mahommedan sect, founded in the tenth century by the profligate Egyptian sultan, Hakem.' The subject is curious; and the Egyptian origin of heraldry is not improbable, whether it be possible or not to trace it as consecutively as Mr. Wathen has suggested.

Proceeding upon considerations entitled to the greatest attention, our author has in his first part, on the 'Chronology of Ancient Egypt,' assigned a much later date to the pyramids than those to whom we are indebted for our most valuable information respecting the antiquities of that country, have uniformly done. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,' published in 1837, says, (vol. i. p. 19)—'The oldest monuments of Egypt, and probably of the world, are the pyramids to the north of Memphis; but the absence of hieroglyphics and of every trace of sculpture, precludes the possibility of ascertaining the exact period of their erection, or the names of their founders. From all that can be collected on this head, it appears that Suphis, and his brother Sensuphis, erected them about the year 2120, B.C.; and the tombs in their vicinity may have been built or cut in the rock shortly after their completion. These present the names of very ancient kings, whom we are still unable to refer to any certain epoch, or to place in the series of dynasties; but whether they were contemporary with the immediate predecessors of Osirtasen, or ruled the whole of Egypt, is a question that I do not as yet pretend to answer.' As Sir Gardner considers that this Osirtasen, usually called the first, was contemporary with the Hebrew Joseph, (being, indeed, the Pharaoh whose prime minister the latter became, vol. i. p. 43) the pyramids were, in his view, erected before the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt; but though he speaks of the shepherd-kings as ruling in Lower Egypt before and during the reign of Osirtasen, he says decidedly that these monuments are 'evidently Egyptian.' He agrees with others, that the Suphis of Manetho is identical with the Cheops of Herodotus, but follows Manetho in ascribing to him a date anterior to the Pharaohs of whom we read in Genesis and Exodus, and holds that Herodotus has 'strangely misplaced' him, in making him posterior to

those given in Mr. Wathen's work, for the tablet has been mutilated since it was first copied. We would recommend this publication of the Tract Society to those who have a taste for antiquities, and regret that we did not possess it in time to give a fuller notice of it.

Sesostris, (Remeses ii.) the builder of the Memnonium at Thebes.

The same early date is assigned to these remarkable monuments by Hales, in his Chronology; whose historical comparisons gave him the date of 2095 B.C., as that at which the first pyramid began to be built.' This agreement of Hales with Wilkinson, as it rested upon independent investigations, and embraced not this question only, but the larger one respecting the date and duration of the dynasty of the shepherd kings, had considerable effect in determining the judgment of Mr. Kitto, who has himself travelled in the Levant, and is a diligent and acute antiquary and chronologist, towards the same conclusion, which he has accordingly supported in a note on page 85 of his valuable History of Palestine. Mr. Kitto was, in part, influenced by the confirmation given to the same view by the tradition, noticed by Herodotus, 'that at the time the pyramids were erected, a shepherd called Philitis fed his flock in that country, and that his name was given to these renowned erections.' Hence he argues, that as Philitis means a shepherd, these shepherds were the Philistines, a warlike nomade race, who were ruling in Egypt at the time of Abraham's sojourn in the country, but were expelled before Joseph was carried thither, and who then taking possession of the south-western coast of Canaan, gave their name, Pali-sthan, (that is, shepherd-land) first to the district they appropriated, and afterwards to the whole of that country. In the name Pali-sthan, our readers will discover another coincidence in an extract we shall presently place before them. Meanwhile we observe, that this opinion of Hales, Wilkinson, and Kitto, was clearly the most probable of any till Colonel Vyse succeeded in exploring the interior of the first and largest pyramid. This he did in 1837, the year in which Sir Gardner Wilkinson's just-quoted work was published, but several months after it was printed, when some evidence was brought to light, which our author has sufficiently stated and applied in the following argument upon the subject.

'Most modern writers are agreed in referring these extraordinary works to an extremely remote age. According to some they are anterior even to Abraham. Most imagine that Cheops and his successors reigned at that early period; some, however, on the authority of the Greek historians, give this dynasty a much later date, but, resolved that the pyramids shall have an excessive antiquity, will not allow that they founded them. Yet Herodotus and Diodorus, both drawing their information from original Egyptian sources, distinctly state that these were the founders, and that they lived in an age which nearly coincided with that of Solomon. Diodorus, who flourished under Julius Cæsar, says that the great pyramid was built about 1000 years before his time;

and if we count back the reigns of the successors of Cheops as given by Herodotus, the accession of this king will likewise fall into the tenth century before our era. It must not be forgotten, too, that though the slight notices given by these authors of the earlier ages of Egyptian history are extravagant, discordant and interrupted by long chasms, yet after the accession of Cheops their narratives are continuous, consistent in themselves, and, upon the whole, harmonious with each other, and with scripture history. A circumstance related by Herodotus seems conclusive against the notion of the patriarchal antiquity of this dynasty. He tells us that the body of the daughter of Mycerinus, the founder of the third pyramid (not a tyrant like his two predecessors) was deposited in a wooden heifer placed within a superb hall at Sais, and that *when he visited Egypt* costly aromatics were still burnt before it by day, while it was nightly honoured with a splendid illumination.* Is it conceivable that this wooden heifer, with its golden ornaments and purple trappings, could have withstood the corroding breath of a thousand or fifteen hundred years, or that the honours paid the beloved daughter of Mycerinus should have survived all the revolutions of those long ages?

'The opinion which, in opposition to such evidence, assigns to the pyramids a date within a few centuries of the Flood, ought to be supported by unanswerable arguments, and such, I believe, are nowhere to be found. There is, in truth, an atmosphere of mystery overspreading Egyptian antiquity, tincturing every object with the hues of the marvellous, and predisposing us to refer objects and events to the most remote antiquity, until the falsity of the assumption has been demonstrated. The early civilization of the country, the colossal scale of its public works, the interest with which they have been visited and examined in every age, and yet the obscurity in which they have till recently been involved, all conspire to this result. Thus Larcher† constructed his laboured scheme of Egyptian chronology, carrying back the origin of the nation to an extravagantly remote age: his hollow foundation soon sank, and his whole fabric came tumbling to the ground. Thus, too, when Denon found the famous zodiac and planisphere at Denderah, how eagerly the French *savants* caught at the new argument which so triumphantly proved that Egypt was a civilized country long before the Mosaic æra of the Creation! And how soon did that argument vanish under the keen gaze of philosophic truth!

* He adds that every year the heifer was brought out from its apartment, to comply with the dying request of the princess, that once a year she might behold the sun.—Herod. ii. 132.

† It may be in the recollection of some of our readers that it was this Larcher who, as noticed in a former paper (on Kitto's Palestine, vol. x. p. 553 of the present series), represented the measure which Joseph, under God's direction, advised for the preservation of Egypt from the effects of a seven years famine, as the barbarous counsel of a stranger, who, having married a priest's daughter, left the possessions and privileges of the priesthood untouched while introducing measures which forced all the rest of the nation into slavery. Noticing this subject again thus incidentally, we cannot forbear referring those who consider that the narrative of Joseph's administration, as given in Genesis, was in any respect severe or rapacious, to Mr. Kitto's masterly discussion of it in the above-mentioned work.—Rev.

'That the great pyramids are works of a very early date is argued, 1st, from the fact that the names of the kings who founded them occur in the fourth of Manetho's thirty-one dynasties; and that three names somewhat like these occur in the list of Eratosthenes, not very far from the beginning: 2nd, from an incidental remark of Herodotus, that the Egyptians, detesting the memory of their founders, called their pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis, who at that time fed his cattle in those parts—a statement, which combined with certain Hindoo traditions, has been supposed by some to connect these works with the ancient shepherd kings: 3rd, from the (supposed) absence of hieroglyphics upon them, whence it has been imagined that they were built before the custom of inscribing public monuments, so universal in the Thebaid, came into use.'

To make room for Mr. Wathen's reply to the third argument, which, as it falls, obviously, more than the other two within the range of his professional studies, we are anxious to give entire, we must content ourselves with an abstract of what he has said upon the first and second.

In answer to the first argument he maintains—that as 'Manetho's own work is lost, and his canon, as given by his copyists, carries back the history of Egypt to a period long before the creation,' the statements attributed to him are not to be entirely relied on; that respecting the earliest dynasties, in particular, the copyists are most obscure and discordant; that Manetho was two centuries later than Herodotus, who wrote within four centuries of the period to which he assigns the founder of the third pyramid; that the discrepancy between the two can be accounted for, if we suppose the names of the 'hated race who built the pyramids' had been expunged from the registers—('a conjecture strongly supported by the *entire* omission of their dynasty, and the period of its duration in the Old Chronicle,')* in which case, Manetho, compiling from these registers, would omit them in their proper place, while he [or his copyists] might make up the chronological period as a whole, by inserting them in the early and obscurer period; and that, in fact, the Egyptian chronicler himself seems to hint such a transposition, for he observes of this dynasty, that they were 'Memphites of a *different race*,' a description not only unlike in manner to every other in

* The Old Chronicle was a tablet containing 30 dynasties in 113 descents, and which is preserved in Syncellus's Chronicon. It is described in pages 32 and 33 of Mr. Wathen's work. Our author has also specified in his introductory chapter, and elsewhere, several instances of such erasures as are mentioned in the text above: e.g. that of Amun-neitgori, p. 11, that of Amun-Toonh, 'whose name was ordered to be erased from every monument in the valley of the Nile, from the Mediterranean to the far Ethiopia.' He also refers to an example of this general erasure, which is visible on the granite lion at the British Museum.

his account, but quite uncalled for, unless we suppose some special circumstance, not obvious on the face of document. As to Eratosthenes, if as is generally and with probable correctness admitted, the three names mentioned by him were intended for Cheops and his successors, that circumstance would at once intimate some error in his catalogue. For the canon of Eratosthenes is said to be of 'Theban' kings, and the builders of the pyramid certainly reigned in Lower Egypt.

To the second argument Mr. Wathen replies—that the supposed confirmation of the tradition mentioned by Herodotus, derived from the two Hindoo legends which Lieutenant Welford found in the Vedas, is completely neutralized by Herodotus himself. One of those legends states that the Pali (Shepherds) an Indian race, being expelled their country, migrated to Ethiopia, and settled in a district which corresponds to that of Meroe. The other, 'which is of a more fabulous cast,' speaks of a king who lived in a dark cavern on the banks of the Nile in Ethiopia, whose son Tamovatsa, hearing that Misrasthan or Egypt was suffering from the despotism of a tyrant, subdued him, and reigned in his stead. His grandson Rucmavatsa, 'who also tenderly loved his people, improves the country, and amasses such immense treasure, that he raises three mountains, Rucmadri, Rajatadri, and Retnadri, or the mountains of gold, of silver, and of gems.' From these legends it is inferred that the invasion of Tamovatsa* was that of the 'shepherds,' and that Rucmavatsa was the founder of the pyramids. But Herodotus had named Cheops and his two next successors as the founders, and that it was the memory of two of these which was so hateful to the Egyptians. These absurd legends, therefore, contradict the tradition, by ascribing (as interpreted for the purposes of this argument) the erection of the pyramids to a single prince, and to one whose memory must have been dear to the people. The other Hindoo tradition, too, contradicts all other historical traditions; for it represents the Pali as passing from Ethiopia to Egypt, while they all agree in making the shepherd invaders come from the north.†

'The last argument, derived from the absence of hieroglyphics, was never of much weight when properly considered, and it has been almost entirely disposed of by the facts brought to light in Col. Vyse's opera-

* 'According to Josephus, *Timaus* was the name of the Egyptian king whom the shepherds *conquered*: it is maintained that he is identical with *Tamovatsa*, the conquerer in the Hindoo legend, a singular transposition truly. —*Wathen*, p. 56.

† Little weight can be attached to the resemblance between Philitis and Pali. Traces of a people, of a name similar to this, are found in India, in Palestine, in Epirus, and in the north-east of Italy.—*Wathen*, note, p. 58.

tions in 1837. Hieroglyphics have at length been found within the mysterious penetralia of the great pyramid. True they are scrawled upon a rough walled-up chamber—a mere void in the masonry, formed to lessen the load over the roof of the chief apartment. Yet these rude inscriptions fully prove that the hieroglyphic system was in use and perfected when the pyramids were erected. It cannot be answered that they may have been written in an after age, for this chamber was in the midst of solid masonry; the explorers forced their entrance with gunpowder. The hieroglyphics within, must, therefore, be coeval with the structure itself. They appear indeed to have been traced on the stones before they were set in the building. 'Still' it may be urged, 'the tombs at Thebes are covered with hieroglyphics and symbolic paintings, yet the walls of the passages and finished apartments of the pyramids present not a trace of either.' But how different is the Theban tomb from the Memphian pyramid! In a royal sepulchre at Thebes we have spacious halls and corridors excavated in the mountain, and entered through a wide external doorway. Here was no grand front to receive the commemorative inscriptions of the founder. He was obliged, therefore, to place them on the walls *within*. Light entered through the doorway, and threw a glimmering far into the interior. The pyramids, on the contrary, rearing their broad fronts to heaven, offered a magnificent field for *external* hieroglyphic blazonry, which it is not strange the founders preferred to the dark chambers far recessed within, or excavated in the rock beneath the building. We have Herodotus's testimony that the great pyramid in his time bore the inscriptions of Cheops, and some remains of the inclined exterior or casing* on which these were doubtless graven, but which was removed by the Saracens, have recently been discovered at the base.'

In his closing paragraph, our author speaks in his professional character; and argues from their material and construction the later origin of these imposing edifices. The hieroglyphic evidence to which he refers in the next extract is to the effect that the name which, as we have just seen, was discovered rudely traced in the interior masonry of the great pyramids, occurs in a tomb in the vicinity *next in order* to another oval, which, with the addition of one character, is precisely that of Shebek, (probably the Sethos of Herodotus,) who lived in the eighth century before Christ, and was contemporary with Tirhakah.

'That the pyramids date from the patriarchal age, or are the works of the migratory Hucsos, rests then upon arguments utterly insufficient to invalidate the contrary testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus. That the princes who founded them were powerful and opulent is proved by their having been able to erect such structures. That they governed the whole of Egypt may be inferred from their employing the granite of the

* This was not formed of slabs, but of massive blocks in successive horizontal courses.

quarries of Syene at the southernmost limit of the country. That before their time the art of building had long been practised in Egypt, and on a mighty scale, is shown by the difficulties of construction, encountered and overcome, and in the excellence of the workmanship, vast blocks being raised hundreds of feet, and put together with admirable precision. A careful comparison of the Old Chronicle and Manetho's canon with scriptural and hieroglyphic evidence will, I think, entirely confirm the statements of the Greek historians, fix the accession of this dynasty to within half a century after the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak, and thus let in light upon this obscure period of Egyptian history, and fill up a hiatus which modern chronologers have been obliged to admit about this time.

Not the least wonder or difficulty connected with these pyramids is, whence came the wealth that paid for their erection? On this point, as well as the preceding, our author's hypothesis is more satisfactory to us than any which is offered by any other theory of their origin. According to Mr. Wathen, they were reared less than half a century after Shishak returned to Egypt with the spoils of Solomon's temple. How great these spoils were, may be gathered from the pages of holy writ*. It is certainly remarkable that Rhampsinitus, who, according to Herodotus, immediately preceded Cheops, was regarded as the richest of Egyptian kings. 'It was then, the spoils of the temple that furnished Cheops and his successors with the means of raising successively those wonderful structures, the erection of one of which might have drained a kingdom of half its wealth. Thus viewed, they assume a new and deeper interest. They are no longer mere tombs of forgotten kings. They are monuments of the unbounded wealth of Solomon—of the magnificent garniture of the first temple. They record how rich the presents and tribute that then poured into Judea from powerful allies and subject kingdoms. The offerings of the Queen of Sheba, after being treasured up in the temple—carried off by Shishak—hoarded by Rhampsinitus, are now beheld in the indestructible masses of the pyramids!'

We have perused with the closest attention the whole of Mr. Wathen's descriptions of the existing antiquities of Egypt. His 'personal narrative' is well written, and has in part the incidental interest of Belzoni, or Stephens's narrative. Entire reliance may be placed on the accuracy of his architectural descriptions—for the measurements, he sometimes quotes the great

* 'The weight of gold that came to Solomon in one year was six hundred and three-score and six talents of gold, besides that which the chapmen brought.' 'So Shishak took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house: he took all.' (2 Chron. ix. 13, 14, and xii. 9). *Wathen*, p. 69.

'*Livre de l'Egypte*'—but there is no professional pedantry in them. His delineations of scenery are among the freshest and best which we have read. An instantaneous susceptibility of natural effects, which we can ascribe only to the enlarged cultivation of a naturally fine taste, distinguishes many of his pages. To convey to our readers any adequate idea of the monuments he has described, or, within our limits, of his descriptions of them, would be a hopeless task. It must, in general, suffice to say that the temples of Karnak and Luqsor—the excavations of the Dayr el Bahree—the vocal Memnon and his fellow-statue, the Memnonium of the great Sesostris, with the fragments of its huge colossus—the Medeenet Haboo, with its splendid courts and entrance tower—the vast Necropolis—the pyramids of Gizeh—the colossal Sphynx—the grottoes of Beni Hassan—the obelisk of the Fyoom—the remains of Erment, Esne, El Kab, Edfoo, Kam Ombo, E'Souan, Elephantine, Philæ, Denderah, E'Siout and Sheikh Abadeh—Cleopatra's Needle—Pompey's pillar—the Alexandrian Catacombs—in short, all the temples, colossi, obelisks, and excavations on the plains of Thebes and Memphis, along the Nile, and in the Delta, all the relics of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies are here described, the more important of them, not merely with particularity and clearness, but with the interest of one who felt that he was gazing upon some of the greatest prodigies and problems of human art.

The principal quadrangle of the Medeenet Haboo, though three thousand years old, is still in excellent preservation. This is in great measure owing to a cause whence we might have inferred the exactly opposite effect: the erection, in the early times of Christianity, of an Egyptian-Christian church in the area, some remains of which are still seen. 'Just escaped,' says Mr. Wathen, 'from a vile superstition, they could not bear to have under their eye, and close to their church, sculptures allusive to the ancient gods, and coated them over with plaster or mud; thus their abhorrence for these subjects has been the means of preserving them. The quadrangle now presents one of the best examples of the beauty of the Egyptian system of intaglio decoration.'

But for the happy accident that the expedient used by these Egyptian puritans to efface the emblems and objects of idolatry was less violent and effectual than those employed by the reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we suppose that the former would be considered amenable to the same censure with which the cant of modern times has so blackened their successors. In our author's account of Denderah, however, an instructive fact is mentioned. The sculptures of that temple, he tells us, (p. 210,) 'attracted the notice of the sepoys of the

Anglo-Indian army while serving in Egypt against the French. . . . They declared they beheld portraitures of their native gods, and at once began their devotions.' We are so sensible of the beauty of much which the reformers and puritans have spared, that we willingly confess our regret that so much that was admirable, and would now have been instructive in art, was *unnecessarily* demolished by them. But we regard with far deeper concern the resuscitated spirit of superstition which would have fed to plethory on much that they removed, and own that, albeit rude in action, they were right in principle, and only followed what, centuries before the Egyptian Christians acted in the same way, had been done in Israel with the brazen serpent.

Artists and dilettanti, after resisting as long as they could the unwelcome doctrine, that the ancient Greeks inserted metal ornaments in their marble works, and made use of vivid colouring to decorate both the interior and exterior of their public buildings, have, as is well known, long since yielded the former point; and, for a shorter period, admitted that the latter also is established on undeniable proof. The great question, therefore, since has been to reconcile these facts with the never questioned pre-eminence of the Greeks in art: or, perhaps, we should say, to find arguments whereby the greater severity and precision of modern taste might be brought over to cordial acquiescence in the later doctrine, that the pre-eminent taste of ancient Greece is as conspicuous in their use of decorative colour, as it was formerly supposed to be in the rejection of it. The decoration of the great temple-palace of Medeenet Haboo, has drawn some remarks from Mr. Wathen on this subject, which our readers may be glad to read:—

'All the mural sculptures and hieroglyphics, are painted in vivid colours, chiefly reds and blues; the ceilings a deep azure, studded with stars. Skilfully distributed and balanced, all combine into one harmonious effect—striking and gorgeous, yet wholly free from meretricious glitter. I think the staunchest enemy to the introduction of colour in architecture, would return from a visit to the palace of Ramses III. a complete convert to polychromy.

'The use of rich colours in architectural embellishment has in truth all the sanction, that the highest authority, the practice of all ages, and the analogies of nature can give it. Colour was commonly employed by the nations, among whom the arts rose and received their earliest culture. It was adopted by the Greeks, gifted as they were with an intuition of the beautiful, probably never equalled. It was in repute at Rome in the Augustan period. It maintained itself during the middle ages, and was employed, internally at least, by the great revivers of the arts in Italy. Who that has stood under the glorious dome of St. Peter's, and beheld the mellow magnificence above and around him, will not confess how much it owes to the prodigal, but masterly application of colour.

The golden vault of the nave, the rich marbles, and richer mosaics, blend into an enchanting whole, as different from the naked monotony of our metropolitan cathedral, as is a landscape glowing under an autumnal sunset, from the same wrapped in snow.'

Our limits necessarily compel us to forego any particular notice of the author's account of the tombs of the kings, and still more elaborate description of the pyramids at Gizeh. As before hinted, Colonel Vyse's operations in the latter are briefly related. Not the least interesting part of this section, is the author's professional elucidation of the principles applied by the builders of the three largest pyramids, in the construction of them respectively, especially that of the first and largest of the three. A very remarkable excavation in the sandy tract east of the rock of the pyramids, (figured in Plate xi.), has given occasion to another of those investigations of historical questions, by which the interest and instruction of Mr. Wathen's volume is so much increased. This excavation, our author supposes, may be the tomb of Cheops, as it 'exactly agrees with Herodotus's description of that in which Cheops was said to have been buried.' He does not, however, omit to notice, what may be advanced against this view; and, indeed, appears to have formed no decided opinion on the subject himself. Respecting the date of the grottoes of Beni Hassan, he differs widely from Sir G. Wilkinson, who, on hieroglyphic authority, had ascribed them to Osirtasen I., the king who promoted Joseph. The remarkable drawing given in Vol. ii. p. 296, of Sir Gardner's 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians' cannot, we suppose, have escaped the notice of any student of history in whose hands his work has been. Though he does not venture to assert, that the presentation of Joseph's brethren to Pharoah, is the subject of that plate, it is obvious that he is strongly inclined to take that view of it. Mr. Wathen, however, is decidedly of opinion that they are Persian captives, and that the grottoes are the work of a much later age. The oval of Osirtasen I. he supposes to have been assumed as a prenomen of Nectanabo, as an indication of his claim to be a descendant of that early monarch. And unless some antiquary should succeed in making out, that there have been such later repairs and alterations as have greatly changed the original character of the tomb in question, he has certainly shewn, by means of indisputable data, that the excavation cannot be of the early age which has been claimed for it. In connection with this subject our author observes, with obvious truth: 'when the history and development of an art are well understood, chronological conclusions, from style and execution can be invalidated by no evidence but to the contrary. There is a tomb at Gloucester, of Osrick, a

Saxon king, in the *latest style* of Gothic; and a like anomaly is seen at Worcester, in a monument of King John.' The argument brought to bear by Mr. Wathen on this Egyptian question, is in fact one of every day occurrence in the history of English art.

Though some amusing incidents of 'personal narrative' are scattered here and there in other parts of the books; as, for instance, the author's adventure in the subterranean chamber of the great pyramid, (p. 152), such occur most frequently in the account of his journeys from Thebes to Nubia; and thence again to Alexandria. They help to complete the picture which other travellers have furnished us of the present inhabitants of Egypt. The swimming mendicants described in p. 215, constitute a 'variety' unknown, we should suppose, among the mendicant orders of the papal church, or the secular beggars of any nation.

The author's admirable descriptions, both of monuments and scenery, are very powerfully aided by the engravings and lithographs which adorn his volume. These, especially the 'interior of the temple of Denderah' (the *frontispiece*); the great hall of the temple-palace of Karnak, (p. 115); the hall of columns of the same, (p. 117); and the entrance to the temple, (p. 118), are truly beautiful. But the extensive prospect of the plain of Thebes, as seen from the Necropolis hills, (p. 122), lays very powerful hold on the imagination. The light and shade are admirable. The Nile reflects the glory of the sun across the sandy desert. The Memnonium reposes in the foreground, undisturbed by any human sound. 'Colossal statues that looked down from their thrones on Moses look down upon us.' (*pref. iv.*) We allowed our fancy to rove over this tranquil picture, till we realized, in idea, the truth, almost as fully as we did the beauty of the following description:—

'Egypt is always singular and interesting: but under an autumnal sunset it is beautiful. The sun sinks behind a grove of palms in a golden sky, upon which their most delicate featherings are distinctly described. A rich amber light glows over the landscape, and makes the meanest and most uncouth objects look beautiful. A very brief twilight, is followed by a glorious night; soon the feeblest star has lighted its lamp, and the black vault of heaven seems thickly studded with brilliants. Such is the purity of the atmosphere, that you may watch a setting star till it touches the low bank of the river. Profound tranquillity reigns through the universe; or is only broken at intervals by the mellowed murmur of a distant water-wheel. The moonlight streams upon the bosom of the ancient river. A beautiful meteoric phenomenon heightens the interest of the scene. Ever and anon, a bright star seems to shoot away from among its fixed companions—glances horizontally across the heavens, throwing off a long luminous tail, then bursting like a rocket, leaves all nature intensely tranquil as before.

To commend or recommend Mr. Wathen's volume, after what we have extracted from it, would be superfluous. The antiquary, the scholar, the philosopher, the artist, in short, every educated man who reads, either for instruction or entertainment, must feel interested in its rich and varied contents.

Art. VI. *Contributions, Biographical, Literary and Philosophical, to the Eclectic Review.* By John Foster, author of Essays on Decision of Character, &c. 2 Vols. 8vo. London: Ward and Co.

We have recently placed on record, our estimate of the genius and writings of Mr. Foster, and have no intention to re-enter on the subject at present. In common with a large class of our countrymen, we deeply regret his withdrawal from amongst us; and look around in vain for some other intellect to whom we may transfer the gratitude and reverence with which we were accustomed to regard him. Vast numbers of his contemporaries achieved apparently much more than he did. Their public appearances were more frequent, their performances were more noised abroad, their names were on a greater number of lips, their publications were more loudly praised, and they themselves, in their foolish vanity, imagined their position to be much more elevated than his. The return of their labours was more immediate and palpable, their books it may be, sold by thousands, they were the *lions* of their day, the idol before which the thoughtless and hurrying crowd did homage for an hour. Vastly different from all this was the case with Mr. Foster. The sphere of his influence was more limited, but within that sphere it was a thousand fold more intense. He acted, it may be, on fewer minds, but the force of his action was much greater. It was at once healthful and stimulative, suggestive of noble thoughts, awakening aspirations after the higher attainments of our nature, and bracing up the faculties for the vigorous and permanent prosecution of the really good. We know no writer through whose productions the seeds of thought are more profusely scattered, or whose influence over his readers is more conducive to the harmonious development of all the mental powers. His writings have therefore been especial favourites with the thoughtful and intelligent of the younger class. They supply the very aliment which such need,—the appropriate nourishment of an enquiring spirit, anxious for improvement, and dissatisfied with the guides ordinarily furnished. Their influence is purely good, there is no admixture of evil in them, no serpent lurking

beneath their fragrant beauties. Unlike the productions of some living authors which, though adapted in many respects to the cravings and obvious wants of our spiritual nature, cannot be commended as safe guides to the young, Mr. Foster's writings may be placed in their hands with the fullest confidence. Their tone is as pure, their sentiments are as scriptural, as their views are profound and comprehensive. They are in a word the production of a master-spirit, who recognizes the paramount authority of revelation, and is intent on diffusing throughout the sphere of his influence, an order of sentiments comporting with the dignity of man's nature and the higher relationships which he is destined ultimately to sustain.

It has long been matter of deep regret, that such a writer could not be induced to communicate with the public more frequently. The few works which, at distant intervals, he did produce, bore upon them such a stamp and character, as to awaken an intense desire for their multiplication. Rumours were frequently afloat, that something was in progress, and Mr. Foster himself, as we can testify from personal communications with him, entertained the hope of preparing some of his manuscripts for the press. Unhappily, however, that hope has not been realized, and a volume of lectures, edited from the author's notes, by his esteemed friend Mr. Jonathan Ryland, is the only additional contribution to be received from so noble an intellect.

Under these circumstances, it will be gratifying to Mr. Foster's admirers, to receive in a form of separate publication, a selection from his contributions to our own journal. Of many of these it is not too much to say, that they are entitled to rank amongst the very first publications of their day, in all the higher and more permanent qualities which distinguish the productions of intellect. Other writings may be more eloquent in the popular acceptations of that term, may contain a great number of *beauties*, or evince a more extensive and intimate knowledge of the literature of the day, but no one of them is more impregnated with the elements of thought, or conveys more distinctly the notions of a mind richly furnished with all the higher endowments of our nature.

Mr. Foster was an early, and for many years a frequent contributor to the Eclectic Review. His first paper appeared in November, 1806, and the last in October, 1839. The whole number of his contributions was one hundred and eighty-five, of which only fifty are reprinted in the present publication. We are glad that the principle of selection has been adopted, and that the papers chosen are such as possess qualities of permanent interest, and are illustrative—in many cases strikingly so—of the mental character of their author. We have been at some

pains to examine the papers from a list which we obtained several years since, and are free to acknowledge, that while we might possibly have hesitated respecting the insertion of three or four, and should have been glad to include portions of a few others, we know not that the selection would, on the whole, have been improved.

'It has been the object of the Editor to select what was intrinsically valuable, and at the same time, illustrative of the intellectual character of the author; and he has greatly erred in his judgment, if the contents of these volumes will not be deemed a valuable contribution to our sterling and permanent literature. As compared with the republished papers of some eminent living reviewers, they may be wanting in that finish which their personal superintendence has secured to their productions; but in all the higher and more permanent qualities of intellect, in their largeness of view, penetrating subtlety of thought, deep insight into human nature, and sympathy with the nobler and more lofty forms of spiritual existence, they will be found eminently worthy of the genius of their author, and subservient to his permanent repute.' Pref. p. vi.

We are glad to find that no liberty has been taken by the Editor, and that this rule has been extended even to some few passages obviously written in haste, and therefore liable to the charge of obscurity, or even of slight inaccuracy. He is desirous, we are informed in the preface—

'of distinctly notifying that he has taken no liberty with his author, save in the way of omission. He would have felt it to be a species of sacrilege to do otherwise,—an act immoral in its character, and incompatible with the reverence due to departed genius. Had these papers been reprinted during the life of their author, innumerable minor alterations would unquestionably have been made, and some few passages might possibly have been re-written. The loss of such revision may be matter of regret, but we should condemn, as the height of presumption—the very impersonation of vanity—any attempt on the part of another to supply its place. The productions of such a mind bear too distinctly the marks of their parentage to require, or admit of, the corrections of other men. The case is different with simple omissions. Many of Mr. Foster's papers include large quotations from the works reviewed, the greater part of which has been excluded from the present reprint, together with such connecting remarks as the extracts required.'—Ib. p. v, vi.

This is as it should be. It betokens a becoming respect for the author, and a due estimate of the responsibilities resting on his editor. An opposite course would have had our unmitigated censure, as it must have involved the genuineness of many passages in considerable doubt. The pretences under which the revision of a deceased author's productions are attempted to be justified are for the most part unsatisfactory, concealing distrust under the semblance of respect, and pandering to the vanity of

the editor, instead of contributing to the reputation of the author.

But we must hasten, without farther prefatory remarks, to furnish our readers with such specimens of the work as will enable them to judge for themselves of its worth. We are glad that the paper on *Carr's Stranger in Ireland* has been inserted, not merely as it was the first of Mr. Foster's contributions, but as its views are, for the most part, singularly adapted to the present state of that country. We should extract from its pages in confirmation of this remark, were there not several other passages throughout the volumes which we are still more desirous of presenting to our readers.

Those who were acquainted with Mr. Foster, are well aware of his sarcastic powers. Though his disposition was benevolent, he could wield this instrument of assault with terrible power whenever tempted to its use. There was nothing coarse or vulgar in its employment, nothing which bespoke malevolence of mind, or was adapted simply to irritate or wound. It was the indignant utterance of a great spirit seeking to repress the exhibition of vanity, or marking with adequate displeasure the greater faults by which society is injured. Numerous examples of the successful use of sarcasm are to be found in his writings; and the volumes before us contain several, of which we shall furnish an instance. It occurs in the Review of Sir William Forbes's Life of Dr. Beattie, and has respect to the false delicacy by which his *noble* friends were withheld from affording him the pecuniary assistance which he needed. Referring to the publication of the *Essay on Truth*, Mr. Foster remarks,

'The author's expectations of the success of his essay were not sanguine, and therefore surprise heightened his satisfaction when it was received, if many of these letters do not exaggerate, with such delight, as if Christianity and true philosophy had been waiting, in the awful crisis of existence or extinction, for its appearance. It seems to have been welcomed like a convoy of provisions in a famishing garrison, by many high characters in church and state, whose exultation would really seem to betray the impression which their talents had not prevented Mr. Hume from making on their fears. The most flattering attentions thickened on Dr. Beattie within the circle of his personal acquaintance; and he received from England many letters abounding with expressions of admiration and offers of friendship, on the strength of which he was induced to make a visit to London. At this period of the history he is presented to us in a different point of view from that of the scholar, poet, and philosopher. We are fairly told, though with much care to qualify the homeliness of the confession, that it was needful to Dr. Beattie to

eat, which we have often had occasion to be sorry that philosophers, including reviewers, should be under the necessity of doing. The means of subsistence for himself and family were confined to the small stipend of his professorship, and the emolument that might accrue from his publications; of which he received a comfortable sample and assurance in the fifty guineas paid him for his 'Essay on Truth,' which had only cost him the labour of four years. His many generous and opulent friends in Scotland and England were aware of his circumstances, and sincerely regretted them. A comparatively small annual sum would have given a man of his moderate wants and habits the feeling of independence, and a strong and concurrent sentiment of anxiety was awakened in the minds of a greater number of noblemen and gentlemen than we can charge our memories with, to find out any means of obtaining for him this advantage. They lamented the duty, imposed on them by their high rank, of expending so many thousands on their splendid establishments and their hounds, while the illustrious defender of truth, and their dear friend, was in danger of something bordering on indigence. But notwithstanding these unavoidable necessities of their own condition, they would have been most happy to have made some effort in his favour, had not a fatal obstacle stood in the way. That obstacle was delicacy: it might hurt his feelings to insinuate to him the offer of any thing which they themselves regarded with such a generous scorn as money. With sincere sorrow, therefore, they were reduced to wait, and see what fortune might do for him. At last Mrs Montague, much to her shame, violated this delicacy, by informing him that she would take upon herself to mend his condition, if a slight expectation which had begun to spring up from another quarter should fail to be realised. This expectation was realised not long after, and his illustrious friends rejoiced in the double good fortune, that their delicacy was saved, and his purse was filled. Sir W. Forbes, one of those friends, and an opulent banker in Edinburgh, records this whole affair in the most honest simplicity of heart, just as we have done ourselves.'—vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

In the review of Lord Kames's life, many valuable remarks occur on the nature and tendency of metaphysical inquiries, highly characteristic of their author, and adapted to correct some prevalent misconceptions. The indisposition to such studies evidenced in the pulpit addresses of many of our ministers, is greatly to be deplored. It gives a looseness and vague generality to their mental habits, which is readily detected by intelligent hearers, and proves destructive of that confidence in the soundness of their judgment, which, on many accounts, is so eminently desirable. Let us not, however, be misunderstood. We are far from advocating a metaphysical style of preaching. Few things can be more unsuited to the pulpit, or be less adapted to the great ends of popular instruction. Many of our younger ministers, especially those educated in Scotland, have erred

on this point, and thereby impaired the efficiency of their ministry, and brought a most useful branch of human inquiry into disrepute. An air, or, as in many cases it has happened, the mere semblance of abstract reasoning, has been given to their address, which has served greatly to weaken its popular effect, and to leave their audience unfurnished with knowledge, and unstimulated to exertion. The legitimate influence of metaphysical studies, as seen in the pulpit, consists in clearness and consecutive order of thought, compact force of reasoning, and an adaptation of the arguments employed, to the nature and capabilities of the parties addressed. We want the result and not the forms, the well arrayed and lucid thoughts rather than a minute analysis of the several stages by which the thoughts have been obtained. But we are detaining our readers from the admirable reflections of our author, to which, therefore, we recur.

'Metaphysical speculation tries to resolve all constituted things into their general elements, and those elements into the ultimate mysterious element of substance, thus leaving behind the various orders and modes of being, to contemplate being itself in its essence. It retires awhile from the consideration of truth, as predicated of particular subjects, to explore those unalterable and universal relations of ideas, which must be the primary principles of all truth. It is not content to acknowledge or to seek the respective causes of the effects which crowd every part of the creation, but would ascertain the very nature of the relation between cause and effect. Not satisfied to infer a Deity from the wise and beautiful order of the universe, it would descry the proof of this sublime fact in the bare existence of an atom. To ascertain the laws according to which we think, is a gratifying kind of knowledge, but metaphysical speculation asks what is it to think, and what is that power which performs so strange an operation; it also attempts to discover the nature of the connexion of this mysterious agent with a corporeal machine; and of the relation in which it really stands to that external world, concerning which it receives so many millions of ideas. In short, metaphysical inquiry attempts to trace things to the very first stage in which they can, even to the most penetrating intelligences, be the subjects of a thought, a doubt, or a proposition; that profoundest abstraction, where they stand on the first step of distinction and remove from nonentity, and where that one question might be put concerning them, the answer to which would leave no further question possible. And having thus abstracted and penetrated to the state of pure entity, the speculation would come back, tracing it into all its modes and relations; till at last metaphysical truth, approaching nearer and nearer to the sphere of our immediate knowledge, terminates on the confines of distinct sciences and obvious realities.

'Now it would seem evident that this inquiry into primary truth must surpass, in point of dignity, all other speculations. If any man

could carry his discoveries as far, and makes his proofs as strong, in the metaphysical world, as Newton did in the physical, he would be an incomparably greater man than even Newton. The charge, therefore, of being frivolous, alleged sometimes angrily, and sometimes scornfully, against this department of study, is, so far as the subjects are concerned, but a proof of the complete ignorance of those who make it. Ignorance may be allowed to say anything; but we are very much surprised when we sometimes hear men of considerable thought and knowledge, declaring, almost unconditionally, against researches into pure metaphysical subjects; and also insisting that our reasonings on moral subjects must never, for a moment, accept the pernicious aid of metaphysical distinctions. We cannot comprehend how it is possible for them to frequent the intellectual world, without often coming in view of some of the great questions peculiarly belonging to this department of thought; such as those concerning the nature of the mind, the liberty or necessity of human action, the radical distinction between good and evil, space, duration, eternity, the creation of inferior beings, and the attributes of the Supreme. And we wonder that, if it were only to enjoy the sensation of being overwhelmed in sublime mystery, and of finding how much there is reserved to be learnt in a higher state of existence and intelligence, an inquisitive mind should not, when these subjects are forced on the view, make a strong, though it were a transient, effort of investigation. Nor can we conceive how a man of the least sagacity can deeply examine any moral subject, without often finding himself brought to the borders of metaphysical ground; and there perceiving very clearly that he must either enter on that ground, or leave his subject most partially and unsatisfactorily discussed. All subjects have first principles, towards which an acute mind feels its investigation inevitably tending, and all first principles are, if investigated to their extreme refinement, metaphysical. The tendency of thought toward the ascertaining of these first principles in every inquiry, as contrasted with a disposition to pass (though perhaps very elegantly or rhetorically) over the surface of a subject, is one of the strongest points of distinction between a vigorous intellect and a feeble one.

'It is true enough, to the grief of philosophers, and the humiliation of human ability, that but a very small degree of direct success has ever crowned these profound researches, or perhaps will ever crown them in the present state of our existence. It is also true, that an acute man who will absolutely prosecute the metaphysic of every subject to the last possible extreme, with a kind of rebellion against the very laws and limits of nature, in contempt of his senses, of experience, of the universal perceptions of mankind, and of divine revelation, may reason himself into a vacuity where he will feel as if he were sinking out of the creation. Hume was such an example; but we might cite Locke and Reid, and some other illustrious men, who have terminated their long sweep of abstract thinking, as much in the spirit of sound sense and rational belief as they began.

'Yet while we must attribute to weakness or ignorance the contempt or the terror of these inquiries, it is so evident from the nature of things, and the whole history of philosophy, that they must in a great measure fail, when extended beyond certain contracted limits, that it is less for the portion of metaphysical science which they can ascertain, than for their general effect on the thinking powers, that we deem them a valuable part of intellectual discipline. Studies of this nature tend very much to augment the power of discriminating clearly between different subjects, and ascertaining their analogies, dependencies, relative importance, and best method of investigation. They enable the mind to dissipate the delusion of first appearances, and detect fallacious subtleties of argument. Between the most superficial view of a subject and its most abstracted principles, there is a gradation of principles still more and more abstracted, conducting progressively, if any mind were strong enough to follow, to that profoundest principle where inquiry must terminate for ever; now, though it be impossible to approach within the most distant glimmering sight of that principle, yet a mind sharpened by metaphysical investigation, will be able sometimes to penetrate to the second, third, or fourth place in this retiring gradation, and will therefore have a far more competent understanding of the subject, from being able to investigate it to this depth, than another mind which has been accustomed to content itself with an attention merely to the superfices. A man habituated to this deeper examination of every subject of which he seriously thinks, will often be able, and entitled, to advance his propositions with a confidence to which the man that only thinks on the surface of a subject must be a stranger, unless, indeed, he can totally forget that there is anything deeper than the surface; but then he may very fairly be excused from making any propositions at all.

'On the whole, we are of opinion, that though it is most unwise to dedicate the chief part of a studious life to metaphysical speculation, except in the case of those few extraordinary minds which can carry this speculation so far as to render to mankind the service of practically ascertaining the limits which human ability cannot pass, a moderate portion of this study would be of the greatest use to all intellectual men, as a mode of acquiring, in the general exercise of their understandings, at once the double advantage of comprehensiveness and precision.'—Ib. pp. 48—52.

There is another passage in this article so thoroughly *Fosterian*, so applicable to a large class of influential writers, and so triumphantly conclusive in its logic, that we must transcribe it, though in danger of exceeding our limits. Referring to the scepticism of Lord Kames, Mr. Foster observes—

'It is too evident that our philosopher felt it a light matter, that his speculations were sometimes in opposition to the book which Christians deem of paramount authority. He would pretend, in a

general way, a kind of deference for that book, and yet go on with his theories and reasonings all the same. In this we consider his conduct, and the conduct of many other philosophic men, as most absurd, setting aside its irreligion. The book which avows itself, by a thousand solemn and explicit declarations, to be a communication from heaven, is either what it thus declares itself to be, or a most monstrous imposture. If these philosophers hold it to be an imposture, and therefore an execrable deception put on the sense of mankind, how contemptible it is to see them practising their civil cringe, and uttering phrases of deference. If they admit it to be what it avows itself, how detestable is their conduct in advancing positions and theories, with a cool disregard of the highest authority, confronting and contradicting them all the while. And if the question is deemed to be yet in suspense, how ridiculous it is to be thus building up speculations and systems, pending a cause which may require their demolition the instant it is decided. Who would not despise, or pity, a man, eagerly raising a fine house on a piece of ground at the very time in doubtful litigation? Who would not have laughed at a man who should have published a book of geography, with minute descriptions and costly maps of distant regions and islands, at the very time that Magellan or Cook was absent on purpose to determine their position, or even verify their existence? If Lord Kames was doubtful on the question of the truth or imposture of the most celebrated book in the world, a question of which the decision, the one way or the other, is the indispensable preliminary to so many speculations, why did he not bend his utmost strength to decide it? This had been a work of far more importance than any of those to which he applied himself; of far more importance than his reasonings on the existence of a Deity; since the very object of these reasonings was to prove that we have a natural, intuitive, and invincible assurance that there is a God, and therefore, in fact, that we need no reasoning or writing on the subject. Or if he would not make an effort toward the decision of this great question himself, why would he not lie quiet till the other examiners should decide it; cautious, even to anxiety, not to hazard, in the meanwhile, a single position of such a nature as must assume that the question was already decided, and decided against the pretensions of the book professing to be of divine authority? But such positions he made no difficulty of advancing, especially in what was called, at that time, his *magnum opus*, the 'Sketches of the History of Man.'—Ib. pp. 54, 55.

The papers on Fox's *History of the early part of the Reign of James II.*, and on the volumes to which it gave rise, are deserving of attentive and repeated perusal. They are distinguished by sound constitutional knowledge, a nice discrimination of the qualities of the respective writers, and a much higher standard of morals than has commonly been applied to the actions of public men. We had marked several passages for quotation,

but must restrict ourselves to one, which we select, not as superior to others, but as containing a sentiment of the soundest public morality, the practical recognition of which is of the highest moment to our national welfare. We are perpetually told that we have nothing to do with the private character of political men; and there is a sense in which this is true; but as commonly used, the statement is both false and pernicious. It involves a fallacy which is instantly detected when a keen eye is fixed on the movements of the political world. To say nothing of the slight hold we can have on the patriotic actions of a man whose private life is a continued violation of moral principle; it is impossible that such an one, however eloquent or zealous, should command that measure of public confidence which is needful to success in the advocacy of a popular cause. The people must be satisfied of the sincere earnestness of their advocate before they respond to his appeals with an enthusiasm which sets opposition at defiance, and this they never can be, unless his private character be as unexceptionable as his oratory may be splendid. In the most memorable period of our history this was emphatically the case. The Pyms and Hampdens, the Cromwells and Vanes of the Long Parliament, were men of blameless morals when they assailed the strongholds of tyranny. Their countrymen knew them to be so, and trusted in them accordingly. A change, however, has unhappily ensued since then, and men of the loudest pretensions to *public* integrity are in consequence to be met with, violating, without scruple or pain, all the dictates of morality, and sometimes even the decencies of life. These remarks have been suggested by the following reflections on the most splendid orator and most enlightened statesman of modern times;—we need not say that that orator and statesman was Charles James Fox.

'How pensive has been the sentiment with which we have said, all this is no more than what Fox might have been: nor has this feeling been in the least beguiled by the splendour of all the eulogiums, by the fragrance of all the incense, conferred and offered since his death. His name stands conspicuous on the list of those, who have failed to accomplish the commission on which their wonderful endowments would seem to tell that they had been sent to the world, by the Master of human and all other spirits. It is thus that mankind are doomed to see a succession of individuals rising among them, with capacities for rendering them the most inestimable services, but faithless, for the most part, to their high vocation, and either never attempting the generous labours which invite their talents, or combining with these labours the vices which frustrate their efficacy. Our late distinguished statesman's exertions for the public welfare were really so great, and in many instances, we have no doubt, so well intended, that it is peculiarly painful to behold him

defrauding such admirable powers and efforts of their effect, by means of those parts of his conduct in which he sunk to a level with the least respectable of mankind; and we think no man within our memory has given so melancholy an example of this self-counteraction. It is impossible for the friends of our constitution and of human nature not to feel a warm admiration for Fox's exertions, whatever their partial motives, and whatever their occasional excesses might be, in vindication of the great principles of liberty, in hostility to the rage for war, and in extirpation of the slave-trade. This last abomination, which had gradually lost, even on the basest part of the nation, that hold which it had for a while maintained by a delusive notion of policy, and was fast sinking under the hatred of all that could pretend to humanity or decency, was destined ultimately to fall by his hand, at a period so nearly contemporary with the end of his career, as to give the remembrance of his death somewhat of a similar advantage of association to that, by which the death of the Hebrew champion is always recollected in connexion with the fall of Dagon's temple. A great object was accomplished, and it is fair to attribute the event, in no small degree, to his persevering support of that most estimable individual who was the leader of the design; but as to his immense display of talent on the wide ground of general politics, on the theory of true freedom, and popular rights; on the great and increasing influence of the crown; on the corruption and reform of public institutions; on severe investigation of public expenditure; on the national vigilance proper to be exercised over the conduct of government; and on the right of any nation to change, when it judges necessary, both the persons and the form of its government; we have observed with the deepest mortification, times without number, the very slight and transient effect on the public mind of a more argumentative and luminous eloquence, than probably we are ever again to see irradiating those subjects, and urging their importance. Both principles and practices, tending toward arbitrary power and national degradation, were progressively gaining ground during the much greater part of the time that he was assaulting them with fire and sword; and the people, notwithstanding it was their own cause that he was maintaining by this persevering warfare, though they were amused indeed with his exploits, could hardly be induced to regard him otherwise than as a capital prize-fighter, and scarcely thanked him for the fortitude and energy which he devoted to their service. He was allowed to be a most admirable man for a leader of opposition, but not a mortal could be persuaded to regard that opposition, even in his hands, as bearing any resemblance to that which we have been accustomed to ascribe to Cato, an opposition of which pure virtue was the motive, and all corruptions whatever the object. If the very same things which were said by Fox, had been advanced by the person whose imaginary character we have sketched in the preceding pages, they would have become the oracles of the people from Berwick to Land's End; corrupters and intriguers would have felt an impression of awe when he rose to

speak; no political doctors or nostrums could have cured their nerves of a strange vibration at the sound of his words, a vibration very apt to reach into their consciences or their fears; there would have been something mysterious and appalling in his voice, a sound as if a multitude of voices articulated in one; and though his countenance should have looked as candid and friendly as Fox's did, these gentlemen would have been sometimes subject to certain fretful peevish lapses of imagination much like those in which Macbeth saw the apparition of Banquo, and would have involuntarily apostrophised him as the dreaded agent of detection and retribution. They would have felt themselves in the presence of their master, for they would have been taught to recognise, in this one man, the most real representative of the people, whose will would generally be soon declared as substantially identical with his opinions.—Ib. pp. 132—135.

Many of our readers are probably acquainted with *The reflections on the death of Hume,* which were reprinted in a separate form many years since, and have obtained extensive circulation. On this account we refrain from transferring them to our pages, though greatly tempted by their force and beauty to do so. The following remarks on the vivacity displayed by Sir Thomas More, in the immediate anticipation of death, should be read in connexion with them, and are equally distinguished by their exquisite felicity and truthfulness. The hilarity of the deistical philosopher was as clearly distinguishable from that of the statesman, as the character of the latter was more elevated and spiritual-like than that of the former.

'Some grave and pious persons have been inclined to censure this gaiety, as incongruous with the feelings appropriate to the solemn situation. We would observe, that though we were to admit, as a general rule, that expressions of wit and pleasantry are unbecoming the last hour, yet Sir Thomas More may be justly considered as the exception. The constitution of his mind was so singular and so happy, that throughout his life his humour and wit were evidently, as a matter of fact, compatible in almost all cases, with a general direction of his mind to serious and momentous subjects. His gaiety did not imply a dereliction, even for the moment, of the habitude of mind proper to a wise and conscientious man. It was an unquestionable matter of fact, that he could emit pleasantries and be seriously weighing in his mind an important point of equity or law, and could pass directly from the play of wit to the acts and the genuine spirit of devotion. And if he could at all other times maintain a vigorous exercise of serious thought and devout sentiment, unhurt by the gleaming of these lambent fires, there was no good reason why they might not gleam on the scaffold also. He had thousands of times before approached the Almighty, without finding, as he retired, that one of the faculties of his mind, one of the attributes of extraordinary and universal talent imparted to him by that Being, was become extinct in consequence of pious emotions: and his last addresses to

that Being could not be of a specifically different nature from the former; they could only be one degree more solemn. He had before almost habitually thought of death, and most impressively realized it; and still he had wit, and its soft lustre was to his friends but the more delightful for gilding so grave a contemplation: well, he could only realize the awful event one degree more impressively, when he saw the apparatus, and was warned that this was the hour. As protestants, we undoubtedly feel some defect of complacency, in viewing such an admirable display of heroic self-possession mingled with so much error; but we are convinced that he was devoutly obedient to what he believed the will of God, that the contemplation of the death of Christ was the cause of his intrepidity, and that the errors of his faith were not incompatible with his interest in that sacrifice.

'There is so little danger of any excessive indulgence of sallies of wit in the hour of death, that there is no need to discuss the question how far, as a rule applicable to good men in general, such vivacity, as that of More, would in that season comport with the Christian character; but we are of opinion that it would fully comport, in any case substantially resembling his; in any case where the innocent and refined play of wit had been through life one of the most natural and unaffected operations of the mind, where it had never been felt to prevent or injure serious thinking and pious feeling, and where it mingled with the clear indications of a real Christian magnanimity in death.'—Ib. pp. 238, 239.

We pass over the articles on Dr. Paley and Sydney Smith's Sermons, — to both of which we invite the especial attention of our readers—in order to make room for the observations of our author on a subject running counter to our hereditary prepossessions, but not surpassed in practical importance by any other topic. Amongst the many anomalies of our national character, viewed more especially in its developement amongst religious people, none is more singular or exceptionable than the military spirit so rife amongst us. The repugnance of this spirit to the temper of the christian dispensation is so glaring, that we cannot but wonder at the countenance it still meets with from the professed friends of revelation. We are not ignorant of the pleas by which it is ordinarily extenuated, though so strongly impressed with the conviction of their shallowness and fallacy as to be greatly surprised at their being resorted to by the avowed disciples of the religion of peace. To all who are interested in this question, we strongly recommend the following quotation from a review of Mr. Edgeworth's *Essays on Professional Education.*

'The third essay is on Military and Naval Education. In undertaking to sketch the proper education for the several professions,

Mr. Edgeworth has omitted, apparently by design, to premise any observations tending to fix the moral estimate of each, for the assistance of those persons who are compelled to consult a delicate conscience in choosing the professions of their children. A few observations of this kind might not have been out of place, at the beginning of an essay on the method of making a soldier; for such a conscience may perversely raise a very strong question, whether it be right to destine a child to the occupation of slaying men; and, happily, for our country, (or unhappily, as we believe it will be more according to the current moral principles of the times to say) there are a certain proportion of people who cannot dismiss in practice their convictions of right, even though flattered by a presumption that their names, in their sons, might attain the splendour of military fame. We cannot be unaware how much offence there are persons capable of taking, at a plain description of war in the terms expressive of its chief operation. And it is, to be sure, very hard that what has been bedizened with the most magnificent epithets of every language, what has procured for so many men the idolatry of the world, what has crowned them with royal, imperial, and, according to the usual slang on the subject, 'immortal' honours, what has obtained their apotheosis in history and poetry,—it is hard and vexatious that this same adored maker of emperors and demigods, should be reducible in literal truth of description to 'the occupation of slaying men,' and should therefore hold its honours at the mercy of the first gleam of sober sense that shall break upon mankind. But, however whimsical it may appear to recollect that the great business of war is slaughter, however deplorably low-minded it may appear to regard all the splendour of fame with which war has been blazoned, much in the same light as the gilding of that hideous idol to which the Mexicans sacrificed their human hecatombs, however foolish it may be thought to make a difficulty of consenting to merge the eternal laws of morality in the policy of states, and however presumptuous it may seem to condemn so many privileged, and eloquent, and learned, and reverend personages, as any and every war is sure to find its advocates,—it remains an obstinate fact, that there are some men of such perverted perceptions as to apprehend that revenge, rage and cruelty, blood and fire, wounds, shrieks, groans, and death, with an infinite accompaniment of collateral crimes and miseries, are the elements of what so many besotted mortals have worshipped in every age under the title of glorious war To be told that this is just the common-place with which dull and envious moralists have always railed against martial glory will not in the slightest degree modify their apprehension of a plain matter of fact. What signifies it whether moralists are dull, envious, and dealers in common-place, or not? No matter who says it, or from what motive; the fact is, that war consists of the components here enumerated, and is therefore an infernal abomination, when maintained for any object, and according to any measures, not honestly within the absolute necessities of defence. In these justi-

fying necessities, we include the peril to which another nation with perfect innocence on its part may be exposed, from the injustice of a third power; as in the instance of the Dutch people, saved by Elizabeth from being destroyed by Spain. Now it needs not be said that wars, justifiable, on either side, on the pure principles of lawful defence, are the rarest things in history. Whole centuries all over darkened with the horrors of war may be explored from beginning to end, without perhaps finding two instances in which any one belligerent power can be pronounced to have adopted every precaution, and made every effort, concession, and sacrifice, required by Christian morality, in order to avoid war; to have entered into it with extreme reluctance, to have entertained while prosecuting it, an ardent desire for peace, promptly seizing every occasion and expedient of conciliation; to have sincerely forsworn all ambitious objects, to have spurned the foolish pride of not being the first to offer peace, and to have ended the war the very first hour that it was found that candid negociation and moderate terms would be acceded to by the enemy. It is certain, at least, that the military history of this country is not the record where such examples are to be sought. But it may be presumed, we suppose, that those parents whose moral principles are to be of any use to their children, will abhor the idea of their sons being employed in any war that has not the grounds of justification here enumerated. But then, in order to their feeling themselves warranted to educate those sons for the business of war, they must have a firm assurance that the moral principles of their nation, or its government, are about to become so transformed, that there shall be, during the lives of their children, no war which shall not, on the part of their country, stand within the justifying conditions that we have specified. And let a conscientious parent seriously reflect, whether there be any good cause for entertaining such an assurance. But, unless he has such an assurance, he gives his son to be shaped and finished, like a sword or a bayonet in a Birmingham manufactory, to be employed in deeds of slaughter, righteous or iniquitous, just as may be determined by the persons in power, to whom he must sell his services unconditionally, and whose determinations may probably enough be guided by the most depraved principles; while there is this unfortunate difference between the youth and the sword, that the youth who is thus becoming an instrument of slaughter, cannot still be divested of the accountableness of a moral agent. A melancholy case! that the father should have cause to deplore the impossibility of his son's being at once an accomplished soldier and an idiot.—If a time shall come when the nation and its government shall manifest, with anything like a sufficient security for permanently manifesting, half as much moderation as they have shown pride and ambition, and half as decided an attachment to peace as they have shown violent passion for war, during the last half century, then the parent's conscientious scruples may be turned from the general question of the morality of the military employment, to the particular considerations of its probable

influence on his son's character, and its dangers to his life; that is to say, if all such considerations, and the profession itself, are not by that time set aside by the final cessation of war. In the meantime, conscientious parents may do well to resign the ambition of training sons to martial glory, to those fathers—a plentiful compliment—who will laugh at the sickly conscience which scruples to devote a youth to the profession of war, on the ground that the wars in which he shall be employed may be iniquitous.—Ib. pp. 401—404.

We have been greatly pleased with our author's observations on the character of Whitefield and the causes of his remarkable success, and would invite the close attention of our ministerial readers to them. The secret of that success would amply repay for the labour of diligent study. After alluding to the disproportioned success of Whitefield, as compared with his strictly intellectual endowments, Mr. Foster remarks—

'It would be, then, a very interesting inquiry, What were precisely the causes of that prodigious and most happy effect, which accompanied the ministrations of a man who was one of the three or four most powerful and useful preachers since the apostolic age;—what, we mean, were the causes exclusively of an extraordinary agency of divine power—those human causes, which are adapted to produce a great and a calculable effect, according to the general laws of the human constitution? It would be quite proper to take the question, in the first instance, on this limited ground; inquiring how far Whitefield's qualifications were of a nature to produce a great effect on men, with respect to other interesting concerns to which the exercise of those qualifications was applicable, and in which the results of that exercise might be considered as the proportionate and ordinary effects of the human cause.

'It is not with the slightest view of attempting any such disquisition that we have suggested it. We began with the intention of proceeding very few words further, than the expression of a wish that a philosopher had written a life of Whitefield, on the plan of instituting and determining such an inquiry. Such a biographer finding, we presume, as a philosopher, a vast proportion of effect beyond what could be explained by the talents of the agent, taken at their highest possible estimate, and combined with all that could be deemed favourable in the circumstances of the times, would, as a Christian, assign, as the paramount cause, the intervention of an extraordinary influence from heaven, giving an efficacy to the operation of the human agent incomparably beyond any natural power of its faculties and exertions. And, indeed, what would the judgment of that man be worth, who, even viewing the case merely as a philosopher, should fail or refuse to recognize a divine agency in the change of a multitude of profane and wicked men into religious and virtuous ones, by means so simple as Whitefield's plain addresses to their dull or perverted understandings, their insensible consciences, and their

depraved passions? A man who professes to philosophize on human nature ought to have some way of accounting for such facts, when brought before him on competent evidence, and in great numbers. And what a laudable philosophy it would be, that should find such facts to be quite according to the general principles and the ordinary course of human nature; or, acknowledging them not to be so, should either carelessly attribute them to chance, or should virtually revive, for a new and higher application, the old notion of occult qualities! As if the cast off rags and broken implements of antiquated physics were quite good enough for the service of the philosophy of mind, morals, and religion.

'These slight remarks are made with any other purpose in the world than that of depreciating the endowments of Whitefield. While regarding his powers, strictly intellectual, as all discerning readers of his writings must do, as very moderate; and while holding, as also all those who coincide with Whitefield in religious faith hold, that an energy indefinitely superior to that of any or all the powers he exerted was evinced in the success which attended him; we have all the admiration which it can seem little better than idly gratuitous to profess, of those extraordinary qualifications which he displayed in the sacred cause—qualifications which were adapted, even according to the common principles of human nature, to excite a very great sensation. According to the testimony of all his hearers that have left memorials of him, or that still survive to describe him, he had an energy and happy combination of the passions, so very extraordinary as to constitute a commanding species of sublimity of character. In their swell, their fluctuations, their very turbulence, these passions so faithfully followed the nature of the subject, and with such irresistible evidence of being utterly clear of all design of oratorical management, that they bore all the dignity of the subject along with them, and never appeared, in their most ungovernable emotions, either extravagant or ludicrous to any but minds of the coldest or profanest order. They never, like the violent ebullitions of mere temperament, confounded his ideas, but, on the contrary, had the effect of giving those ideas a distinct and matchlessly vivid enouncement: insomuch, that ignorant and half-barbarous men often seemed, in a way which amazed even themselves, to understand Christian truths on their first delivery. Some of them might have heard, and they had heard as unmeaning sounds, similar ideas expressed in the church service; but in Whitefield's preaching they seemed to strike on their minds in fire and light. His delivery, if that could be spoken of as a thing distinguishable from that energy which inflamed his whole being, was confessedly oratorical in the highest degree of the highest sense of the term. It varied through all the feelings, and gave the most natural and emphatic expression of them all. He had, besides, great presence of mind in preaching, and the utmost aptitude to take advantage of attending circumstances, and even the incidents of the moment.

'His display of unparalleled energy was uniformly accompanied by

irresistible evidence—in the perfectly inartificial character of his signs of passion—in the exhausting frequency and interminable prosecution of his labours—in the courage and hazard in which some of them were ventured on—in the complete renunciation, which such a course plainly involved, of all views of emolument and preferment—and in his forbearance to attempt, to any material extent, any thing like an organized sectarian system of co-operation—irresistible evidence, that his unceasing exertion, that his persuasions, his expostulations, his vehemence, his very indignation, were all inspirited by a perfectly genuine and unquenchable zeal for the Christian cause, and the eternal welfare of men: and our unhappy nature is yet not so totally perverse, but that this will always make a great impression on the multitude.

'Again, it was, by the constitution of human nature, a great luxury, in spite of the pain, to have the mind so roused and stimulated, the passions so agitated. For the sake of this, even religion, evangelical religion, would be endured for a little while; and great numbers, who were inveigled by this mere love of strong excitement to endure religion a little while, were happily so effectually caught, that they could never afterwards endure life without religion.

'According to all testimony, the ministry of the national church was at that time generally such, as to give, with respect, at least, to the excitement of attention, a tenfold effect to the preaching of Whitefield. It was such a contrast as could not but contribute to magnify him into a stupendous prodigy. He might be called, by the ministers of this very church, a fanatic, a madman, or a deceiver; he might be proclaimed and proscribed under all terms and forms of opprobrium or execration; but, the while, it was perfectly inevitable that 'all the world would wonder after the beast.'—Vol ii. pp. 288—291.

Were we required to point out the paper which, beyond all others was characteristic of the author, we should probably refer to the Review of Dr. Chalmers's *Astronomical Discourses*. The grandeur and amplitude of the subject appear to have exerted their full influence on the writer, whose profound intellect was conjoined with an imagination of the loftiest and purest order. Our limits are, however, exceeded, and we must therefore abstain from quotation. We part from the volumes with regret, and scarcely need recommend them to the early perusal of our readers.

Art. VII. *Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious.* By Gustave de Beaumont. 2 vols. 8vo. Fourth Edition. Paris. 1841.

We are persuaded that our intelligent readers will, one and all, sympathize with us, in bewailing the present circumstances of Ireland. If the woof of her destiny may be connected with

any lines of glory, they have yet to make their appearance. Hitherto her history has been fraught with disaster,—evolving period after period of obscurity, misfortune, and darkness. In the earlier portion of the middle ages, we may now and then discern a ray of light gleaming from the casements of her monasteries, but the illumination quickly vanishes. Miracles and traditions, indeed, invest her with some interest, as the reputed abode of saints; but these, too, when examined, soon dwindle into shadows. The halo of what may be termed religious mythology will be found to cover little else than weakness, oppression, and savagery. Agricola used often to tell his biographer, that, *Legione und et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse!* Jerome describes the Irish as a set of dainty cannibals; and without doubt they must have been immersed in barbarism and misery. Under Charlemagne, some of the Scandinavians descended upon the sea coast, and laid the foundations of future cities. When their vigour declined, the native or Celtic chieftains are said to have formed five provincial kingdoms, in whose soil were sown and fostered the seeds of an iron aristocracy, exulting in tanistry, rather than primogeniture; and in curious customs of gavelkind, differing from those of the Anglo Saxon races. The tenure of land came thereby to be rendered about as uncertain as the grand enemies of civilization could desire. We suspect that for generations every man did that which seemed right in his own eyes, amidst mountains, bogs, and morasses. Government was a *nominis umbra*; or, when it ceased to be such, took precisely that shape already alluded to—the many-headed monster of a congeries of chieftainships. Meanwhile, we are told by Hallam, that the Brehon judges sat with primeval simplicity 'upon turfen benches, in conspicuous situations, to determine controversies.' The rude members of each sept wore, perhaps, fewer garments then than they do now; yet it is heart-sickening to see how little the real physical comforts of the poor Irish have advanced within the lapse of a thousand years. Murder was compounded for by a fine; arts and commerce were nearly unknown. A few round towers had been erected probably by the Norwegian Ostmen, whose stone churches gave the aborigines their earliest ideas of architecture. The first castle ever built was that of Tuam, not long before the invasion of Strongbow. Christianity, however, had done something in mollifying mere national disposition. The tiger was so far tamed, that we may acquiesce in the description drawn by our constitutional historian as to the inhabitants of the sister island, throughout the twelfth century. 'Their qualities were such as belong to man by his original nature, and which he displays in all parts of the globe where the state of society is

inartificial; they were gay, generous, hospitable, ardent in attachment and hate, credulous of falsehood, prone to anger and violence, generally crafty, and cruel. With these customary attributes of a barbarous people, the Irish character was distinguished by a peculiar vivacity of imagination, an enthusiasm and impetuosity of passion, and a more than ordinary bias towards a submissive and superstitious spirit in religion.' So masterly and truthful a sketch should have been hung up, both framed and glazed, in the cabinets of our leading statesmen!

Several greedy nobles of England, Pope Adrian the Fourth of Rome, and our politic Henry the Second, formed a triumvirate of powers impatient for the spoil. There are declared to have been at one time, no less than three hundred bishoprics in Ireland, altogether independent of the papacy; until, a little before the British invasion, one of their primates solicited a pall from his Holiness, according to the discipline long practised in other western churches. Adrian, who was an Englishman by birth, excited his royal countryman, already nothing loth, to undertake the task of subjugating so tempting an ecclesiastical territory under the keys of St. Peter. The rest is well known. Henry had the honour of receiving homage from the native princes. His English barons were to hold their possessions in feudal suzerainty, parcelling them out among their retainers, and expelling the natives through the usual processes of fire and sword. The popedom has really gained the most in the long run. Rome has in no quarter of Christendom more faithful subjects than the six or seven millions of Catholics inhabiting Munster, Connaught, and Leinster. On the other hand, the civil domination of the conquerors never took root, nor was suffered to do so. Its grand characteristic has been force, from first to last. The forms of better things were nominally established within what was termed the royal pale, or those parts of Ireland which the Plantagenet reckoned his own, but that was all. His great nobles lived as they listed. Charters, immunities, privileges of legal process, courts of justice, and trials by jury, were just so many cobwebs to magnates with a potent arm, sheathed in mail, wielding an irresistible sword, and looking upon the weak as only made to be meat for the strong. The grasp of oligarchy has been upon Ireland for ages! We may perceive clearly, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the embryos of current grievances. The yoke of English lords beyond the Irish Channel proved worse than their villenage at home, more grinding,—more oppressive,—more without an object,—more beyond control,—and therefore in all respects more cruel. The natives, having stipulated for their ancient usages, came to be regarded as aliens always, and generally as enemies, before our

own tribunals. With certain exceptions, it was not even held felony to kill an Irishman; since his assassination might be atoned for with money. Meanwhile, the degeneracy of the victorious settlers followed hard upon their crimes. They sank rapidly to the level of their serfs and slaves, instead of elevating these in the scale of civilization. In custom, dress, language, personal filthiness, profligacy, and violence, they betrayed a preference for all sorts of inhuman licentiousness. An old Irish statute, the 25th Hen. VI. c. 4, lifts up the curtain with quaint simplicity from such scenes as the following, showing how both nations were involved in utter lawlessness. 'For that now there is no diversity in array *between English marchers and Irish enemies*, which do rob and kill by the highways, and destroy the common people, by lodging upon them in the nights; and also do kill the husbands in the nights, and do take their goods,' (we presume their wives, since there could have been little other property belonging to the Irishmen); 'wherefore it is ordained that no manner of man, that will be taken for an Englishman, shall have a beard above his mouth: that is to say, he shall have no hairs upon his upper lip, but that the said lip be once at least shaven every fortnight, or of equal growth with the nether lip. And if any be found contrary hereunto, it shall be lawful to take them and their goods, *as Irish enemies, and to ransom them as Irish enemies!*' We quote this as irrefragable evidence for demonstrating the purpose we have in hand, namely, that the greater country has all along, from time immemorial, tyrannized over the less. The sister kingdom has a heavy account against us, and we may depend upon it, that the several members of the European confederacy, with Jonathan from the United States for their foreman, are quite ready, on the very earliest occasion, to find a verdict accordingly. The professed constitution of Ireland was nearly a counterpart of our own. The administration, according to Hallam, 'was vested in an English justiciary, or lord deputy, with a council of judges, principal officers, prelates, and barons, subordinate to that of England. The courts were the same in both countries, but writs of error lay from judgments given in the King's Bench to the same court in England.' Ireland had also nominal parliaments; yet dependent in the same manner. All, in fact, was internal disorder and ruin; the embers of a civil conflagration, only prevented from bursting forth into flames, through the wretched expedient of wet blankets. Whenever these were withdrawn, the fire took its course. During the contests of York and Lancaster, the interests and influence of England smouldered and crumbled away. Under Henry the Seventh they extended over a mere strip of country, from Dublin to Dundalk, on the coast, and for about thirty

miles inland. The Tudors, however, soon built up again the policy of their predecessors. Poyning's law, passed at Drogheda in 1495, helped to restore British supremacy. It enacted, amongst other important provisions, that all statutes lately made in England should be deemed good and effectual in Ireland; and although this had been declared before, by an act under Edward the Fourth, it is from this era that the English sceptre came forth once more, like the club of Hercules, crushing into atoms every impediment to its progress. Henry the Eighth prostrated the Fitzgeralds, and appropriated their lands. Ireland had been hitherto only styled a lordship, but he raised it into a kingdom. Then came the Reformation, with its fresh elements of confusion and difficulty. Whatever opinion we may entertain of the Roman Catholic religion, it should never be forgotten that Ireland has clung to it as her palladium. Protestantism can gain nothing by blinking this great fact. The Blue Beard who had declared himself Head of the Church in England, proceeded to do the same at Dublin. The hierarchy there resisted, almost to a man, the pretensions of a lay pope, although in the later scenes of the church and state drama, under his daughter Elizabeth, not a few wheeled round with the times, and compromised with their consciences. Meanwhile the commonalty abjured these treacherous and secular shepherds, teaching their children and children's children to detest the English establishment as they would death itself. National animosities thus grew exasperated by the still more invincible prejudices of superstition. The disciples of Cranmer and Ridley dwindled into the merest inconsiderable minority among the Anglo-Irish colony, as well as amongst the natives. Their church remained a casket without its jewels, a temple without worshippers, a government without subjects, a fold without sheep, of which last the dogs were as dumb of voice as they were ravenous in appetite and violence. The Church of England in Ireland is not, therefore, a grievance of yesterday, but an abomination to the catholics of three hundred years standing.

The virgin queen, and her successors, never dreamed of treating Ireland, otherwise than as our sapient squirearchy treat their hounds. Rebellion after rebellion, of the Desmonds and Tyrones, enabled the crown to scourge the people into sullen and ferocious submission. Before James the First commenced his procedures in Ulster, desolation seems to have stalked through the land. Holingshed declares, that 'every way the curse of God,' by which he must have meant the English conqueror, 'was so great, and the land had become so barren of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from the one end to the other of all Munster, even from Waterford, to the head of

Limerick, which is about six-score miles, should not meet any man, woman, or child, saving in towns and cities; nor yet see any creature but the very wolves, the foxes, and other-like ravening animals.' Elizabeth was once assured, that her deputy, Sir Arthur Grey, had left little for her to reign over, *but ashes and carcases!* The Protestant establishment had been set up, by the foulest play, with regard to the packing of an assembly honoured, or rather mocked with the appellation of a Parliament! The Stuarts abhorred even the vestiges of liberty, and therefore acted accordingly in both islands. James enforced all the penalties against recusancy, extinguishing at the same time the old tenures and usages of tanistry and gavelkind. He resolved further to employ the vast forfeitures which had escheated to his crown, in promoting British settlements throughout various counties, more especially in the north. Gross injustice came now to be practised upon a larger scale than ever before, towards the native Irish. The monarch and his minions extorted from the prostrate people whatever they had left to surrender: nor can we question for a moment, but that the religious tyranny of the Anglican establishment on the one hand, and the inquisition into defective titles as to native estates, on the other, were the primary causes of the tragedy in 1641. Even the lords of the pale could not help seeing, that the self-styled Solomon of his age, drove matters forward too fast, in his unconstitutional mode of moulding Parliaments to his will. They once ventured to remonstrate to their master against the sudden creation of forty new boroughs; to which his reply characteristically expressed the soul of that arbitrary policy, which England has denounced towards herself, whilst daring to practise it towards another: 'What is it to you, whether I make many or few boroughs? My council may consider the fitness, if I require it. But what, if I had created forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs? The more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer.' Strafford carried on the game of despotism, fraud, confiscation, and legal vengeance. Cromwell substituted the naked sword for the last, and was probably more honest in doing so. But according to lord Clarendon, the sanguinary measures of his army were such, that the sufferings of Ireland, from the commencement of the civil wars to their close, have never been surpassed but by those of the Jews under Titus! Any decadence of animosity towards England, withdrew further from realization than ever: nor could the act of settlement at the Restoration, nor the fierce contest consequent upon the Revolution, be expected to compose the bubbling volcano of an exasperated kingdom. The treaty of Limerick only hushed the uproar for a time. Outlawry and massacre, had done so enormous a work, that they

hesitated a while, through very weariness. Catholicism still reigned in the affections of the mass of the people; where it sat, like Marius upon the ruins of Carthage. Around it lay a devastated realm. Its votaries, from having possessed in former generations the great bulk of landed property, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, could now scarcely call one-seventh of the soil their own. Even, on that remnant, it was persecuted and insulted. Glebes, tithes, and altars, had passed into other hands. No Papist might keep a school, or teach in private houses, except the children of the family. The nearest and dearest relationships of life were watched and interfered with, 'by a series of laws,' says Hallam, 'during the reigns of William and Anne, which have scarce a parallel in European history, unless it be that of the Protestants in France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, who yet were but a feeble minority of the whole people.' In Ireland, however, her *oppressors* were the handful in numbers. They might have been swept out of the land, but for the military power of Great Britain. Hence, the fretting ulcer of shame, and visible injury, had no chance of healing. The priests were hunted down, registered like aliens, fleeced whenever there was an opportunity, banished into foreign parts for the slightest infringement of unrighteous regulations, and given over as victims to the most abandoned informers. Political rights were of course annihilated. The elective franchise was taken away from Romanists of whatever degree, in 1715; or perhaps not absolutely, until 1727. When the Irish Parliament presumed to deny an appellant jurisdiction to the British sceptre, our indignant aristocracy rose like one man, and brought in their bill for better securing the dependancy of Ireland; whereby it was enacted, that his Majesty with the English Houses of Lords and Commons 'had, hath, and *of right ought to have* full power and authority to make laws and statutes, binding upon the kingdom and people of Ireland.' Archbishops Boulter and Stone took care that this infamous Act should not remain a dead letter. All the principal offices, both ecclesiastical and civil, were conferred on strangers. The former of the primates just mentioned, had no better expedient for carrying on administration, than importing as many English-born bishops as possible: for 'these are the persons,' he sagaciously observes, '*on whom the government must depend for doing the public business here!*' When, notwithstanding all this tyranny, the country proved in so thriving a condition in 1753, that there happened to be a surplus revenue, the Irish House of Commons, then in session at Dublin, determined to apply it towards the liquidation of debt. But no; England had the effrontery to maintain, that the entire revenue belonged to the king! Let us only put the query to ourselves, bearing in

mind the American war, as to how far we should have tolerated any such usurpations on the part of Ireland towards Great Britain, had the latter been the weaker of the two islands: and then we shall be in a condition for deciding upon that question, which will sooner or later absorb all public attention;—Justice to Ireland.

At the close of the war last alluded to, the Irish volunteers, with arms in their hands, at length emancipated themselves from some portion of their thraldom, in 1782. Notwithstanding the audacity of our present ministry in glossing over the truth, there seemed to begin from that era far better days for Ireland, than she had as yet known. The spirit, which had asserted and won her independence, circulated through all classes. The scale of national and social comfort evinced symptoms of decided improvement. Her exports and imports developed themselves in the healthiest directions. The increase in the consumption of tea, was eighty-four per cent.; in that of sugar, fifty-seven; in that of coffee, six hundred; and in that of wines, seventy-five. Liberty was the life blood of a reviving people. The testimonies to the correctness of these statements are overwhelming. Pitt, Fox, Foster, Grattan, and others, unite in the same story. Lord Clare said in 1785,—'There is no country in the world which has advanced so much in her agriculture and manufactures as Ireland has within this brief period.' In 1799, Lord Plunkett described her as 'a little island, with a population of four or five millions, culminating in prosperity beyond any other in the earth; when in that position, she was called upon to surrender her parliament to the people of another little island, placed beside her, scarcely double her size.' In fact, the noblest patriots, then alive, opposed the Union, and still more did they execrate the means whereby it was carried. Lord Chief Justice Bushe, respected equally on both sides the channel, declared that 'when he stripped the measure of its deceptions, he saw but one question in it,—namely, Would they give up their nationality? It was, he considered, a measure which involved their entire degradation,—a measure that was nothing less than the renewal of the title by conquest; it was a total denial of the rights of nature to a noble nation, *through an intolerance of its prosperity!*' Now, we are far from saying, that this is our own humble opinion: but we quote such passages to shew what the great Irish leaders felt at the time, on a point which they denounced as touching their honour and patriotism. Charles James Fox, in 1806, avowed openly, that the Union was as atrocious in principle, as it was abominable for the manner in which it was effected. No such organization for political profligacy would

be now tolerated. It is notorious, that an almost incredible sum was sunk in the purchase of rotten boroughs. Gross downright bribes, to the extent of £3,000,000, were expended in actual payment of persons, who voted as the court desired, in both houses. Stars, coronets, mitres, silk gowns, the ermine of the bench, the richest patronage, and most penetrating powers of the state, were all set in motion towards the single object of achieving that which Oliver Cromwell had first proposed, a century and a half before. The late Lord Chancellor Plunkett boldly arraigned government with 'fomenting a languishing rebellion,' for no other purpose! Other high legal authorities did the same. Earl Grey, with many of the Whigs, demonstrated, that whatever petitions were presented in favour of the Union, had been signed by parties under the auspices and domination of the Lord Lieutenant. Hence, large allowances, we conceive, must be made for O'Connell, as respects occasional violence of language. He has spoken and acted for forty years, as the impersonation of anti-repeal sentiment. His countrymen, since the emancipation, have rallied round him, with an unwearied enthusiasm; whilst the recital of their wrongs, from his lips, at meeting after meeting, has literally rendered him the voice of an angry nation. The recent trials, marked as they have been from their commencement with imbecility, folly, and carelessness, must be ranked with that of Sacheverel under Queen Anne; evincing to the dullest capacity, that the pilots at the helm are not fit to govern. Every liberal in England has forgotten the mighty errors of the Irish Liberator, through personal sympathy with him as a manifestly injured man. At the same time, nothing is more clear than that something, and indeed a great deal, must be done. Nor, in our judgment, with the example of Belgium and Holland before us, is there an hour to lose. Ireland is at the present instant, we fear, only part and parcel of the British Empire in name, and not in spirit. She is occupied rather than governed, as Lord John Russell justly observed. Matters can never go on in such a state, for any continuance: and we confess ourselves amongst those, who would deprecate, as the greatest of national disasters, the perpetuation, even for a few years, of circumstances as they are now, with the moral certainty of severance at the earliest opportunity. We had rather see the UNION REALIZED: and in order to secure this, we feel prepared to make ample concessions. Will our readers be kind enough to bear with us, whilst we state them? There is a crisis at hand, which may shake the pillars of our power to their deepest foundation. Ten minds are now intent upon our actual position and prospects, with regard to the sister kingdom,

where some months since, only one perhaps condescended to glance at them.

1. We would begin at once with that grievance which is the most galling—the Church Establishment. As intimated already, through the operation of causes to our own minds sufficiently palpable, the reformation never struck its roots into the hearts of our neighbours. The form in which it has always appeared to the vast majority, are those of rogue, bailiff, and heretic! Both hands, and all the pockets, are full of property, clearly not its own: a parchment alone covers the appropriation: whilst, ecclesiastically, in catholic and Irish eyes, the episcopalian protestant is infinitely more horrible than independents, baptists, and quakers; inasmuch, as all these unite in denouncing every species of spiritual larceny and usurpation. This established church, according to a parliamentary census, embraces 753,000 souls out of a population numbering upwards of eight millions. The value of its revenues and glebes, including diocesan, parochial, chapter, and other estates, together with its palaces, parsonages, cathedrals, churches, chapels, and fines, may be averaged at £1,250,000 per annum;—if we mistake not, about equivalent to the public income enjoyed by the entire clergy and hierarchy of France, with her population of thirty-four millions! The Anglican clergy and laity of Ireland consist of two classes: one, which may be said to include those who care about religion; and another, comprising a motley assemblage, — sporting incumbents, gay, good-natured, hospitable, roystering country gentlemen, — who look upon the whole affair as a matter of state policy, and external decency. The first of these classes possesses much sincere piety, but unhappily alloyed with a bigotry knowing no bounds. If catholics are to be won to protestantism, verily these worthy, yet most short-sighted episcopalians, are the worst missionaries in the world for the purpose. Their bitterness of attack, the acrimony and general unfairness of their public discussions, have done more than all the Romanists put together, towards arresting the circulation of the scriptures, and strengthening, however unintentionally, the arms of the papacy. The fulminations of the rotunda have been anything rather than the still small voice of God—or the silver trumpet of his gospel. They have exemplified Æsop's fable of the sun and the storm attempting to obtain his cloak from the traveller. Doctor Hook, of Leeds, has been informed, that from Reformation meetings of the greatest magnitude, the catholics generally calculated upon about twenty to thirty conversions to their own way of thinking! Episcopal evangelism has therefore effected little: but what can be expected from the other class? 'A short time since,' says Mr. O'Connell

at Covent Garden, 'a very respectable gentleman, named Archdeacon De Lacy died. He was the nephew of a bishop, and according to the advertisement of the sale of his effects, he was an excellent man; *he had eleven hunters, an excellent pack of hounds, and an excellent, indeed a most splendid cellar of wine*!' It will be remembered that the catholic clergy of Ireland have repudiated all manner of support from the state. Let any man look on this picture, and look on that! We would fain waste not a word more about this matter. The repealers, in their manifesto, profess the utmost readiness to respect all life interests: which is fairness, if not liberality, in our notions of the case, *ad unguem*. We would at all events abolish so enormous a nuisance, root and branch, from the face of Ireland; appropriating the entire ecclesiastical property of Ireland to the poor-rates of that country. Few things to our mind have seemed more striking than the submission, with which, upon the whole, an irascible nation, bowed down with poverty and insult, has endured from generation to generation, the ravages of what we would term the lion and the dragon of human society—an oppressive aristocracy, and an opulent, crafty church establishment.

2. Our next step should be to arrange the elective franchise. On no ground, however, have our present rulers shown more tergiversation and perverseness. The *animus* of their conduct has been the very essence of faction. How short a time has elapsed since Lord Stanley threw nearly all public business into abeyance, whilst, supported by conservative members, he had almost forced upon the House of Commons a measure intended to annihilate Irish liberty altogether! All he then professed to want was a pure registration. Behold the same individuals now casting their professions to the four winds of heaven, and holding out, as a boon, the recent peculiar crotchet of their own, which is to strengthen county representation, and give the Chandos clause a parallel for absurdity in the sister island. When the landowners of that country had their special purpose to serve, they could cover their estates with forty-shilling freeholders, to be driven to the hustings at a certain beck and call, like so many flocks of geese and turkeys. Catholic emancipation, however, deprived this wretched constituency of their votes; since which, religious absentees, and noblemen of the Reformation Society, have not hesitated to turn them, featherless and houseless, upon the world, that their little tenures might be rapidly absorbed in the larger occupations of protestant farmers. The whole Irish constituency has declined to below a hundred thousand. In the county of Cork, where, seven years ago, there were 4000 voters, we only find now 1500! That same county, with a population of 850,000, of which 140,000 inhabit large cities or towns, pos-

sesses no more than eight representatives. Wales, with a population of 800,000, has 38,000 registered voters, and returns 28 members. Cork, moreover, it must be remembered, is the Liverpool or New York of Ireland; and through its custom-house pours a flood of revenue into the united treasury. So again, Mayo, with a population of 350,000, can only produce 900 persons possessing the franchise, which is considerably below one in every 350! We would at once concede the suffrage to Ireland, regulated by suitable registration, modified by a tenure of at least one year, proved by the payment of some recognized rate to a place of worship, some minister of religion, or the poor of the district, or the coffers of the state; and, above all, shielded by the ballot. We had better secure the grace of granting these matters, before they are wrested from us; nor need we be frightened at the idea of a constituent body thus formed proving too unwieldy: for parliamentary statistics demonstrate that we must deduct from the 8,000,000 of Ireland, more than 2,300,000 as paupers, whilst the remarkable fecundity of marriages will not allow the registration to be calculated as having to comprise more than above 700,000 names. These would not be too numerous, we conceive, for an orderly government; more especially since temperance has almost banished disorder, even from the monster meetings for repeal. The silent vote, also, would probably work wonders.

3. Ireland now sends to the imperial parliament one hundred and five members, to which we would add forty-five more, making the total one hundred and fifty. Looking fairly at Scotland and Wales, this number can scarcely be deemed out of proportion. There are more than three times as many Irish as there are Scotch in the united kingdom: the rental of Ireland, including tithes, may be taken at £16,000,000*l*, and that of Scotland at £6,000,000; whilst the revenue from the former is £5,000,000. But to meet this augmentation in favour of Ireland, without increasing our own lower house, already much too large, we would introduce an appendix or supplement to schedule A; extinguishing, in fact, a sufficient number of English rotten boroughs, such as Wenlock, Malton, Harwich, and the like. The corporations also of Ireland ought to be equalized with those of Great Britain. What useless and fruitless heart-burnings might not Sir Robert Peel have avoided, had he only let his opponents do at first what the force of public opinion enabled them, in some imperfect measure, to effect after all; and what he seems now half ready to do himself. But we would frankly extract from the charter of Irish municipalism, the *veteris vestigia flammæ* altogether. Why should they remain, except for the special perpetuation of discord? To

be upon the list of burgesses at Dublin, a man must occupy a house at £20 a year (for the absurd £10 anomaly comes to that), besides having to pay no less than nine different rates. The municipal register, therefore, in the Irish capital, has literally come to be cut down to one-third of even its legitimate number, under the present statute. An interminable series of vexations await the corporate body through the operation of such a system. If freedom is to exist at all, let her home be made comfortable, and her existence a gratification. Nothing can have exceeded the decorum and good behaviour of the Irish municipal dignitaries who have been as yet elected to fill velvet chairs, wear scarlet gowns, adorn their persons in golden chains, or expatiate in the splendour of maces and beadles. This may provoke a smile, and that harmlessly ; but instead of degenerating into normal schools of agitation, the trouble of looking after their various affairs seems to have educated the Irish corporations into new habits. Wine merchants and fishmongers may lament the old orthodox practices of seven-bottled heroes and gormandizing aldermen, who rose to toast the *immortal memory*, if they could really rise, and tumbled under the table if they could not. Those days have passed away, together with a thousand other vanities and atrocities, once imagined to be amongst the firmest bulwarks of British dominion and protestant ascendancy.

4. Our next measure for the benefit of Ireland may be more open to difference of opinion: but the grand object we have in view, is to check the tremendous growth of pauperism. The report of the parliamentary commissioners is well known, and has been already alluded to. We are persuaded, that under Providence, nothing but sacerdotal influence, in combination with an abandonment of spirit-drinking, (however we may lament the superstition connected with the former,) could have kept the surface of society in any tolerable degree of calmness. Indigence is the prolific parent of crime, whose cradle is rocked by discontent; whilst the worst passions of a fallen heart only wait for opportunity of employment. Kohl, the German tourist, has published his impressions as to what met his eye in Ireland. 'I remember,' he says, 'when I saw the poor Lettes in Livonia, I used to pity them for having to live in huts built of the unhewn logs of trees, the crevices being stopt up with moss. I pitied them on account of their low doors, and diminutive windows, and gladly would I have arranged new chimnies for them in a more suitable manner. Heaven pardon my ignorance,—I knew not that I should ever behold a people suffering from yet heavier privations. But now that I have seen Ireland, it seems to me, that the Lettes, the Esthonians, and the Finlanders, lead a life of comparative com-

fort; so that poor Paddy would feel like a king with their houses, their habiliments, and their daily fare. His cabin, in the wilder regions, is built of earth, one shovelful over the other, with a few stones intermingled here and there, till the wall is high enough. But, perhaps, you will say, the roof is thatched, or covered with bark. Aye, indeed! a few sods of grass cut from a neighbouring bog are his only thatch. Well—but a window, or two at least, if it be only a pane of glass fixed in the wall, or the bladder of some animal, or a piece of talc, as may often be seen in a Wallachian hut? What idle luxury were this! There are thousands of cabins, in which not a trace of a window is to be seen. Nothing but a little square hole in front, which does the duty of door, window, and chimney: for light, smoke, pigs, parents, and children, all must pass out and in of the same aperture!' So again the French author, M. Beaumont, assures all Europe, that the North American Indian savage is better lodged in his wigwam, than the Irish peasant: and from what we have more or less witnessed ourselves, we believe it. This evil, also is frightfully on the increase; insomuch that the population would seem to have touched that point of misery and degradation, from whence the positive retrogression of existence commences. What we mean is, that there is now in the sister kingdom a cessation of that increment, which the numbers of a people left to the operation of nature and ordinary causes ought to manifest. It is declared, that so intense and dreadful is the destitution, that 70,000 lives per annum may be set down as the penalty of Irish misgovernment! In other words, politically speaking, the plague has begun! Pestilence, on his pale horse, with death and the grave following him, has issued forth over a prostrate land. Who shall stand between the dead and the living, is the question asked on all hands. That the Irish peasantry are willing to work, if they could but get employment, appears to be admitted on every quarter. To meet this willingness on the spot must evidently be most desirable. Now for this special purpose we would impose a tax upon the property of absentees, who carry out of their own country about £9,000,000 of annual revenue. Such an impost at five per cent., would return £450,000; and we would add to it an income tax of one per cent., or, perhaps, one-half only per cent. upon all Irish incomes above £100 a year. The proceeds of these two duties should be altogether devoted to public improvements; whether common roads, railways, bridges, piers, quays, canals, or necessary buildings for national uses. No object should be undertaken, until sanctioned by an order from the Privy Council: whilst the general administration of the fund, as to its local details, should be conducted by a Board of Public Works. This last might

consist of twelve members, selected by ballot from the 150 parliamentary representatives; to whom we would add seven of the twenty-eight representative peers, to serve for one year each in rotation, and two town councillors from each of the corporations. District committees, and proper sworn surveyors, should have the subordinate charge of improvements going forward in their respective vicinities; all and each to be under as scrupulous a visitation as possible from the central board. In every case a majority of voices should be binding, as to grants, or loans of money: the Lord Lieutenant to decide finally, whenever the votes might happen to be equal. We would, in fact, do our best to prevent jobbing in the upper classes, and secure employment for the lower ones. If we could once concentrate the energies of an animated population upon industrial engagements, it would arrest the progress of indigence, allay the fever of discontent, allure capital into the country, develope its internal resources, bring home emigrants, and relieve the whole social system from ten thousand difficulties. Literally, Erin is one of the fairest islands on the face of the globe. The river Shannon is the noblest stream in the British European dominions. The sea coast is indented with the most magnificent havens. No nook of territory is more than thirty miles from some port or harbour. Drainage might circumscribe the bogs, and improve the general climate. Richer soils are no where else to be found. Myriads of hardy hands are only waiting for the means of labour. The country, as it now lies under the view of the philanthropist, represents a sleeping beauty, buried in unnatural torpor through vile neglect and worse oppression. Dreams of horror and violence may be perturbing her mind, if we may judge from the contortions of her countenance. But there is nothing, in the nature of things, to prevent her from shaking off her slumbers, and assuming the full functions of life and health before an admiring world.

5. Then comes the complex question with regard to the tenure of property. Part of our object, in sketching out the earlier history of Ireland, was to shew, that from the earliest times, immense irregularities in this respect existed. We are reminded of an incessant scramble for the surface of the soil, upon the strange principle of 'catch who can.' Wherever there is so little day-labour, as occurs in Ireland, each plot of ground, however, small, assumes another aspect to what it wears in England or Wales. Families, without such a plot, are without the means of subsistence, in nine cases out of ten. Land, therefore, amongst the densely peopled districts of Ireland, is the direct pabulum of life. Men struggle for its possession upon any terms. There is none of that grave, sober calculation, with which one of our peasantry

looks over the gate of the close he thinks of hiring; turning over in his ideas, or chalking upon a board, the value of its gross produce, with the set-off of rates, rent, manure, labour, and tithes. No sooner are some score of square land-yards to be let, than twenty applicants are down upon it, each bidding against the other; all utterly reckless as to their agricultural habits, or their ability to pay. Hunger is the real tenant, and avarice is the real landlord. Since the reign of George the First, a class of middle-men have stepped in between the proprietor and occupier. These persons hold large tracts upon long leases, paying a moderate rent themselves, but exacting the most enormous one from their sub-tenants. Competition, such as we have alluded to, will send up the price of an acre, for which with us twenty or thirty shillings would be paid, to the amount of five, seven, or even as we have heard of nine or ten pounds per annum. Proper cultivation, not to say improvement, is out of the question. The soil gets worked out by the wretched serf who groans in vain, over his broken spade, to keep away the wolf of famine from that den, in which even wholesome swine ought not to be immured. The rent, however, must be paid, or he goes. The bailiff is at hand, after quarter-day, to unhouse the penniless pauper, with his wife and children; a family of ghastly spectres! Besides all these practical features of the catastrophe, there are the legal ones, compared with which, the windings of the Cretan labyrinth were as straight as a French high-road. To explore them, the Earl of Devon has undertaken his commission, from which we may well expect the Minotaur of disappointment. According to our apprehensions, the interlopers should be got rid of, by some process to be rendered as agreeable to all parties as possible; and of course involving compensation for the extinction of any fair vested interests. Removed, in some way or other, the middlemen must be. They eclipse the sunshine of prosperity from an entire people. It cannot be too often repeated, that whilst property possesses its rights, it has also its duties. Within the shores of the sister kingdom, it has had to undergo more than once, rather a rough sort of settlement; as for example, that which occurred on the accession of Charles the Second, or those connected with the forfeitures accruing from reiterated rebellions. Equity of tenure is that which is now required; the cruel gauntlet, which has hitherto covered the fingers of aristocratic power, must be laid aside. No nobleman, or gentleman, should remain at liberty, by a letter to his steward, to unroof fifty or a hundred cabins at once, and turn out their inmates, amidst the inclemencies of wind and weather; which far too frequently has been done. Some scheme must be gradually introduced for securing leases to the genuine occupant. His rent must be

arranged, upon such terms, as will enable him to pay it, and yet realize some fair moderate reward for his toil. The establishment of agricultural societies has been tried with no inconsiderable success we understand, in Meath, and various other parts of Ireland. Let them be multiplied ten and a hundred fold. Let rewards be given for the neatest cottages, the best homesteds, the best thatchers, the best breeds of cattle: and let the cultivation of flax be promoted, wherever practicable. But till poor Paddy knows precisely what he can call his own, it is worse than hopeless, to expect a cessation of those agrarian outrages, which shock every feeling of human nature, banish capital from the country, and render such districts as Tipperary, a reproach to the united kingdom. A settled equity of tenure, and a plain, simple system of agriculture adapted to the soil, climate, and circumstances of Ireland, would work wonders for her welfare.*

6. There is one further concession, which we would offer with most unfeigned cordiality. It is, that certain extensive classes of offices should be occupied by none but Irishmen. Few give themselves the trouble to recollect how utterly this principle has been lost sight of. Nothing more tended to the severance of Belgium from Holland, than an obstinate perseverance on the part of the late king, in a policy palpably unjust: namely, that it was not safe to fill civil and military posts with natives. The more a paternal government confides in its subjects, the stronger and deeper is the basis of its power. Whatever tends to perpetuate sectional division, or national and religious ascendancy, should be carefully kept out of sight, if not altogether obliterated. Let the union between the two countries be a substantial one in all respects: so that discussions, about federalism and separate legislatures, may be buried in one common sepulchre of unanimity and concord. It may be in vain that we remonstrate with conservatism; with lord chancellors, Irish prelates denouncing Maynooth and national education, or

* We were struck with the boldness of M. Beaumont, on this portion of our subject. Without transcribing his elegant French, we may just mention, that he would break the feudal shackles at once, which enchain the soil: he would abolish entails, substitute an equal division of lands in the stead of primogeniture, facilitate sales, establish registration as in France, Scotland, Yorkshire, and Middlesex, and generally aim at forming a class of small cultivating proprietors. To such persons he would fain look, with all the sanguine temperament of his countrymen, for the noblest results. 'Hasten,' he says, 'to pass laws, which shall render the surface of Ireland marketable: *divide and fraction property*, as much as you can; for these are the only means, *in reversing an aristocracy that must fall*, to elevate the lower orders: these are the only means of bringing agriculture, for useful purposes, within reach of the people; *since it is an inevitable necessity, that the peasantry of Ireland are to become the owners of the land!*' Absentee proprietors may already see the hand-writing on the wall, so plainly we think, that he who runs may read!

the established clergy generally, who seem to abhor catholicism and nonconformity with about equal hatred: but British candour and justice will probably open their eyes before it be too late, to the incalculable advantages of satisfying so many millions of our fellow-subjects, as are now identified in heart and feeling with Daniel O'Connell. A timely arrangement, (and there is really no time to lose,) would secure a good working government for Ireland; strengthen our own liberal friends in England; and enable us to present an unbroken front towards both the continents of Europe and America. The three kingdoms would flourish, and in truth become *tria juncta in uno!*

Ireland, we repeat it, stands in the greatest need of what she would thus attain. The repealers *profess* to execrate all ideas of separation between the two countries; their object being neither more nor less than the restoration of their natural legislature, to avoid such a catastrophe. Now, the Marquis of Normanby, and Lord Fortescue, were able so to manage matters, as to reduce the criminal business at assizes, dispense with regiments and artillery, and make triumphant progresses through the green island. The value of estates rose to thirty and thirty-three years' purchase; with ready sales, and prospects the most cheering of improved cultivation. What has brought another spirit over the dream, so that every village now bristles with bayonets, the land is covered with barracks, the sea ports are surrounded with fortifications, and the walls of old ramparts pierced for musketry and cannon? Is the power of Sir Robert Peel, from Coleraine to Waterford, comparable to that of the Liberator? Is Queen Victoria able to visit Dublin, or Cork, or the lakes of Killarney, as she enjoyed Edinburgh or the Highlands of Scotland? There must be rottenness inherent in Toryism somewhere; since the sovereign is not personally unpopular, the premier does not want senatorial ability, though he may be without the vast capacity of a statesman, and the ministry in many respects has stolen and acted upon the measures of its predecessors. We say again, that *the union must be realized,* monopoly must be abolished, exclusiveness must be annihilated; the barriers of bigotry must be thrown down, and their very foundations ploughed up, and planted with love, joy, peace, goodwill, and magnanimity. Ought the late traversers, with their great leader, to be incarcerated? Let us hear the honourable member for Dungarvon, in addressing the late Dublin jury on this subject:—

'You may deprive him of his liberty—you may shut him out from the light of nature—you may inter him in a dungeon to which a ray of the sun never yet descended; but you never will take away from him the consciousness of having performed the noblest actions. Neither he

nor his son are guilty of the sanguinary intents which have been ascribed to them; and for this they put themselves upon their country. Rescue that phrase from its technicalities: let it no longer be a fictitious one. If we have lost our representation in parliament, let us behold it in the jury-box; and that you participate in the feelings of millions of your countrymen, let your verdict afford a proof. But it is not to Ireland, that the active solicitude with which the result of this trial is intently watched, will be confined. There is not a great city in Europe in which upon the day when the intelligence shall be expected to arrive, men will not stop each other in the public way, and inquire whether twelve men upon their oaths have doomed to incarceration the patriot who gave liberty to Ireland. Whatever may be your adjudication, he is prepared to meet it. He knows that the eyes of the world are upon him, and that posterity, whether in a gaol or out of it, will look back to him with admiration: he is almost indifferent to what may befal him; and he is far more solicitous for others at the present moment, than for himself. At the commencement of what I said to you, I mentioned that I was not unmoved, and that many incidents of my political life, the strange alterations of fortune, through which I have passed, came back upon me. But now the bare possibility at which I have glanced, has, I acknowledge, almost unmanned me. Shall I, who stretch out to you on behalf of the son the hand whose fetters the father had struck off, ever live to cast mine eyes upon that domicile of sorrow, in the vicinity of this great metropolis, and say, 'Tis there they have immured the Liberator of Ireland, with his fondest and best beloved child?' No — it shall never be! You will not consign him to the spot to which the Attorney-general invites you to surrender him. No! When the spring shall have come again, and the winter shall have passed,—when the spring shall have come again, it is not through the windows of this doleful mansion that the father of such a son, and the son of such a father, shall look upon those green hills toward which the eyes of many a captive have gazed wistfully and in vain: but, in their own mountain home, they shall again listen to the murmurs of the great Atlantic; they shall go forth and inhale the freshness of the morning air together; they shall be free of mountain solitude; they will be encompassed with the loftiest images of liberty on every side; and if time shall have stolen its suppleness from the father's bones, or impaired the firmness of his tread, he shall lean on the child of her that watches him from heaven, and shall look out from some high place far and wide, into the island whose greatness and glory shall be for ever associated with his name. Let the British government understand, through your verdict, that some measure, besides a state prosecution, is necessary for the pacification of your country!'—*Report in the Times, 29th January*, 1844.

Not only could Ireland gain from the fair treatment of England, but the latter would also reap abundant advantages. If two persons are tied together, the healthiness or sickliness of each will assuredly tell upon the other. Yet what we now have principally in view, is the resuscitation of liberalism on this side the channel. The Reform Bill seems to have been, in

certain senses, the Revolution of 1688 over again, applied to another branch of the legislature. It was a mighty popular movement, cunningly taken by the aristocracy into their own hands, and managed accordingly. A century and a half ago, the people of these realms, smarting under regal despotism, got rid of the offending dynasty; and then vainly fancied themselves free. It is curious to look back upon the bitterness of disappointment felt in those times, as compared with the similar discontents of the present. On the death of George the Fourth, the middle classes, over-ridden for many reigns by an oligarchy, determined on the extinction of rotten boroughs. Their resolution was favoured by such cirumstances, as the banishment of the Bourbons from France; and was further so decidedly expressed in every corner of the kingdom, that our nobles said among themselves, 'We must *appear* to yield:' and so in appearance they did. The upas tree was sentenced to be cut down by the axes of those very individuals most interested, in taking good care that it should speedily spring up again. We do not mean to say that an anti-constitutional conspiracy was entered into, in precisely so many words: but we do aver, that the genius of aristocracy has again won the game against the people; and that the stock of mischief so industriously left in the ground, with its roots entire, has realized the worst fears of those who foresaw the evil; and that with little difference, Great Britain and Ireland are now pretty much where they were before the celebrated ministry of Earl Grey! We, nevertheless, venture to entertain an opinion that Ireland, if once calmed down into a right state of mind, might prove an instrument to help us out of this dilemma. The parliamentary majority of two hundred, on behalf of liberty in 1832, has changed into a minority of ninety within a period of ten years! So effective have been the machinations of conservatism, the sorcery of its spells and catchcalls, and the astuteness of the Carlton Club. To satisfy the sister kingdom with her fair share of representation, we have conceived it necessary that forty-five nomination seats should be extinguished here, and replaced by as many genuine constituencies there. The result, we are persuaded, would mightily strengthen the patriotic party, throughout the whole imperial parliament. In the neighbouring island, enchantments, which enthral the English shopocracy and minor gentry, are perfectly harmless. Both catholics and presbyterians have abandoned their predilections for alliances between church and state. The ballot, presuming it to be conceded, (for in the approaching crisis, Ireland may be able to make her own terms), will shelter the patriotism of the 'finest peasantry upon earth,' and bring that palladium of

liberty into immediate and beneficial contact with our own institutions. The Romans thought, or at least suggested, that Ireland should be conquered by their arms, *ut e conspectu libertas tolleretur:* we would fain reverse the idea, and propose her emancipation from all unjust ascendancy, that British freedom may be consolidated.

Meanwhile, where is the foreign state, whose governors are not fastening the green eye of jealousy upon our power and rank amongst nations? Where is the cabinet, in either hemisphere, whose politicians are not pointing the finger of scorn to that mine of unparalleled peril, which they kindly trust will explode at our very doors? The map of Ireland, with the history of its wrongs and mismanagement, with its population and resources, its poverty and heroism, its religion and popular impulses, forms notoriously a matter of close study at Washington, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburgh! In the moment of trial, should it arrive, there will be every country of the world against us, eager for the painted feathers still glittering in the peacock's tail. The maritime nations will once more combine for asserting the freedom of the seas: and that too, with navies of their own, and America to man and lead them. The ambition of Russia will look graciously, even upon those whom she will in her heart style rebels, so that they enable her, amidst the confusion of Europe, to controul both Sweden and Denmark,—appropriate the Sound,—monopolize the Baltic,—rivet her chains upon Poland,—push forward her southern frontiers,—and finally unfurl her banners over the Bosphorus and Constantinople. France, almost ready to go to pieces through the mania of her hatred of England, and the elements of convulsion within her bosom, will find no rest for the sole of her foot, until the glories of Napoleon shall have returned, in the realization of what she terms her national destinies. The dreams of those, who will struggle to wield her energies, when Louis Philippe has passed from the scene, include a revival of military conquest, a mirror of the ancient Gauls,—in one word, something like a restoration of the Western Empire. Ireland forms the very fountain of their hopes. Let England be but once engaged, as M. Thiers imagines will shortly prove the case, Spain, and even Portugal, will perceive too late, that the Pyrenees and Tagus must render homage to Paris on the Seine. In another quarter, the Catholic provinces of Prussia are already anxious enough to have the Rhine for the eastern boundary of that leviathan kingdom; which will absorb the Netherlands and Holland, as has been seen before. In Switzerland and Lombardy, it will encounter Austria, with all the recollections of Marengo and Austerlitz, the doubtful allegiance of Hungary and the upper

Danube, and the certain sympathies of Naples and Sicily in the work, to render Italy subsidiary to France, as in the days of Charlemagne. Her Algerine possessions will soon be augmented by Morocco and Tunis: and should the fortune of war ever induce unhappy Ireland to follow in the wake of Gallican interests, as Scotland formerly did, once again will the world be amazed at a sovereignty, all paramount from the Elbe to Mount Atlas! Then will it be with political Titans, that Great Britain must struggle for her colonial dominions, if not for her independence and existence. Some of our readers may consider this fearful vision of the future as a mere 'baseless fabric:' but surely it is the part of wisdom to look out as far ahead as possible; and at all events to avoid a line of domestic policy, which is certain to embarass us at home, and which may plunge us into a tremendous contest abroad. If we can conciliate the sister island, we remain an united empire, with Canada, Australia, India, and a constellation of lesser colonies, as our brilliant satellites: our home population will soon reach thirty millions; whilst in commerce, opulence, growth of liberty, enlarged benevolence towards all nations, amount of marine, general intelligence, and social civilization, there is no power equal with us. But if bigotry and monopoly are still to hamper all our efforts, if an aristocracy with its kindred hierarchy must still be suffered to dictate to the crown, and delude, mock, or keep down the people,—then will the demon of discord work its perfect work, and the glory of Great Britain decline. We are not amongst those, who conceive that such is about really to be our punishment. The prospects before our beloved land may not be, and in truth are not at present, exactly what we could wish: but we place confidence in our middle classes,—in the notorious sound-heartiness of the British character,—in the immense multitudes, who read, think, and reason, as compared with former times,—in the vast enlargement of the religious, and the development of the intellectual mind,—in the growth of temperance, and general detestation of war or violence,—and above all things, in that, without which all beside can be of slight comparative value,—the universal diffusion of the Scriptures, and the benediction of an Omnipotent Providence.

Brief Notices.

Protestantism Endangered, or Scriptural Contention for the Faith, as opposed to Puseyism and Romanism, explained and enforced. By a Bishop of the Church of Christ. London: Ward. 1843.

Although volumes large and small on the religious question of these times come very numerously to our hands, containing various matters worthy of approval and comment, we cheerfully find space to recommend the unpretending little volume at the head of this notice. It is short, but much to the point; cheap, but valuable, and adapted for extensive usefulness.

Progressive Education or Considerations on the Course of Life. Translated from the French of Madame Necker de Saussare. Vol. 3. London: Longman.

We are glad to welcome a third volume, in addition to two highly interesting and useful ones that have already appeared. This may indeed be considered a distinct work, entitled, 'Observations on the Life of Women.' Our fair readers will perhaps think, not altogether without reason, that it assigns too lofty a supremacy to the self-styled lords of the creation. Notwithstanding this, and possibly with greater satisfaction, we commend it to the attention of the ladies.

Amy Herbert. By a Lady. Edited by the Rev. Wm. Sewell. 2 vols. Longman.

These two pretty little volumes contain much amusing narrative, and much excellent moral instruction. The religious portion is, however, strongly characterized by Tractarian theology; and the little girl is taught that she must be good, because the font and the sign of the cross constituted her 'an heir of everlasting happiness.' Not the least important part of the book is the preface, the 'imprimatur' rather of the reverend editor, in which he states that he has 'undertaken to revise the publication, under the impression that books intended for the young should be as much as possible *superintended by some clergyman,* who may be responsible for their principles!' We wish the reverend body joy of their new undertaking; and shall shortly expect to see 'Little Red Riding Hood,' with *variorum* notes, published at the University press; or the 'House that Jack Built,' carefully revised and furnished with a set of new orthodox plates, announced among the forthcoming works at Rivington's. Really have not the Tractarian clergy enough work on their hands without meddling with children's literature? But it shews the grasping and mischievous spirit of the party, and we trust will put Dissenters yet more on the watch against a sect that cannot even leave the Horn-book alone.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Contributions,—Biographical, Literary, and Philosophical,—to the Eclec Review. By John Foster, author of Essays on Decision of Character. 2 vc

The Pictorial History of England during the reign of George the Third: bei a History of the People as well as of the Kingdom; illustrated with seve hundred wood-cuts. By George L. Craik, and Charles Mac Farlane; assist by other contributors. Vol. IV.

The Episcopal Church in Scotland, from the Reformation to the Revolutic By John Parker Lawson, M.A.

The Poems and Ballads of Schiller. Translated by Sir Edward Bulw Lytton, Bart.; with a brief sketch of Schiller's Life. 2 vols.

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Lay Lectures on Christian Faith and Practice. By John Bullar.

Agathonia—a Romance.

Fox's Book of Martyrs. Edited by the Rev. John Cumming, M.A. Pa XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII.

Lectures for these Times. By J. M. Cramp, A.M.

Conversations on Language for Children. By Mrs. Marcet.

Elements of Natural History; for the use of Schools and Young Person By Mrs. R. Lee, (formerly Mrs. T. E. Bowditch). With engravings.

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The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt. A New Edition.

Sacred Meditations, or an Exegetical, Critical, and Doctrinal Commentar on the Gospel of St. John. By Charles Christian Tittman, D.D. Wi additional notes. Translated from the Latin by James Young. Vol. I.

The Church; a Comprehensive View of the Doctrines, Constitution, G vernment, and Ordinances, of the Church, and of the leading Denominatio into which it is divided. By Rev. Daniel Dewar, D.D. LL.D., Aberdee Parts VI. and VII.

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Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited b W. Smith, LL.D. Part II.

Memoir and Remains of Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Minister of S Peter's Church, Dundee. By Rev. A. Bonar; Collace. 2 vols.

Lectures on the World before the Flood. By Rev. Charles Burton, LL.I F.L.S., Manchester.

Historical Memoir of a Mission to the Court of Vienna, in 1806. By th Right Hon. Sir Robert Adair, G.C.B. With a Selection from his Despatche published by permission of the proper authorities.

THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JUNE, 1844.

Art. I. 1. *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge.* By George Peacock, D.D., &c. Dean of Ely. J. W. Parker, London; Deighton, Cambridge. 1841.

2. *Documents from the MS. Library of Corpus Christi College, illustrative of the History of the University of Cambridge, from* 1500 *to* 1572, A. D. Edited by John Lamb, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Dean of Bristol. J. W. Parker, London. 1838.

3. *Speech of W. D. Christie, Esq., M. P. for Weymouth, delivered in the House of Commons, May 25th,* 1843, *on moving for Leave to bring in a Bill to abolish certain Oaths and Subscriptions in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, &c.*

4 *Editor's Preface to Huber's English Universities, English Translation.* Pickering, London; Simms and Denham, Manchester. 1843.

IT is well that the great subject of University Reform is again beginning to attract public attention. We have long been of opinion, that no other political or ecclesiastical reforms can work successfully, if this be neglected; but an unspeculative nation, like the English, needs to learn by painful experience, before it will attend to a hundred warning voices. In the last ten years it has been manifested to the most thoughtless, that Oxford and Cambridge are diligently engaged in rearing a band of clergy and statesmen, who, unless thwarted by decisive and well-timed measures, would destroy Protestantism in the Established Church, and freedom of person, property, and conscience in the nation at large. We have nothing to do with the private characters or sincere motives of the party alluded to; but while we yield them the freedom which we claim for our-

selves, we do not yield them *more*. We will tolerate even their intolerance, as long as it exists merely in their own bosoms; and as we contend for the just rights of Roman Catholics, so do we for those of Anglo-Catholics,—if we may concede to them the unintelligible name. But the English people, and ourselves as a part of it, have a right to demand that the realities of things shall correspond to their professions; that true Romanists shall not be ejected from the halls and estates left by their ancestors, in order that doctrines differing from theirs in no spiritual point of importance,—sympathizing with *them* and antagonistic to all Protestantism,—may be taught under the banners of the Church of England. We put this topic foremost, not because it is intrinsically (to our own minds) the most powerful, but because it bears most directly on the present moment:—because it shows that there is a real urgency in the question, forbidding us to delay this matter of University Reform a second ten years, when every year is producing a new crop of mischief. In recent times, the subject has been slightly discussed in each house of parliament, and the universities have had several warnings as to the policy of *self* reformation. Their advocates have promised this in their name, and on the faith of this promise Lord Radnor withdrew his motions in the House of Lords. But, as might easily have been foreseen, nothing has been done by them. At Oxford, a shower of pamphlets concerning the improvement of professorships first showed that a cloud hung over the university; but on the removal of external danger, the reforming spirit from within was quelled or satisfied. We propose, at present, to state at large the grounds on which we hold the necessity of immediate parliamentary interference with both these institutions, and to discuss the different modes in which the subject may be practically taken up.

In a recent review of 'Huber's English Universities,' we declined to enter on this topic, wishing to reserve it for a fuller treatment. We may now so far recur to that work as to say, that we have the often repeated and express testimony of a learned foreigner, (all whose bias is in favour of these institutions and of conservative principles,) to their utter religious worthlessness for two centuries past and more. It is true, he argues, that they are now reforming themselves; they are now awaking! but into what? Into a rejection of Protestantism. We contend, therefore, that we have two centuries of practical trial, sealed by recent experience, that these bodies cannot and will not, on their present footing, realize the religious pretensions which they make, and that their religious exclusiveness is maintained to the injury, not merely of the individuals excluded, but of the national welfare and of their own moral or spiritual prosperity.

A few extracts from Huber (English Translation) will not be here amiss.

'[Under the tyranny of Henry VIII.] how was it possible for any freedom, peace, and liberty of the spirit to prevail, without which there can be no successful intellectual activity at the universities? . . . Within their precincts less than any where else was any voice left for free scientific inquiry, upon points bearing the least reference to the contested questions of the church. . . . . The curse with which narrow spirits, when they attain power, destroy all life,—hating life, because it bears in itself the necessity of opposition and of contest; the curse (that is,) of an exterior and compulsory conformity, with which such spirits vainly think that they have won and done every thing, while the smooth rind conceals only rottenness or paralysis beneath;—this curse, we say, began at that time to weigh heavily on the English universities.' Vol. i. p. 265.

'Whether the victorious party [under Edward VI.] would after a time earn for the universities a more tranquil and prosperous state, the course of events did not allow to be tried. The Catholic reaction under Mary crushed the possibility in the bud. One fact only is undeniable, that up to that time the Reformation had brought on the universities only injury, outward and inward. There are a thousand results of this great revolution, which we must needs deplore and disown. Its benefits are not to be looked for from the side of the universities at all, but in quite another quarter,—in the deepening of spiritual religion,' &c. ib. p. 283.

[Under Elizabeth] 'If we search no deeper than the outward appearance and resources of the universities, and the laws and regulations which bore upon their moral and religious state, there appears nothing left to wish for. If the *results*, the fruits, had in any way answered to their *means*, the period would have formed a brilliant point in their history. But this is no way the case. The most trustworthy evidence sets it beyond all doubt, that intellectual, quite as much as moral and religious interests at the universities, were then at so low an ebb, as not to compare with far less favoured periods, much less with the tranquil progress at the beginning of the century. This, however, is much more true of Oxford than of Cambridge: at least, we have less decided evidence, in this respect, about the latter. Under the circumstances, it is credible that corruption had not reached to such a pitch at Cambridge; although things cannot have been, even there, in any high state of excellence.

'As to Oxford, it is certain that of the academic studies some were in complete decay, others were pursued in a shallow, spiritless manner, as a mere form, or at best in a popular way, such as might suit *dilettanti*. The morals and sentiments of the academic youth are described, at the same time, as in the highest degree wild, selfish, loose, devoid of all earnestness, honour, or piety. More serious still are the notices before us concerning the older and more influential academicians, in whom every hateful passion took the deeper root, and pervaded their whole life more thoroughly, the less it was able to find vent in open, violent expression.

Compelled to preserve a certain inward dignity, in seeking either personal ends or party objects in church or state. &c. &c. ib. p. 123.

'Still under Elizabeth.' 'At the universities it was a cherished belief that learning in languages especially was a handmaid to theology; as the new learning had a Platonic and Neoplatonic element. The theological disputes were indeed the great business of the day nevertheless, in the education of youth no prominence was given to their living fruits, —the moral and spiritual elements of religion. We have already seen, that in this respect the universities were very far from satisfying even the most moderate claims. Cramped and timid as was the intellectual working—in no small measure as a result of the pietism of the times,—there was energy enough and to spare in licentiousness and immorality.' &c. &c. ib. p. 343.

We cannot afford space to quote Huber's decisive testimony to the total neglect of theology which followed the 'reforms' of the Laudian party at Oxford and Cambridge under James the First. 'The fact,' says he, 'must not be forgotten, that Laud and his adherents are the men who effected that complete *abolition of scientific theology* which is to this day so deeply-marked a *feature* in the English universities.' Vol. ii. p. 67.

Passing, however, from the details of this 'great fact,' we content ourselves with the following:—

'In 1626, Laud annexed a canonry of Christ Church to the Hebrew professorship, the study of Hebrew having been greatly neglected. . . . A desire, perhaps, existed, to make the universities nurseries of such learning, but there was a yet stronger desire to banish all excitement, collision and offence: above all, whatever did not harmonize with the king's *own theology*. They wanted to have learning and court favour both at once; learning without even limited freedom. We need not inquire whether the concession of freedom within fixed bounds would have led to a breaking through the bounds; it is enough for us to know that the result, in this as in all similar cases, was the same as if the desire had been to have no learning. Whatever freedom was nominally given was practically destroyed, and that by processes strictly legal.' Vol. ii. p. 69.

Not to be tedious, we must pass on to the 'task undertaken and performed' (according to Huber) by the English universities in the whole of the eighteenth century.

'And now we see what their task was:—to retain within themselves the two great aristocratical parties between which England was then divided, and foster both alike. Yet it cannot be overlooked, nor will it surprise any one, that they felt far closer affinity to the Tories than to the Whigs. The *alma mater* was well pleased to receive Whigs into her bosom, and return them to the world unconverted, provided that all the other conditions of a 'gentleman' met in them; but her joy and her pride was always the race of Tories, and it is well known that her efforts to increase their numbers were not unsuccessful. In fact, we might sum up our considerations on this subject in the following terms:—The desire and resolve of the English universities is, to form at all events gentlemen, *only* gentlemen, but most of all Tory gentlemen.' ib. p. 332.

We need not add, that he rates the learning of our universities, in the last century, as very low even in classics, and as a nullity in all the other faculties; but we are tempted to extract a few words in detail.

'In English political life the 'gentleman' is still more prominent. The old established principle was, that after receiving a *liberal*, i. e. an university education, he was fitted, except in mere technicalities, for every office in the state. . . . . Even for the attainment of practical divinity and for filling every post in the church—(in the *dominant* church at least)—no other school was required than this. . . . . Küttner gives a very just account of the *best* side of this state of things, when he says, 'Sound common sense, a knowledge of the world and mankind, respectability and dignity of manner, with an understanding of the rules and ordinances of the church, are looked upon as the best *pastoral* theology.' The literature *necessary* for the dignified clergyman was only the New Testament in the original tongue, the Old Testament in a translation, with a commentary, some exposition of the thirty-nine articles, a few popular theological works, and some few collections of sermons. This 'knowledge of the world' was, moreover, only too often interpreted, attained, and enjoyed in a different, and not always very reputable sense, and led to sheer worldliness of the very worst kind.'—ib. p. 340.

Such was the disgraceful state of the universities, according to the conservative historian,—prostituting science and religion alike to the attainment of tory domination. That to sustain toryism is *still* a leading object with them, he confesses, and, (strange to say!) defends it; although the sentiments already quoted from him, in reference to the times of Laud, will equally apply now to condemn them. To desire to have learning and toryism—at once, if possible; but if not, to have at least toryism alone—is equivalent to renouncing the functions of a university. It must lead, first, to a perversion and distortion of learning, and, finally, to its destruction. In short, as our author again and again insists, freedom is an essential condition of thriving, healthy, progressive science; and in theology at least as much as in any other branch of knowledge.

But since Professor Huber lays much stress on the 'recent improvements' at the universities, as a sufficient reason why they should not be reformed *from without*, we must farther extract some statements as to their present condition.

'Passing to the different *Faculties*, or Professorships, we gladly allow, that Oxford, and still more Cambridge, now exerts in them a much higher scientific agency than ever before; but it is equally certain, that the smallest university with us [Germans] far outstrips them both together. . . . . [In Cambridge] the course of lectures for the three principal faculties, divinity, law, and medicine, comprises at most fifty hours *a year*, and in the rest scarcely twenty can be counted. How little therefore, can be done, by the greatest zeal and talent upon the part of teachers and scholars, is plain. . . . . To have attended the course of

lectures upon the subject is necessary for the Bachelor's degree in th three faculties. . . . . The [Bachelor's] degree [in arts] spares the st dent [in these three faculties] two years, and in the case of jurists, *t lectures!* . . . . The Doctor's degree is then granted after two years, in divinity after four years,—without any thing more than keeping act.* What is required in the examination is very inconsiderable. . . . Divinity is even more scantily provided for than the other faculties, may be seen by what we have said above; since not even an examin tion is required. The lectures may be attended and attested, but th are very seldom listened to.'—ib. p. 373.

How edifying this is! It is a climax beyond what would ha been easy to invent. The universities are at present, it seem greatly improved, as compared to the last century; Cambrid stands higher than Oxford; they look on divinity as the choicest flower, to save which from the rude breath of disse they would sacrifice justice, science, and their own permane fame; *yet*, in the improved state of the more improved unive sity, the degree of Doctor of Divinity is taken without a examination, after a mere presentation of a man's body at a fe lectures '*which are seldom listened to*:' and this, be it remer bered, is the portrait drawn by a vehement anti-radical, a ph losophical and favouring foreigner.

A paper has been put into our hands, which was printed a circulated in Oxford a few years ago by the Professors of Ch mistry, Geology, and Anatomy, in which they complain that th attendance on their classes has been diminishing for nearly te years; in short, almost precisely from the era of the last Oxfo reform (in 1830), which was about simultaneous with the con mencement of Puseyism. But it is only too notorious, that i physical and physiological science neither university allows itse to become a first-rate school. The youths who are destined become magistrates or legislators, not only do not learn on wh the material greatness of England depends, nor receive tho political lessons which history so abundantly teaches concernin the well-being of states: but they imbibe (as far as the effor of the university can effect it) a perverse spirit of sectarian pol tics, which warps their whole understanding, and too oft makes them, instead of able reasoners, clever sophists,—inste of manly upholders of universal right, headstrong sticklers f the privileges of a class,—instead of generous philanthropist fanatical steeple-builders. Strongly as we feel the defects our English institutions, in respect both to the depth and th compass of their studies, we have a just and far deeper quarr against them for the tone of mind which they so actively prop gate and diffuse among our aristocracy. It amazes us, th

* We believe this means: *Residing* in the University for about three wee at the time of the passing of 'the act.'

liberal politicians of every school do not take up this matter with greater seriousness. Of what avail is it to pass good laws for the general welfare, if those who are to administer them are sedulously taught to evade and pervert them in detail? While we strongly maintain that Dissenters are wronged by being excluded from the studies and posts of emolument or authority within the universities, we think it very unfortunate that this is the side of university reform with which alone either whigs or radicals appear in general to be familiar. The apathy with which the Liberals stand by, and see all their work undermined and spoiled by these two universities, is, we say, astonishing; when the fact is so plain, that a German historian is found coolly vindicating his English fellow-academicians for bending their whole energies to the rearing of young tories! We have a right to complain of this apathy, because it cannot be removed by any exertions of Dissenters. Any movement proceeding from them must bear a sectarian aspect; whereas, if the Liberal party, *on general political grounds*, took up in good earnest the reform of the universities, the Dissenters would be able to give them most valuable help. That narrow, lawyer-like notion must be laid aside, which cannot understand that a *nation* has any rights, but will deal only with the grievances of *individuals*; and it must be clearly discerned, that if it is a wrong on a private person to exclude him from the national universities, it is a still greater wrong on the nation to allow their future rulers to be educated in one-sided prejudice and bigoted ignorance.

If it be asked, whence springs the evil spirit and the ignorance which history so emphatically attests, the answer is clear and simple:—*from the unjust and usurped predominance of the clerical order in the universities*. In calling it unjust and usurped, we do not mean to say that it has been gained by the violation of statutes and written laws; we fully admit that it has been by (what it is fashionable to call) 'a historical development.' That, however, is equally true of the domination of the Protestant church establishment in Ireland; both are, nevertheless, usurpations not to be defended. In the old universities of England, as of all Europe, theology was only one *faculty* out of several; and so, in theory, it is to this day, both at Oxford and Cambridge. Yet by a grotesque reversal of all proprieties, clergymen have driven the laity out of the tutorships of classics and mathematics, and have themselves occupied these secular posts; while the faculty of theology proper is scandalously neglected and practically despised. In saying this, we are not contending that no clergyman should be allowed to hold the place of secular teacher. Who could have wished to forbid the late lamented Arnold from lecturing on modern history? Much less do we maintain that no layman should hold a theological chair; many of the

brightest luminaries of sacred literature in Germany are laymen. But it is as absurd to forbid the laity to teach worldly knowledge, as it would be to forbid clergymen to hold theological posts; and therefore the existing statutes of the colleges which enforce on their fellows the taking of 'orders' in the church ought to be unceremoniously abolished, along with all subscriptions which treat academicians differently from other laymen. The rise of the colleges, so lucidly detailed by Huber, has evidently been the ruin of free intellectual development in our universities. In a series of generations, those smaller and interior corporations, constantly pushing their own interests, were certain to prevail, and have prevailed, over the loose unconnected mass of mere university men. All power has fallen into the hands of the colleges, and must do so until they are destroyed; and as no one will desire this, it is manifest that the college statutes should be so altered as to make those institutions a benefit, and not an injury to the universities. While we would not refuse a reform which should stop short of this, we should value it only in proportion as it gave hope of ultimately effecting this; for until either, on the one hand, a great revolution of the church establishment be brought about, or, on the other, the clergy shall be reduced to their proper level in the universities, it appears certain that nothing will be taught there but heartless or superstitious theology, by the side of cramped and perverted science.

While we acknowledge ourselves indebted for some of our thoughts on university reform to Mr. F. W. Newman, the diligent Editor of Huber's Universities, it appears to us that he has overlooked the weight of these last considerations, if he is sanguine as to the results which might be hoped from his own scheme of reform. He desires (1), to have all *academical* tests abolished; without, however, being anxious to secure that the colleges shall not continue (at least for a while) practically to exclude Dissenters; (2), to establish a *new chamber*, consisting of the public professors and college tutors, which should have power to introduce into the university convocation any measure that concerns the public studies; and which should be under duty to report to parliament every year the state and progress of those studies. (3), To abolish the anomalous restrictions on the University Assemblies, by which the individual members are forbidden to originate measures, or to speak in the English language. He believes that the injustice at present inflicted on the university professors would insure their aid in active reformation, and, that by reason of their position and just claims, they would steadily work the universities round into a fairer and healthier system. We willingly concede to him that this might be anticipated, and that the change would be a valu-

able step in the right direction: nor would we undervalue the power of a persevering and enlightened minority, however small, in an assembly which admitted of public deliberation in our native tongue. At the same time, the more important the place of public professor became, the more earnestly would the colleges seek to exclude laymen from it, especially after the academical tests were removed; and we suppose there is no doubt that the collegiate influence must prevail in that struggle. Moreover, without a decisive change, either in the college statutes or in the general power of the colleges, the stronger the movement of liberal feeling without, the more active will opposition become within; and we are by no means sure, that a few years after his reform had been carried, we should not see a set of university professors of a far less liberal cast of mind than at the present moment. Without, therefore, rejecting his idea, we submit that it must be coupled with, and regarded as subordinate to, the grand object of *restoring to the laity their natural rights;* which can only be done by repealing various clauses in the Act of Uniformity, and entirely destroying the clerical nature of fellowships. And here we cannot avoid in passing to remark, how severe an insinuation is conveyed against the University convocation, in refusing to its members a privilege enjoyed in every other public meeting in the land. Be it proclaimed, that Masters of Arts may not be entrusted with the privilege of moving resolutions, or of speaking to their fellows in the English language! What a libel upon them is this!

We do not stop to ask who are to interest themselves in effecting reform, for we regard it as obvious, that no section of the Liberal camp can separately achieve the conquest. Until they discern, not the value of it merely, but its necessity for the permanence and realization of the great and good ends for which they are contending, nothing will succeed. It must be taken up, not as a Dissenters' question, as if, forsooth, we were to receive a boon for which our gratitude to other Liberals would be due; when Dissenters, as such, have far less to gain in that character than the cause of freedom and truth itself would gain, in and for the nation. No: but all who contend for liberty of action and thought, for the progressive amelioration and expansion of our institutions, for popular knowledge and popular rights, whether churchmen or dissenters, evangelicals or 'moderates,' whigs or radicals—nay, any who, although in other matters conservative, yet desire the progress of sound science and the development of a truly learned theology,—ought to combine to throw open the colleges and their fellowships, the universities and their professorships, to *the ablest laymen who can be found;* less as a favour or right to the individuals, than as the legitimate and only method of improving the public instruc-

tion and securing the welfare of the nation. This is not a topic on which interest is likely to be felt among the less educated, nor do we expect so much from public meetings *as from the liberal press* and from the leaders of the various sections of the liberal party. Let the matter be discussed among them, until they are, as nearly as may be, of one mind about it, and let them never lose sight of its essential importance; and then, when the time for action comes, (and it may be even nearer than we expect,) they will be ready to execute their resolutions with decision. Meanwhile, let them keep on the high moral ground of men who desire only that truth should have fair play, and every side of knowledge be honourably explored; who—while they are indignant that a parliament of Charles the Second, or the wills of college founders, should be accepted as the decision of Heaven concerning the studies and the creed of our national seats of learning,—are infinitely far from desiring to repeal these narrow and partial enactments, merely in order to enforce their own personal opinions instead. Thanks be to God! this is one glorious security in our onward movement,—that it is sure to fail the moment it deserves to fail. We cannot leave the high disinterested ground of universal justice and right, and begin to lust after private spoil, without ruining our unanimity, and presently paralyzing our strength.

While, however, we advocate such a reform in our universities as must be equally desired by all who hate conservatism of evil, and who desire to make constant progress towards what is truer and better, we cannot presume to dictate the steps by which it should be aimed at in the earlier progress of the movement. In practical reforms, we must accept all such instalments of justice as are offered to us; nor will they hinder, but will rather aid, the fuller payment, provided that, in accepting them, we protest that they are not an acquittal of the debt. The last point, however, is most essential. In claiming less than our due, we inevitably weaken our own cause, by setting up arbitrary and unreal distinctions, which dim the understanding and the conscience of the hearer, and give to our arguments an appearance of weakness and insincerity. For this reason, if a movement is to be made for university reform, purely as a relief to Dissenters, by all means let us claim the fullest equality with churchmen, in the colleges as well as in the universities. Our right to do so is undeniable to every fresh and unscared conscience. Whether we regard the wills of founders or not, it is most unjust to exclude Dissenters, *as such*. Since many of the most valuable foundations proceeded from Roman Catholics, no one can defend the exclusion of this body of nonconformists, and at the same time lay stress on founders' wills. But since the colleges are now virtually incorporated with the university,

it is absurd to regard them as private bodies, and as the property of modern Roman Catholics. What is more weighty still, it is positively monstrous to allow one man's will to pledge the soil for ever to the maintenance of his private opinions, as if the land and its riches belonged for ever to the dead. When we add to this, that many of the Romanist endowments have been exceedingly swelled by the liberality of Protestant benefactors, so as to destroy the exclusive moral rights of Romanists, it is clear that these foundations cannot be restricted to any one religious body, and ought to be applied for the general benefit of knowledge and education. The present holders possess them *solely* by virtue of an arbitrary act of a parliament of Charles the Second; and are equally liable now to be ordered to abjure their present subscriptions, as formerly to 'assent and consent' to them. Such being the tenure, we have a right to urge on our legislators collectively, and on our representatives individually, forthwith to abolish those unjust restrictions. Our opponents undoubtedly believe (and Huber's book proves this) that the argument by which Dissenters claim admittance into the universities, is equally available for their admission into the fellowships and headships of colleges; and to draw a distinction between them is treated as a piece of hypocrisy, assumed for a temporary purpose. The very same resistance is therefore offered to the smaller as to the greater demand, and the argument on the side of justice, by losing simplicity and obvious consistency, loses force.

Most shallow and faithless is the 'practical wisdom' which says—'the church is *so strong*, that we must not claim all our rights.' If it were even a private and personal concern, the argument would be ungenerous; for the weakness, not the strength, of the other party ought to draw forth our concessions. But the case stands thus. The strength of the Establishment is material, ours is moral. We can gain nothing by physical force, nothing by violence of action or of word; but every thing that is to be won must be won by superiority in reason and in right—by unanimous, consistent, energetic urgency. To believe our weakness, is to be weak; to believe that so far as we have truth, we have God on our side, and that *in so far* he will fight for us;—this must animate our efforts, comfort us in partial defeat, and purify us from all that is low and selfish.

We are not forgetful of the topic, which to many appears the acme of practical wisdom—that 'gradual changes are the safest and most permanent;' but whatever truth may sometimes be in that principle, it undoubtedly is not always true, and we believe that in the present case it would be ill applied. That it is untrue in regard to a legislative transition from slavery to freedom, has been shown in the recent history of the

British West Indies. That it is untrue in commercial legislation, is admitted by Mr. Gladstone to be proved by experience; and public opinion is every day ripening to a belief that the corn laws, when repealed, should be repealed by a single decisive and immediate blow. Now when we examine what it is that has given an undeserved plausibility to the doctrine of *gradual* reform, it appears to be this;—that a false analogy is drawn between the silent unopposed operations of nature, and the conscious, public, much-opposed acts of a national assembly. If England were swayed by a despotic sovereign, whose mandates reached the smallest as well as the greatest affairs, and who could for thirty years together carry on a continuous series of measures, we will admit that university reform might perhaps be best effected by gradual change; but when every successive measure is to be carried in the face of opposition; when as much irritation is produced by the smaller as by the greater effort; when it is out of the question to sustain the energy of the external reforming power for a series of years; and when it is quite certain that the anti-reformers will counterwork from within, so as to defeat the effect of every, except a complete, measure;—it seems to us folly to expect good from a succession of parliamentary enactments. That portion of the reform *which is to come from within* will, and must be, gradual; but that which is to be from without should be (in a better sense than Lord John Russell's) *final;* i. e. it should be so complete, as only to need being really enforced. But if a bill were to pass both the houses of parliament, barely to allow of Dissenters graduating in the two old universities, it appears clear that this could satisfy no party. The nation would still complain that its statesmen were ill educated, and that science was not duly cultivated; Dissenters would see many of their richer members drawn off into the current of the Establishment, and others of them would find the studies at Oxford and Cambridge ill suited to their wants. The amount of liberal feeling infused into the universities from this quarter would be so small, as not sensibly to affect the enormous majority in favour of all that is stagnant and badly conservative; and the party spirit called out in resisting the parliamentary enactment would be likely to make their bigotry more intense. In short, we have no security at all that we could have cause to be contented; yet there are thousands who would impute this as a fault to Dissenters, more especially if imprudent friends should venture now to assert that admissibility to the university degrees is all we want. On the contrary, (even if no colleges existed,) we could not want *less* than that the evil spirit of sectarian politics, which now cramps, distorts, and limits scientific pursuit, should be extirpated, and that the domination of the clergy be put down.

Until that is effected, what have we gained—and by an incomplete measure, such as some Whigs desire to carry, how will that object be forwarded? If, therefore, any well-meaning persons carry such a bill in a parliament which (they feel assured) will grant nothing more, our counsel is to accept it, with the strong protest that it does not satisfy us.

In a very short time a motion will be made in the House of Commons by Mr. Christie, (whose eloquent and able speech in the cause of Dissenters last session deserves acknowledgment,) entreating her Majesty to appoint a commission of inquiry concerning the state of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Such an inquiry, in accordance with the general practice of an English parliament, is probably a necessary step towards *any* important change. We need not therefore add, that we cordially sympathize with Mr. Christie's undertaking, and we trust that he will persevere in his efforts until he has earned for himself the gratitude of the nation, and a name deserving to be recorded, for purifying the ancient schools of England from that 'abomination of desolation' which smites their learning with barrenness, and punishes the people for the sins of the priest. Whether he will have brought forward his motion before these lines are in print, we do not know; and we shall conclude by noticing the progress which the question has made in the last ten years.

The opponents of reform, in both houses, have for the most part endeavoured rather to put off the question, by declaring that the universities will of themselves do all that is necessary and reasonable. This is a plea which cannot last long; and is perhaps already worn out. The elaborate work of the Dean of Ely on the Cambridge Statutes, which we have set at the head of this article, sufficiently shows how absurd it would be to hope for satisfaction from the universities themselves. Dr. Peacock, though a decided liberal in politics, and belonging to the more liberal of the two universities, does not dare to propose a single reform involving any *principle*. He would simply remove all those points in the statutes which are manifestly incongruous with the present practice, and reduce the theory of the colleges and universities to agreement with facts. This would be to remove numerous great blemishes and inconveniences, but would scarcely introduce a single improvement such as reformers from without desire and ought to desire. The division on Mr. Christie's motion last year was more favourable to the reforming cause than had been expected: even Lord Stanley has not forgotten his former sentiments and speeches on the subject. The movements in the Scotch universities—to say nothing of that in the Free Church—are likely to help the question on; and we regard it as certain, that it

must grow by being before the public, provided that it is not allowed to be treated as a sectarian claim. The anti-reformers in parliament have nothing to say on their side, except that 'they will keep what they have got, as long as they can;' and in such a state of things, enormous as the resistance will be, it needs but to be periodically agitated, and it *will advance*.

A document has been sent to us, containing a draught of a petition to parliament in favour of Mr. Christie's motion; which, as it enters rather elaborately into the subject, might perhaps have been advantageously appended to this article, had not a press of other matters prevented. We hope to make room for it on some future occasion.

Art. II. *A Memoir of the life and writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich, author of 'English Synonyms Discriminated,' 'An Historic Survey of German Poetry,' &c., containing his Correspondence for many years with the late Robert Southey, Esq., and original letters from Sir W. Scott, and other eminent literary men;* compiled and edited by, J. W. Robberds. 8vo. 2 vols.—pp. 523-576. London: Murray.

Of William Taylor of Norwich, we apprehend that the majority of our readers know but little; and that those who know any thing, know little more than that he was the author of a work on 'English Synonyms,' and of another, entitled, 'An Historic Survey of German Poetry.' They will learn, therefore, with surprise that he was for the space of more than thirty years the intimate friend of Southey, and was well acquainted, if not intimate, with Coleridge, Wordsworth, Macintosh, and other eminent literary characters of the preceding and present generation. The correspondence between Mr. Taylor and these gentlemen, (especially with the first-named) fills far the greater part of the two portly volumes described at the head of this article. These letters alone, apart from any interest which may attach to the life and character of Mr. Taylor, (and he was in many respects a remarkable, and in some, an eminent man), will insure them a welcome reception from the public. Some highly interesting and curious extracts from them we propose presently to lay before our readers.

In truth, however, Mr. Taylor is worth knowing something of, even for his own sake. Much may be learned from his life and character, especially by authors and students; sometimes in the way of example, more frequently, of warning. That he possessed powers of mind, both vigorous and versatile, and a

knowledge unusually various and extensive, cannot be denied; but it is as little to be questioned that the former were united with a judgment not a little eccentric and crotchety, and that the latter had not a depth proportioned to its extent. The style, too, in which he clothed his thoughts, was unusually uncouth and repulsive, partly, perhaps, in consequence of some peculiarities of mental structure, but principally from his early acquintance with several foreign languages,—especially the German, whose idioms and peculiarities he never scruples to imitate, and whose untransferrible privileges in the formation of new terms and compounds, he seems to have been resolved to appropriate. Often and often, did his literary friends, more especially Southey, lecture him on this point, but in vain. He continued to write exclusively in the 'Taylorian language,' as Sir James Macintosh facetiously styled it, to the very last. That he has, in his reckless violation of the proprieties of English composition, as illustrated in the pages of its greatest masters and purest models, now and then attained an unlooked-for felicity, or a phrase of unusual idiomatic strength and vigour, is most true; but such occasional advantages form but a poor compensation, after all, for an habitual violation of taste, elegance, simplicity, and harmony. It is no sufficient equivalent for being jolted and bruised along the horrors of a 'corduroy' road, that we now and then come upon a little patch of green-sward, along which we roll with rapid ease and an exquisite sense of enjoyment. It is much the same in reading William Taylor. A sentence, a paragraph at most, finds the traveller at the old break-neck work again.

'I can still trace William Taylor,' says Sir J. Mackintosh in one of his letters from Bombay, 'by his Armenian dress, gliding through the crowd in the reviews. . . . . It is true that he does not speak the Armenian, or any other language but the Taylorian; but I am so fond of his vigour and originality, that for his sake I have studied and learned his language. As the Hebrew is studied for one book, so is the Taylorian by me for one author.'

It certainly was not for want of exercise in composition that Mr. Taylor did not overcome the vices of his style. Probably no man ever wrote so much, who yet was known so little. By far the greater part of his productions were anonymous, and were contributed to the periodicals of his day, more especially the Monthly Magazine and the Monthly, Critical, and Annual Reviews. From the first to the last, however, he retained the same genuine Taylorian dialect. Indeed, as his vices in this respect seem to have originated either in some inflexible peculiarities of mental structure, or from early and inveterate habits, or more probably from both, practice seems but to have fixed what it might otherwise have corrected.

We learn that Mr. Taylor's occasional literary contributions to the periodicals of his day amounted to little less than 2,000, and the variety of subjects they embraced is wide in proportion. If the powers and knowledge employed upon them had been systematically and perseveringly expended on a few important works, hardly a doubt can be entertained that he would have taken no mean rank amongst the authors of his age; though from the character of his mind, as manifested in so much that he has left behind, we can scarcely hope that any amount of effort would have protected him from the not infrequent indulgence in monstrous paradox or fantastic speculation.

But the experiment was never fairly made. That apprenticeship to periodical literature which almost all the greatest authors for the last hundred years have served—indeed, we may say ever since that literature had an existence—and in which they gradually acquired, by long practice, the facility and ease which have marked their more deliberate productions, formed almost the whole of Mr. Taylor's literary life. At this we can hardly wonder, for he was born, as seemed, to an ample competence, and took a keen enjoyment in the pleasures of social life. It can be matter of surprise, therefore, to none, that he looked to literature rather as the amusement and relaxation of an active mind, than as the arduous employment which is to insure high rewards or permanent fame. That there should be any instance of a contrary procedure in similar circumstances is all that occasions wonder in us; and strong indeed must be either that love of truth, or that impulse of ambition, or that prompting of benevolence, which can lead a man, with ease and fortune at command, to give up days and nights of toil, not to the mere acquisition of knowledge, which is itself delightful, but to the anxious and elaborate preparation of voluminous works. Yet this, too—so experience and testimony decide—may, by habit, become delight; nor are the emotions of melancholy with which Gibbon penned the concluding sentences of that twelve-volumed story which had become to him as a friend, less natural than they are affecting.

Mr. Taylor's largest work—the 'Historic Survey of German Poetry,' is, in fact, a collection of some of his articles in the Monthly and other Reviews; but no more worthy to be called 'An Historic Survey of German Poetry,' than a few loads of bricks and mortar, planks and laths, deserve to be called a house. Mr. Carlyle, in a somewhat severe critique on the work in the Edinburgh Review, said that it might with propriety be called, a 'General jail-delivery of all publications and manuscripts, original or translated, composed or borrowed, on the subject of German poetry,' &c. &c.

Mr. Robberds, the editor of the work now under review, is exceedingly indignant with Mr. Carlyle on account of his strictures, and seems especially nettled by this unlucky expression. He evidently thinks, too, that he has Mr. Carlyle at an advantage, inasmuch as *he* has not disdained to republish in his 'Miscellanies,' his contributions to the Edinburgh Review, and amongst the rest, this obnoxious critique on Mr. Taylor's 'Historic Survey.' Mr. Robberds therefore asks, 'What, then, are Mr. C.'s 'Miscellanies?'' But the slightest reflection must convince Mr. Robberds that this *argumentum ad hominem* will not hold. Mr. Carlyle published his contributions under the very title of 'Miscellanies;' and if Mr. Taylor had published his under an equally modest title, and not under a name which implied, not merely *some* sort of unity, but continuity, method, and proportion of parts, we dare say that Mr. Carlyle would have spared the description which has so vehemently moved the bile of our editor.

Having mentioned Mr. Robberds, we shall here take the opportunity of saying what little we have to say on his share in the present work. Of his care and diligence in the collection of materials, and of the accuracy and perspicuity of the general narrative there can be no doubt. It is true also that the documents and letters he has thus rescued from oblivion are not only interesting, and many of them valuable, as the productions of eminent writers; they throw considerable light on the literary history of the last generation, and will be most welcome to every student of that history. It may be likewise mentioned to his credit, that the passages from certain German letters in the first volume, the originals of which are given, are in our judgment admirably translated, and show, that if he be the translator, he is more than moderately skilled in that language.

We must say, however, that in the character of an author, he does not please us so well as in that of editor. He has, in our opinion, three principal faults. We cannot say we relish his style at all; it seems often not a little tinged with the ambitious peculiarities of his admired friend, Mr. Taylor himself; it is magniloquent and sometimes turgid, to a degree very unusual in one who is by no means a young man. Common-place sentiments are often expressed in pompous metaphors, (sometimes strangely broken), tumid amplification, and affected antithesis. For example, he tells us that Mr. Taylor had brought with him from Germany, 'the stores of a literature then little known in England; he had cultivated it without pedantry, affectation, or fanaticism; not as an exotic wonder, the rarely-blowing showplant of some privileged conservatory, but as the *native* growth of the common field of reason, thriving under every sky where the blighting mildews of bigotry have ceased to fall.' Again,

speaking of the guests often found at the hospitable table of Mr. Taylor, senior. 'Around such a nucleus of talent, there would naturally be formed a bright and invigorating atmosphere, in which a mind like William Taylor's would delight to expatiate, improving his knowledge by *display*, and strengthening his powers by exercise. He was brought into it under auspicious circumstances, that favoured the boldness and freedom of his flight.' Noticing the youthful friendship between Mr. Taylor and Dr. Sayers, (where Mr. Robberds expends a page or more in proving that the advantages were all on Mr. Taylor's side), he winds up with the following grandiloquent conclusion: 'William Taylor's attachment to him can by no possibility be ascribed to any interested views. It was not 'a shade that follows wealth or fame;' it was not a clinging to the skirts of one who was to drag him up to eminence and notice; it was that enthusiasm of personal regard, that overflowing of generous kindness, and that gushing forth of honest affection, which belong to the dignities of our nature, and while they warm the heart, exalt the character of man.' One would think that two clever and ingenious youths had never formed a friendship before; or that there was especial need of exculpating Mr. Taylor from some charge of a subtle and intense selfishness in forming such intimacy with an open-hearted and talented lad of his own age. Speaking of the convivial parties which often met at the house of Mr. Taylor's father, our author rhapsodizes as follows :—

'There are few now remaining who belonged to the Surrey-street circle in its earliest and happiest days: those who can call to mind the rational pleasure of its Attic repasts, will look to them as marking many a bright scene in the track of their past existence. The pen of another Athenæus might have been well employed in describing that even and incessant flow of interesting conversation, enlivened by all that is most sparkling in wit and most instructive in erudition. Its entertaining anecdotes, its heart-opening good humour, its animated arguments have passed away without a record, while meaner colloquies have been preserved or invented to amuse the public.'

And so our worthy author goes on, in a style which to us appears ridiculous enough; as if the like calamity had not befallen the world in a thousand other instances, and that too where the parties from whose lips, wit and wisdom thus ran to waste, possessed collectively far greater genius, knowledge, and fancy, than ever centred in the literary coterie, (unquestionably respectable, however,) which met in the house in Surrey-street, Norwich.

A second fault in our author, is the oppressive frequency and prolixity with which he engrafts common-place reflections on equally common-place incidents—a fault which is in a good degree illustrated in two or three of the sentences we have already

cited, and which, as we have no wish to multiply examples or prolong the unwelcome task of dispraise, shall suffice to shew our meaning.

The third fault is one which Mr. Robberds shares with a large class of biographers, and has its source in feelings so natural, that we hardly know how to speak of it with the harshness it deserves; we mean an excessive and preposterous admiration of the talents, virtues, and perfections of the subject of his memoir. And yet, though the fault in question often has its origin in an amiable and always in a natural feeling—there can be none more seriously injurious to the real worth of any piece of biography. Mr. Robberds is not content with admiration and eulogy of all that can in any way justify the one or deserve the other; he is not merely ready to repeat his panegyrics, wholesale and retail, on any fresh incident of Mr. Taylor's life,—the most trifling and common-place occurrences often being chosen for this purpose,—but he is so heroic in his friendship, or so blind in his zeal, as to take Mr. Taylor's most acknowledged imperfections under his protection, and to visit with his censure whoever ventures to remark upon them. Even with regard to Mr. Taylor's style, our author, when justifying Mr. Taylor's impatience at certain alterations which the conductors of the Monthly Review had made in one of his articles, says, 'His peculiarities of style were not marks of negligence or affectation; they were the result of an extreme attention to accuracy of expression. In his choice of words, he was almost fastidiously careful to use none that were not critically exact to his meaning; and if our existing vocabulary did not furnish such as satisfied his judgment, he never hesitated to compound or to coin some that would suit his purpose.' Thus he converts into matter of praise what is in fact the very ground of censure, and while formally pleading guilty, founds upon that a claim for a verdict of acquittal; for if every author be at liberty to extend or alter at his pleasure, the 'existing vocabulary,' and to 'compound or coin' new words to suit his purpose, and were to act upon it with the same obstinate eccentricity as Mr. Taylor, nothing could prevent our vernacular from sinking into a 'Babylonish jargon.' In the same spirit, our editor proceeds to justify Mr. Taylor's indignation when he broke with the Monthly Review, on account of some alterations which Mr. Griffith, the son of the editor, Dr. Griffith, had made in one of his articles. Mr. Griffith defends the course he had taken, in a long and somewhat prosy letter, but, as it appears to us, with good sense and moderation. He plainly states that the reason of the alterations was founded on the universal complaint he had heard made of Mr. Taylor's peculiarities of style, and it could hardly be expected that an

editor, who was *de facto* responsible for them, should pay no attention to this *vox populi*. Yet obvious as the motive is, our admiring editor can see nothing less in it than overweening presumption on Mr. Griffith's part, and a jealousy of the superior originality and vigour of his Norwich contributor; and he proceeds to comment upon the subject in the following ludicrous manner:—

'Novelty, of provincial origin, unless it bear the stamp of established authority, is but coldly received in the metropolitan circles; London is so much the mart of talent and the resort of genius, that the superiority of its literary advantages makes the rest of the country appear in this respect little better than a Galilee, out of which no good thing can come. Hence, when extrinsic merit contends for the prize, the dispensers of popularity are generally slow in admitting its claim and chary of their applause.'

Is Mr. Robberds really ignorant that then, as now, at least half the matter of the leading periodicals of the day, was furnished by contributors who rarely visited the metropolis? Does he suppose that an editor cares one farthing, provided an author's articles are popular, whether he lives in town or country, or that the readers of them ever take the trouble to enquire whether the author live at Keswick, Norwich, or London? And all this to account for what is as clear as the day, that Mr. Griffith ventured on the supposed emendations because, not he alone, but the whole world of readers, both in town or country, were impatient of Mr. Taylor's eccentricity of style; and of these, none more so than his admirers and friends, Dr. Aikin, Robert Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Sir J. Macintosh. In the same determined spirit of panegyric, Mr. Taylor's illimitable love of paradox, and his unconquerable affinity for crochets, are resolved into the 'liberal' exercise of an 'enlightened reason;' or they were benevolently designed 'for the good of others!' His 'esoteric faith,' says our author, 'was known only to a few of his most intimate friends. It was not to be collected from the versatility of argument, and boldness of paradox, in which he so frequently indulged in mixed society. *These were designed to rouse the languid, to shake the prejudiced in their fancied security of pre-eminence,* and induce them to explore for themselves the way to knowledge and truth.' Benevolent he must indeed be who will subject himself to the charge of unlimited scepticism, and blind passion for paradox, and all for the purpose of inducing others 'to explore for themselves the way to truth and knowledge.' How the spectacle of a boundless Pyrrhonism, however, can have any such effect upon the youthful beholder, is hard to conceive. Elsewhere, our author gives another view of

these daring speculations. 'Accustomed to investigate everything, he regarded as fair subjects for discussion, even what are generally held to be *unquestionable* and *sacred* truths; still his inquiries were free alike from the insolence of dogmatism, and the obduracy of prejudice. But their novelty alarmed the timid; their boldness offended those who acquiesced in the popular doctrines; and he was assailed by an obloquy as ungenerous as it was unmerited.* Speculative suggestions, unpremeditatedly started in the flow of conversation or the warmth of debate were often imputed to him as deliberately formed opinions.' Just as if the world can possibly form any notions of what a man's opinions are, or whether he has any, except from the sentiments to which he gives public expression; or as though the world can read that 'esoteric faith,' as Mr. Robberds calls it, which, in Mr. Taylor's case, was confined to 'a few of his most intimate friends.' Mr. Robberds himself seems not to be amongst the initiated; or, at all events, has not lifted the veil from the sacred mystery of (to use Sir J. Macintosh's designation) Rabbi Williamki Taylorki's system of religious faith. Under such circumstances the said rabbi, especially as his 'exoteric doubts' were very plainly and freely expressed, ought not to have wondered if people mistook him. 'Wishing to avoid needless recurrence to this topic,' says the editor, 'I may be allowed here briefly to observe, that whatever creed William Taylor may have eventually adopted, it was the result of extensive research and

* Mr. Robberds even undertakes to apologise for those 'daring speculations' in the Annual Review on the German Neologian Paulus, to which even Mr. Belsham did not hesitate to apply the term 'abominable.' This epithet sorely frets our editor. 'It is to be regretted,' he says, 'that such *intolerance* should have been manifested by one whose learning and talents had hitherto been employed in successfully vindicating for himself the *right of private judgment*, &c. . . . The epithet which he applied was a mere term of abuse worthy of the worst times of persecution.' From all which it would appear that there are really no tenets which we may term 'abominable' without infringing the right of private judgment, and becoming, in effect, 'persecutors.' Mr. Taylor replied to Mr. Belsham in a pamphlet which met with universal disapprobation. It was addressed specially to Unitarian readers, and in noticing this, Mr. Robberds, we take it unconsciously, says about the severest thing that was ever uttered of Unitarians, 'Questions may be fairly propounded to them which would be at once scouted by other sects as profane and impious. And so it was that, for mere speculative opinions—errors, *may be*, but errors only of judgment and theory, one of the warmest and kindest hearts,' &c. Mr. Taylor believed the scriptures to be merely human productions,—Mr. Robberds converts this into matter of praise. 'It is true that he regarded the scriptures as human productions—his conception of the supreme Spirit was too elevated, too reverent, to allow him to think otherwise.' Does Mr. Robberds mean that Mr. Taylor's conceptions were more reverent and elevated than those of Bacon, Newton, Milton, or Pascal? They must, in that case have been 'elevated' indeed.

deep reading.' This is not very definite, certainly. If we might be allowed to speculate on the 'esoteric faith,' which Mr. Robberds seems to think that Mr. Taylor so scrupulously concealed, we should conjecture that it was a system of negatives; that he did *not* believe this, and he did *not* believe that, but that he hardly knew what he *did* believe. In a word, we think that the chest, thus carefully locked and guarded, would, if opened and looked into, be found, like many other chests, to be empty.

If we may judge, however, from certain passages in the correspondence with Mr. Southey, Mr. Taylor has not left us in all the doubt about his 'esoteric faith' in which the editor would fain involve it; and that it bore a very close resemblance to his 'esoteric paradoxes,' which, in truth, seem neither to have been 'unpremeditatedly uttered in the warmth of debate,' nor 'benevolently' assumed to 'rouse the languid,' and induce them to 'explore the way to truth and knowledge for themselves.' Replying to some oblique reflections of Mr. Southey, he says:

'There are three forms of pantheism—[1] The pantheism of Spinoza, who maintains that the whole is matter—that the whole is not collectively intelligent. This is a form of atheism. [2] The pantheism of Berkeley, who maintains that the whole is God, that the whole is spirit, that the whole is collectively intelligent. This is not a form of atheism. [3] The pantheism of Philo, who maintains that the whole is God, that the whole consists of matter and spirit, that the whole is collectively intelligent. This is not a form of atheism. Now it is this Philonic pantheism that I embrace, believing myself therein to coincide exactly with Jesus Christ, in metaphysical opinion, concerning deity. When I publish my other pamphlets in proof of the great truth (!) that Jesus Christ wrote the 'Book of Wisdom,' and translated the Ecclesiasticus from the Hebrew of his grandfather Hillel (!), you will be convinced (that I am convinced) that I, and I alone, am a precise and classical christian,' vol. ii. p. 374.

And as to the scriptures,

'The new unitarian canon is just arrived, and I am reading it. New translations of the Bible eminently tend to disperse the *prestige* (as the French say) of reverence: with the old words are associated those early, humble, overawing, childhood impressions, which made religion a practical driver of our course, whatever we might speculate about the birthplace of the guide: with the new words, a great deal betrays itself to be solemn inanity that one had before read undetected.'

If, then, we may trust these confidential communications of private friendship, four points at least of Mr. Taylor's 'esoteric faith' appear to be pretty clear, and they are such that hardly any 'exoteric' paradoxes would have been likely to do them injustice. 1. That Mr. Taylor believed a great deal of the scriptures to be 'solemn inanity,' his 'conceptions being too elevated and reverent' to allow him to think otherwise. 2. That he believed Jesus Christ to be the author of one book of the Apocry-

pha, and the translator of another from the Hebrew of his grandfather Hillel. 3. That he believed in pantheism according to the school of the Jew Philo, and that in so doing he proved himself 'to be alone a precise and classical christian.' We should think that with these fragments of his 'esoteric faith,' the reader will rest content, without troubling himself to inquire after the whole system. The above speculations are, truly, 'free and daring' enough; but in good sooth, they are so odd, whimsical, and incongruous, that they might almost suggest an apology for which we suspect Mr. Robberds would not thank us—that their author was amongst that class of people 'whom much learning has made mad.'

Mr. Robberds uses the most indulgent language possible towards his friend's infirmities. 'The liberal disposition that prevailed around him [when he returned to Norwich from his residence in Germany] allowed also a considerable latitude to his speculations; and at that early period of his career, he could indulge even a *sportive and innocent heresy*, without fearing to offend the squeamish, or incur the misrepresentations of bigots.'

We shall be sincerely sorry if the remarks we are making should give pain to Mr. Robberds, but we must protest against that indiscriminate admiration and that absurd charity which too often rob biography of some of its most useful lessons; nay, in the present case, endeavour to palliate or rather panegyrize mental habits and tendencies exceedingly injurious to youth. Mr. Robberds has even done more—by leaving uncensured those lax and epicurean sentiments which are not obscurely expressed in Mr. Taylor's writings. In domestic and social life, we believe Mr. Taylor, in many respects, to have been an amiable and worthy man—a dutiful son and a warm friend; but if free from gross vice himself, it is only because he was happily inconsistent with his code of speculative morals; if he be not charged with being as tolerant of vice as of 'sportive and innocent heresies,' to use Mr. Robberds's bland phrase, it certainly is not because his words have not given ample ground for it. Those who are acquainted with his critique on Wieland and other portions of his 'Historic Survey of German Poetry,' will have no difficulty in interpreting our meaning. This 'tolerance' of 'sensualism,' (theoretic, at all events) was severely, but not too severely animadverted upon by Mr. Carlyle, in the article of the Edinburgh Review already adverted to.

While we have thought it our duty to censure the pernicious 'tolerance' of the biographer, we must do him the justice to say, that he is at all events consistent in his admiration; that if he has concealed the more serious faults of the subject of his memoir, he has, with a hardihood worthy of a better cause, endea-

vented to apologize or even claim our admiration for those intellectual labours and errors of a crotchety judgment which there would have been no shame in candidly acknowledging. Even of his *really* 'spurious and innocent heresies' in matters of criticism, taste or science, he is most sympathetically tolerant. 'He had always a passion,' says he, 'for the uncommon and recondite. It was not a love of singularity; it was an exploring curiosity, an investigating tact . . . . . Surveying with a free and keen glance, the opinions of mankind, he saw how frequently the hidden sources of truth were neglected, and specious errors obtruded by the cant of fashion upon indolent credulity.' Who would not think from this that Mr. Robberds was giving an account of an intellect quite of the Baconian order? or who would imagine that if ever there was a man liable to embrace 'specious errors,' or who added to their number, Mr. Taylor was the man. Who would have suspected that he was speaking of one who believed that Joshua and Sesostris were the same person—that Nebuchadnezzar was identical with Cyrus—that Kotzebue was second only to Shakspeare—that Milton's poetry was of inferior manufacture—that Wilkes was the author of the letters of Junius, not to mention many other theories, which, if less mischievous than that which made Jesus Christ author of the Book of Wisdom, and translator of the book of Ecclesiasticus, were scarcely less frantic? Again, our editor observes, 'He had always at command historical facts and apposite illustrations, derived from authorities which few besides himself had ever consulted. On these he *reasoned* in his own peculiar manner; and if his inferences were not *uniformly* sound'—extravagant admission!—but our author immediately proceeds to lay a healing plaster on so cruel a wound—'they always had a stamp of originality, a zest of novelty, a charm of ingenuity, which interested all to whom they were addressed, and urged them *irresistibly* to think and examine for themselves.' Who would not be content to be a whimsical speculator or a paradoxical reasoner for such noble ends as these? In perfect consistency with all this, his biographer, after mentioning an hypothesis of Mr. Taylor's, absolutely without one shred of evidence to sustain it, namely, 'that the ancient fable of the Phœnix was an allegory under which the learned of Egypt had enveloped the philosophy of comets!' proceeds to call it 'one of those *characteristic* traits which so often imparted a stimulating vivacity both to his conversations and to his writings.' Truly, it were easy to gain the air of 'originality' by such gratuitous assumptions and such random conjectures as these: but not even their 'novelty,' we should imagine, could give any 'zest' to them.

Mr. Robberds is consistent throughout. He is not only struck

with Mr. Taylor's precocious childhood, but has thought it worth while to justify his admiration by extracts from some of the letters in French and Italian which, when a boy of fifteen, he wrote home on his first visit to the continent. They are neither better nor worse than most boys of intelligence would have written under the same circumstances; but we cannot conceive why any portions have been published. We should as soon have thought of publishing the first Latin and French exercises of a lad at school.*

We shall now proceed to give a slight account of the principal incidents of Mr. Taylor's life, which as in the case of most literary men, may be compressed into a very few pages; after which, we propose laying before our readers a selection of a few very brief extracts from the more characteristic portions of his correspondence with Southey.

William Taylor was born at Norwich, November 7, 1765. His father, of the same name, was a respectable manufacturer of that city, and seems to have been much respected for his social worth. He was hospitable, liberal and public spirited, but as we should gather even from Mr. Robberds's subdued statement, marked by not a few oddities, &c. of habit and temper. His mother appears to have been a truly amiable and prudent woman, and well worthy of that exemplary affection and reverence with which her son ever regarded her, and which are among the brightest traits in his character. This amiable lady had the misfortune to be blind during the last two and twenty years of her life—a calamity which she seems to have borne with much sweetness and patience, although we need not take for literal truth what Mr. Robberds, in his too customary exaggeration of praise, has said on the subject; that 'she endured the privation not only with patience, but with cheerfulness, regretting it *only* so far as it might incapacitate her for the discharge of her duty to others.' William Taylor's parents were both Unitarians, and members of the congregation assembling in the Octagon chapel, Norwich. He was an only child, and nurtured, of course, with all the fondness and care which wealth usually lavishes on an only child. His earliest instructor was the Rev. John Bruckner, pastor of the French and Dutch protestant churches at Norwich—a man of considerable intelligence and information, from whom he acquired the elements of

* The following is the part selected from one of them. Mr. R. must have keener eyes than we have, if he can see in it any claim to publicity. "M. Casenave me dit que nous devous aussi passer dans L'Allemagne; mais je crains que les quatre mois que vous voulez bien m' accorder pour apprendre la langue de ce pays là n'y suffiront pas. Avez vous fait part à ma mère de ce projet? Dites lui que je m'en promets un grand agrément et presentez lui les assurances de mon affection.'

French. He was then sent to the school of the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, of Palgrave, near Diss, whose accomplished lady, the celebrated Mrs. Barbauld, Taylor was in the habit of calling in after life, 'the mother of his mind.' One of his schoolfellows was Frank (afterwards Dr.) Sayers, with whom he formed an intimate friendship, and whose life he wrote. In 1779, at the early age of fourteen, he paid his first visit to the continent, in company with M. Casenave, who then conducted the foreign correspondence of his father's house. He was absent about a year and a half, and in that time made the tour of France, Italy, and the Netherlands, acquiring, of course, a considerable knowledge both of French and Italian.

He returned to England in January 1781, and after an interval of two months, again left home in company with Mr. Schwartz, a foreign merchant, on a tour through the manufacturing districts of England. He then repaired to Germany, and devoted himself to the study of the language of that country, under the tuition of M. Ræderer, who lived at Detmold, capital of the county of Lippe, in Westphalia. The language at first grated harshly on his ear, having been so long accustomed to the musical softness of the Italian and the French, and as he humourously expressed it in one of his letters home, a portion of each morning was spent 'in widening his throat to afford an easy passage to the German gutturals.' He had, however, such a talent for the acquisition of languages, and applied with so much diligence, that in five months he had mastered all the principal difficulties, and during the remaining seven months 'pervasively studied,' as he expresses it, the general literature of Germany. During his year of residence, his progress was so considerable, that his instructor, M. Ræderer, compliments him in his first letter written after his leaving Detmold, with the title of the German Pliny. 'Wenn sie so fortmachen, werden sie noch ein teutsher Plinius.' 'If you continue to make such progress you will be a German Pliny.' He returned to England, of course much improved, and with strong testimonials of regard from all his German friends, in July, 1782. In one of his letters, M. Ræderer says: 'O mein lieber Britte, sie sind bei mehreren als mir unvergesslich.' 'Oh, my dear Briton, there are many besides me who do not forget you.'

After his return to Norwich he seems have applied himself with diligence, though with reluctance, to business, to which his father had destined him. His spare time was given to literature, and his tastes in that direction doubtless became the stronger from the society which he was in the habit of almost daily meeting at his father's hospitable table. Norwich, at that time, certainly possessed a greater number of accomplished and intelligent

men than almost any other provincial circle could boast. Amongst them we find the names of Rev. G. C. Morgan, Dr. Enfield, Sir J. Smith, Mrs. Opie, P. Martineau, Esq., Rev. J. Kinghorn, Joseph John Gurney, and others.

In 1783, William Taylor accompanied his friend Sayers, then a student at Edinburgh, in an excursion through some of the the Highlands, and ere he quitted Scotland, 'made a pilgrimage,' in sympathetic scepticism, to the 'grave of Hume'!

On his return to Norwich, he continued for about four years longer to divide his time between the claims of business and literature—adding to his other acquisitions a knowledge of the Spanish. His distaste for the counting-house, however, obviously increased, and at length became invincible. He succeeded (1791) in persuading his father to retire from business, and, satisfied with the handsome competency he had obtained, to spend the evening of life in enjoyment and repose. After this he devoted his time to literary pursuits—frequently taking a part in the debates of more than one of the public societies with which Norwich abounded.

When the French revolution broke out, his father and himself both strongly sympathised with the revolutionists, and took an active part in the proceedings of one of those local societies at home, which so strongly moved the jealousy of government. In the hey-day of his enthusiasm, William Taylor even paid a brief visit to the continent, that he might quaff draughts of liberty at the fountain head. Enthusiastic as his language at first is, however, his visit seems in a good measure to have cooled his ardour. After declaring, in his usual style, 'that it was reserved for France to prove, that science, as she plumes her wings, extends her power, till at last they shall over-shadow the earth, and winnow from its surface every scattered grain of corruption;' and 'to offer the finest spectacle which the mind of Deity can contemplate, that of a nation of heroes obeying by choice a senate of sages;' he says, very shrewdly, 'The French seem to love what we call standing in hot water, and seem able to bear it longer than any other people. All Paris is still in a ferment. The last sound which dies away upon the sleepy ear is the rattle of the patriot drums, and the first murmur which disturbs our rest, is the martial music of the national militia. Every morning they are marched, exercised and reviewed, each division in its turn: every evening they parade the streets with ostentatious bustle.' In a subsequent letter, after spending a few days in listening to the debates of the National Assembly, we find a still more decided tone of moderation,' and 'his nation of heroes and sages' reduced to the average stature of common humanity. 'That their conduct,' says he, speaking of the le-

gislative body, 'is governed by the lofty motives they profess, is, I must think, extremely problematical. If, however, they be *from interest* generous, and from *prudence* forgiving, it is much the same to their enemies and to posterity. The deed still contributes to the happiness and instruction of society.—Neither is information by any means so diffusive in France as I imagined.'

Henceforth, William Taylor lived devoted to the pursuits of literature; reading and writing much, and on a great variety of subjects; lecturing and speechifying, and debating at various public societies, and living at the same time in the quiet enjoyment of domestic pleasure. In 1796, appeared his earliest, and perhaps on the whole most successful production; his translation of the Lenore of Bürger, written in 1790. It had the effect of provoking several other translations of that celebrated performance, and the rarer merit of first eliciting the poetic spark in Walter Scott, as appears by his own confession. The ballad was read at professor Dugald Stewart's, by Mrs. Barbauld, and produced a great sensation there. Walter Scott afterwards told Mrs. Barbauld, the effect which the recitation of a portion by one of the company had had on him. It led to an interchange of compliments between Sir Walter Scott and William Taylor. The letters are preserved in the present work.

In 1791, Mr. Taylor printed his translation of Lessing's 'Nathan the Wise,' and in 1793, that of Goethe's 'Iphigenia,' but both for private distribution only.

In 1793, commenced his connexion with the Monthly Review. His first article was a critique on the 'Disquisitions' of his friend, Dr. Sayers. In the following summer, Dr. Enfield, in anticipation of a prolonged absence from home, made over to Taylor, the books which had been sent him for review, and requested him to be his *locum tenens*. Taylor consented, and a permanent connexion with the work was the result. The letters which passed between Dr. Griffiths and the Editor on this occasion are very curious, as throwing light on the literary history of that period; but we have not space to cite from them; nor to mention that we have too much respect for our own craft to proclaim all its mysteries to the world. He continued his contributions to the Monthly Review till 1799; and during this period, it appears, he supplied it with no fewer than two hundred articles. In what way, and for what reasons his connexion with this work was first broken off, has been already stated. It was renewed, however, in 1810, and continued till 1824; during which period, his contributions amounted to three hundred and fifty articles.

His connexion with the Monthly Magazine, commenced in 1796, and continued till 1824; and his contributions during that period amounted to no less than seven hundred and sixty-four. To the Critical Review, he also furnished in 1803, 1804, and 1809, sixty-four articles; and to the Annual Review, between 1803 and 1807, three hundred and sixty-one articles; besides a few to the Athenæum. In the Annual Review appeared those highly objectionable articles on Paulus, which have been already referred to, and which involved him in controversy with Dr. Belsham. The foreign department in all these journals, and especially the Monthly Review, was largely indebted to Mr. Taylor's pen. In 1794, he published some slight poetical pieces; amongst the rest, one of Gleim's 'War Songs;' and in the following year, four of Wieland's 'Dialogues.'

In the Monthly Magazine appeared his well-known version in Hexameters of 'Ossian's Address to the Sun.' It was the first modern attempt to naturalize that metre amongst us, and led to much discussion between Southey and himself in their correspondence. In one place, Southey amusingly says, 'as for hexameters, to send scattered parties of twenty, or fifty, or a hundred is useless; they will be cut off; but if we could march an army of five or six thousand into the country, ably drawn up, they would maintain their ground against all opposition.' Nevertheless, it fared as ill with his 'Vision of Judgment,' as with the grand army on its march from Moscow; whether, because *not* ably drawn up, we leave to our readers to determine. The English may now be considered hexameter-proof.

In 1798, commenced Taylor's intimacy with Southey; and that long correspondence which fills so large a portion of these two volumes. The last letter from William Taylor, is dated March 12th, 1821, in acknowledgment of a presentation copy of the above-mentioned work, the 'Vision of Judgment.' It contains sentences, which, if Southey's change of early creed were sincere, must have been harsh enough; and if *not* sincere, we know not any terms strong enough to express his worthlessness. The latter hypothesis we do not of course admit; yet, supposing him perfectly sincere, we cannot but wonder that he should have left his old friend and correspondent so dubious of his real feelings, as to be at liberty to indulge in such observations as the following; which in truth pass the bounds of lawful and innocent banter:—

'My Dear Friend,—It is not permitted to receive a presentation-copy of your 'Vision of Judgment,' without thanking you at least for the polite manner in which you have mentioned me at the end of the Preface. I enjoyed the book exceedingly, and have been reading it with

peals of laughter. The idea is ingenious and happy, in writing the apotheosis of a king, to convert his Red Book into the book of life; and though there may be in this a little lurking profaneness, neither *you* nor *I* are likely to be shocked at *that*. Perhaps the irony is too covert; but probably you mean the Tories should be taken in.'

One could hardly have wondered, had this letter been, not only the last of the series *preserved*, but the *last*. Indeed, considering that Mr. Taylor lived fifteen years after the date of this, it is not a little singular that no further portions of the correspondence with Southey are to be found. Probably, the growing divergence of their principles, and the laureate's incessant engagements restricted them to a very occasional interchange of letters, and thus the correspondence virtually dropped long before the death of Mr. Taylor. He visited Keswick, however, so late as 1826, and we find Mr. Southey at Norwich still later. On the latter occasion, (the last on which they ever met,) we are told that 'after dinner the host made many attempts to engage his guest in some theological argument, which the latter parried for some time very good-humouredly, and at last put an end to them by exclaiming, 'Taylor, come and see me at Keswick. We will ascend Skiddaw, where I shall have you nearer heaven, and we will there discuss such questions as these.'—Vol. i. p. 317.

In 1802, Mr. Taylor paid a visit to Paris, with letters of introduction to Lafayette. He thence wrote several interesting letters to Mr. Martin, of Liverpool, which are published in the work before us.

At the close of the same year he projected a weekly newspaper at Norwich, called the 'Iris,' for which he drew up a prospectus quite in his peculiar style, and of which for a considerable time, he continued to be the principal editor. Many specimens of his articles in this journal, as well as from those in the magazines and reviews, are given in these volumes. In 1810 he published his last considerable work, consisting of translations from German and French writers, and entitled 'Tales of Yore,' in three volumes. In the course of 1811 his family experienced those reverses of fortune, which deprived them of a considerable portion of their property, compelled them to exchange their residence in Surrey-street for a humbler abode, and to adopt a very different style of living. Mr. William Taylor meditated various schemes of achieving an independent subsistence, and was urged to apply himself vigorously to some *magnum opus*. But the habits of his life seem to have been fixed, and were not to be overcome. Though he continued to derive some support from literature, it was still exclusively from his contributions to the periodicals. He also, at Southey's suggestion, made an attempt to

gain the post of a librarian at the British Museum, as successor to Mr. Douce, but was unsuccessful.

The calamities of his family called forth from a young friend named Elton Hamond, a generous and noble proffer, which deserves to be recorded. He offered to make over one hundred a year out of an income confessedly not large enough to allow him to marry upon, to the support of Mrs. Taylor, that she might not feel in her old age the privations of poverty. The offer was delicately declined, but the correspondence on the subject, forms one of the most interesting portions of these volumes.

Mrs. Taylor did not long survive the change in the circumstances of those who were so dear to her. She died in 1812; Mr. Taylor, sen., lingered to the year 1819.

Nothing of any consequence remains to be told of the last seventeen years of William Taylor's life. The little that is worthy of mention, has been already anticipated. His last days seem to have been melancholy ones—sadly contrasted with the bright promises of his youth. For a considerable period before his death, there was a visible decline of his powers; so early indeed as 1830; and in 1833 he was visited with something very like paralysis. He lingered on till March, 1836.

We have read Mr. Robberds's remarks on his death with sincere pain. While we should tremble at the thought of anticipating, in reference to any individual of our race, the sentence of Him 'who as judge of the whole earth must do right,' we should be equally afraid of leaving on the minds of the thoughtless and the young the impression that it really did not much matter what they believed or what they disbelieved—whether they were Christians, or pantheists, or atheists, so long as they discharged with tolerable decorum the social duties of life, and exercised towards others the same 'liberality' which they claimed for themselves. We thought that this old heathenism had pretty nearly worn itself out, and that the connection between religious opinions and the highest forms of devotion and goodness, was generally admitted. Yet what other lessons than those abovementioned the young and the thoughtless can learn from Mr. Robberds's apologies for Mr. Taylor's aberrations, and his reflections thereon, we know not.

Mr. Taylor, in the closing years of his life, was charged with habits of intemperance. Mr. Robberds says that the charge has been grossly exaggerated; we are not concerned to deny it, though we must say his apology says more for Mr. Taylor than from some expressions in his letters we should judge that Mr. Taylor was disposed to say for himself.

The habits of Mr. Taylor during the years in which he was so idly busy were peculiar. His biographer tells us that—

'He rose early, and his studies usually engaged his undivided attention till noon, when it was his almost daily practice at all seasons to bathe in the river, at a subscription bath-house, constructed on the bank of the stream near its entrance into the city. After this, he invariably exercised himself by walking, for which purpose he always selected a road on the western side of Norwich, leading to the bridge over the Wensum, at Hillesdon. . . . On this road he was seen almost every day for many years, between the hours of one and three. . . . He was once asked why he always made choice of so secluded and solitary a walk. The quaint reason which he assigned for his preference was, that on this road no fit of indolence could at any time shorten his allotted term of exercise, as there were no means of crossing the river at any nearer point, and he was therefore compelled to go round by the bridge, which was about three miles distant from his residence. . . He always returned from these rambles punctually at three o'clock, and devoted the remainder of the day to the pleasures of society.'

But we must now hasten to present our readers with some few paragraphs from the highly curious correspondence between Mr. Southey and William Taylor. As already said, it is extremely valuable in relation to the literary history of the period, lifting the veil from much of the private and professional life of many of the principal writers of the present age. The letters are perfectly unreserved; so much so, that when Mr. Southey gave his consent to their publication, we question whether he had not forgotten not a few of the passages they contain, or whether, if he were now alive, he would altogether approve of so frank a disclosure. Very much, it is true, that passes between the two correspondents is so much of the nature of minute criticism on each other's performances as to be interesting only to literary students; but much is also universally interesting. Mr. Southey's letters every where display his activity of mind, his recondite and multifarious learning, his indefatigable energy, and often his good nature and kindness of heart; but as plainly also his variable judgment, his strong prejudices, his overweening vanity, and a rankling resentment against hostile reviewers truly surprising. No sooner does he mention the Edinburgh and Mr. Jeffrey, than he loses all common sense as well as candour; nor are the remarks on some of his *friends*, of a very complimentary nature. But we must proceed with our extracts. The following is the account Taylor gives of one of his mad critical theories:

'I am learning the Hebrew alphabet. My chronological system about Cyrus and Darius renders it desirable to translate a text or two in the Bible, and I want to know if it can plausibly be done. Whether I shall have the perseverance to continue my left-handed reading of the cabalistic squares, until I understand the whole book of Esther, I much doubt. Meanwhile, I have attained the inferences that the feast of Purim is the

Magophonia of Darius; the xxxi. Ezekiel, an elegy on the death of Cyrus, killed by the Massagetæ, and the xiv. Isaiah, an elegy on the death of Cambyses, both by the same author, whom, on the ground of internal evidence, I am venturing to separate from among the different prophets, and to call Daniel, and who is, I think, the finest ode writer in the world. My Daniel, is to claim of Ezekiel xxv. to xxxii. and xxxv. to xxxix; of Jeremiah xlvi. to li; and of Isaiah xiii. to xxiii. and xi. to xiii., but of this last allotment I am doubtful.'—Vol. i. pp. 287, 8.

In another letter he writes—

'I am busied now in theology, and have actually drawn up for the Monthly Magazine a paper, 'Who wrote the wisdom of Solomon?' which has for its object to prove that Jesus Christ wrote it; partly from the internal evidence of passages descriptive of him, partly from the external evidence of the extreme veneration in which the book was held by all the apostolic characters, I have endeavoured to keep aloof from the question of miracles.'

The following is certainly *rather* free:

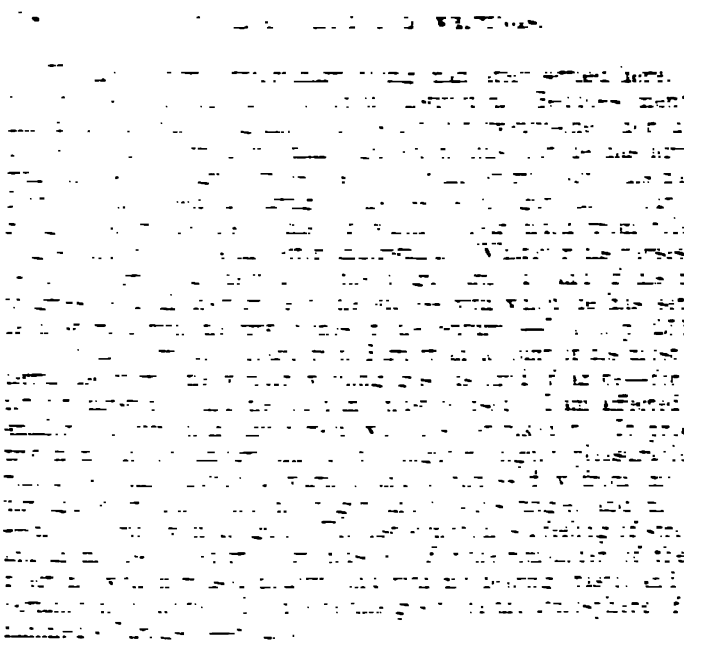
'Saint Anthony and the Devil [one of Southey's pieces] is a lively dialogue, more lively than most of the eclogues: to the morality of it I do not subscribe; the Jaels, the Ehuds, and the Judiths are praised in bad books by persons of a yet unevolved and inexperienced moral taste. Elisha again is an equivocal archetype, and appears to have enthroned and supported a very Robespierre in Jehu. 2 Kings x. 7.—Vol. i. p. 269.

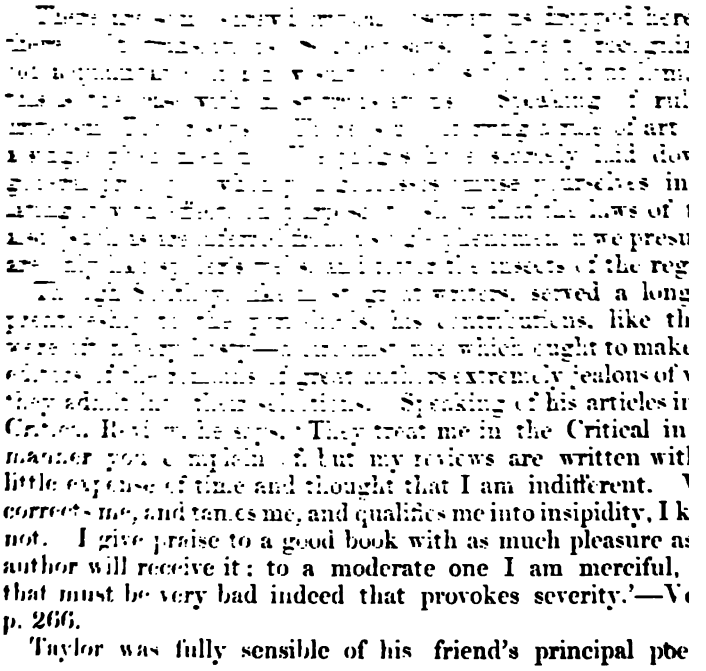
The editor has indicated that he has suppressed a passage, by the asterisks that follow. It must have been, we imagine, some singularly 'bold and daring flight' which prompted so much caution in our very liberal editor.

Mr. Taylor gives this account, amusing, but certainly rather partial, of his own style.

'Were I reviewing my own reviewals, I should say: This man's style has an ambitious singularity, which, like chewing ginseng, displeases at first, and attaches at last. In his pursuit of the *curiosa felicitas*, he often sacrifices felicity to curiosity of expression: with much philological knowledge, and much familiarity among the European classics of all sorts; his innovations are mostly defensible, and his allusions, mostly pertinent, yet they have both an unusuality which startles, and which, if ultimately approved, provokes at least an anterior discussion that is unpleasant. His highest merit is the appropriate application of his information; in his account of Rivarol, you discover only his philological; in his account of Eichhorn only his theological; in his account of Gillier only his artistical; and of Wieland only his belles-lettristical pedantry, &c.'—Vol. i. p. 259.

The following, from letters of Southey, afford interesting intimations of the then dawning fame of Sir H. Davy, and a droll description of the effect of the newly discovered 'laughing gas' on the nerves of the future laureate.





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[illegible] Speaking of rul[illegible] of art [illegible] dov[illegible] in [illegible] laws of [illegible] we presu[illegible] insects of the reg[illegible]

[illegible] writers, served a long [illegible] his contributions, like th[illegible] which ought to make [illegible] great authors extremely jealous of [illegible] Speaking of his articles in [illegible] Critical Review, he says, 'They treat me in the Critical in [illegible] manner you complain of, but my reviews are written wit[illegible] little expense of time and thought that I am indifferent. [illegible] corrects me, and tames me, and qualifies me into insipidity, I k[illegible] not. I give praise to a good book with as much pleasure as [illegible] author will receive it: to a moderate one I am merciful, [illegible] that must be very bad indeed that provokes severity.'—V[illegible] p. 266.

Taylor was fully sensible of his friend's principal poe[illegible]

sins of 'expatiation' and over-minuteness of description, and repeatedly refers to it. In one place he says, speaking of the proposed anthology, 'let pieces of uncertain value be afterwards concentrated, rendered stimulant by withdrawing the water of deliquescence, be alchoholized,' (all this is in the true Taylorian style) 'have their aroma distilled into a quintessential drop of otr. If there be a poetical sin in which you are apt to indulge, it is expatiation, an Odyssey garrulity, as if you were ambitious of exhausting a topic, instead of selecting its more impressive outlines only. In a metrical romance, this is probably no evil. Some feeble intervals increase the effect of the interstitial splendour; but in the poemets of an anthology, there is no space for oscillation, no leisure to flag.'—Vol. i. p. 296.

In another place he tells him to 'squeeze out more of his whey.' Criticising a passage in Southey's 'Abel Shufflebotham,' he oddly says, 'accurst, curst, accursed, cursed occur cursedly currently, as a cursory perusal will convince you.'

Southey is not less free on his side. Again and again does he assail Taylor's style, and at last, gave up in despair. In one letter he remarks:—

'And now I will say, what for a long while I have thought; that you have ruined your style by Germanisms, Latinisms and Greekisms, that you are sick of a surfeit of knowledge, that your learning breaks out like scabs and blotches upon a beautiful face . . . . . Crowd your ideas as you will, your images can never be too many; give them the stamp and autograph of William Taylor, but let us have them in English, plain, perspicuous English; such as mere English readers can understand. Ours is a noble language, a beautiful language. I can tolerate a Germanism for family sake; but he who uses a Latin or a French phrase, where a pure old English word does as well, ought to be hung, drawn, and quartered for high-treason against his mother tongue.'

The following are most amusing revelations of his own character, and some of them probably as unreserved as were ever made by one man to another, however close their friendship. Speaking of his 'Thalaba,' he says,

'The justice of your praise I of course believe, however ill-qualified to judge. Your censure, there *is* a fault of story, a want of sufficient concatenation of events, is perhaps inevitable from the subject. Yet, I have found no lack of interest in the readers, who have followed the story breathlessly . . . . There are parts of the poetry which I cannot hope to surpass, Yet, I look with more pride to the truth and the soul that animates 'Joan of Arc.' There is the individual Robert Southey there, and only his imagination in the enchanted fabric. For this also, I build the hope, the confidence of my own immortality upon 'Madoc;' *because in a story* as diversified as that of 'Thalaba,' human characters

are well developed, human incidents well arranged; because, it will be as new in the epic as this is in the romance, and assert a bolder claim to originality than has been asserted since the voice of Homer awoke its thousand echoes.'—Vol. i. p. 371.

'Perhaps it is the consciousness of a garrulous tendency in writing that impels me with such decided and almost exclusive choice to narrative poetry . . . . Sometimes, too, it is serviceable wherever there are passages of prominent merit. There should be a plain around the pyramids. As a poet, I consider myself as out of my apprenticeship, and having learnt the command of my tools. If I live, I may, and believe I shall make a good workman; but at present I am only a promising one. It is an unfavourable circumstance that my writings are only subjected to the criticisms of those persons whose tastes are in a great measure formed upon mine, and who are prepared to admire whatever I may write.'—ib. i. p. 304.

'I am historifying *totis viribus* . . . . *Me judice*, I am a good poet, but a better historian; because, though I read other poets, and am humbled; I read other historians with a very different feeling. They who have talents, want industry or virtue; they who have industry, want talents. One writes like a French sensualist, another like a Scotch scoundrel, calculating how to make the most per sheet with the least expense of labour; one like a slave, another like a fool. Now, I know myself to be free from these staminal defects, and feel that where the subject deserves it, I write with a poet's feeling, without the slightest affectation of style or ornament, going always straight-forward to the meaning by the shortest road.'—Vol. ii. p. 76.

Though we should have preferred to see this laudation from any body rather than Mr. Southey, we must say it hardly transcends the real merits of Mr. Southey's admirable prose. Further on he says—

'In classing 'Madoc in Wales,' with the historical plays of Shakspeare, you bestow the highest praise and what I feel to be the most appropriate (!) It has the historical verisimilitude and the dramatic truth. The other part, which is *sui generis*, you over and underrate. It is below Milton and Homer, infinitely below both, for both are unapproachably above my strength of wing; it is below Tasso in splendour and in structure of fable, above him in originality, and equal in feeling even to Spenser.—Vol. ii. p. 83.

'You and I continue to be the Gog and Magog of the Annual Review, and a pretty rabble they are who come in our train. Take away our articles, and the scientific ones, (which upon the maxim of *omne ignatum*, &c., I suppose to be good,) and nothing remains but dulness and meanness,—praise, which is water-gruel, and censure, which is sour small beer. Wordsworth, who admires and reverences the intellectual power and the knowledge which you everywhere and always display, and who wishes to see you here as much as I do, frets over your barbarisms of language, which I labour to excuse, because there is no cure for them.' —ib. p. 89.

The following are amongst many curious references which Mr. Southey makes to some of his illustrious contemporaries. The estimate he forms of the intellectual and moral characteristics of Lord Jeffrey is even insanely absurd. It is astonishing that any man could have his judgment so warped by injured vanity. He thus writes in a letter, dated Oct. 22, 1805 :—

'I have been at Edinburgh, and there seen Jeffrey. When he was invited to meet me, he very properly sent me the sheets, that I might see him or not, according to my own feelings: this was what he could not well avoid, but it was not the less gentleman-like. I met him in good humour, being by God's blessing of a happy temper: having seen him, it were impossible to be angry with anything so diminutive. We talked about the question of taste, on which we are at issue. He is a mere child upon that subject: I never met with a man whom it was so easy to checkmate.'—ib. p. 102.

'Your admiration of Jeffrey is to me quite surprising. Cobbett may be an honest writer by possibility, because he has gone regularly on from the extreme point of anti-jacobinism to the other end of the political scale;' [as Southey himself had moved through a similar cycle, only in a different direction,] 'but Jeffrey has gone backwards and forwards.'—ib. p. 264.

There is a good deal more to the same purpose, and even stronger, but we will not quote it. It is but fair to William Taylor to say that he shows more magnanimity. When Southey breaks out into a passion about the review of Taylor's 'Nathan,' (though it is easy to see that while writing 'Nathan,' he was thinking of 'Thalaba'). Taylor coolly replies, no doubt to Southey's no little mortification, 'I agree with Jeffrey in most things about Nathan, and am well satisfied with his reviewal.'

Of his illustrious friends Scott, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, the following, amongst other notices, occur. Some of these will excite more surprise than pleasure amongst the admirers of those writers :—

'I passed three days with Walter Scott; an amusing and highly-estimable man. You see the whole extent of his powers in the 'Minstrel's Lay,' of which your opinion seems to accord with mine,—a very amusing poem; it excites a novel-like interest, but you *discover* nothing on after-perusal. Scott bears a great part [a total mistake] in the 'Edinburgh Review,' but does not review well. He is editing Dryden,—very carelessly.—ib. p. 104.

''Have you seen a volume of Lyrical Ballads,' &c.? They are by Coleridge and Wordsworth, but their names are not affixed. Coleridge's ballad of 'The Ancient Mariner' is, I think, the clumsiest attempt at German sublimity I ever saw. Many of the others are very fine; and some I shall re-read, upon the same principle that led me through

[illegible]

[illegible] Wedge- [illegible] the work with a sketch of the [illegible] project a work [illegible] that subject of [illegible] and stability to produce any- [illegible] of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume for the two [illegible] most righteous contempt. I [illegible] Coleridge [illegible] other men whom I have [illegible] and yet all is paised by a total want [illegible] He will leave nothing behind him to justify the [illegible] friend to the world; yet many of his scattered poems [illegible] that a man of feeling will see that the author was capable of [illegible] the greatest works. Vol. i., p. 155.

Here we must close our extracts from this interesting correspondence, which is certainly one of the most curious contributions to literary history submitted to the public for some [illegible]

Art. III. 1. *The Works of Thomas Chalmers*, D.D, & LL.D. Vol. XXII. —XXV. *Lectures on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.* Glasgow: Collins. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

2. *Notes Explanatory and Practical, on the New Testament.* By Albert Barnes, Philadelphia. Vol. IV. *Romans.* London: Blackie & Son.

WHOEVER will understand the christian religion in its peculiar principles, as the revealed grace of the Supreme Ruler in the salvation of man, must give many hours of repeated study to the epistle to the Romans:—containing, as it avowedly does, a broad view of the great facts in the moral history of man which lie at the basis of evangelical truth, together with an argumentative exhibition and vindication of that truth, it guides the religious enquirer to the intellectual satisfaction which raises him above the misery of doubt, and saves him from the flippant speculation too often palmed on the world as philosophy, as well as from the indolent enthusiasm too often mistaken in the church for piety. It might occur to every reader of so sacred a document, that special preparations and helps are needed for entering fully into its meaning. It ought not to require suggesting that a composition on such themes, addressed to such a people in that ancient and unparalleled crisis in the history of religions, must deserve all the attention which the highest and most gifted minds could possibly devote to it; and that all the lights that can be shed on the mental character of the writer, on the controversies handled by him, on the principles of his reasoning, on the singularities of his language, on the structure of his argument, on the force of his allusions, and on the practical bearing of his injunctions, should be studiously sought, and gratefully accepted.

The treatises on this epistle which have enriched the literature of the church are neither few nor trifling; and there is great variety in their character, and in their specific aims. Without touching either bibliographical details or critical disquisitions, we may do some service to our readers if we lay before them a general view of the kind of work which has been done by holy men, in the endeavour to bring out the precious ore from this mine of heavenly truth. We are far from being disposed to undervalue the contributions towards the elucidation of this epistle, (as well as of other portions of the New Testament) which have been made by such scholars as De Bruis, and Venema, by Schöttgen, in his Rabbinical Collections, by Elsner, Kypke, Bauer and Raphelius, in their illustrative cita-

tions from Thucydides and other Greek classical writers; neither could we refer without unfeigned respect to the memory of such accomplished annotators as Erasmus, Grotius, Cameron, and Capellus, in the ponderous compilation of the *Critici Sacri.*

The ancient regular commentators are much more copious, and in some respects of much higher value than, we suppose, is generally believed by our countrymen. To say nothing of the charm with which the delightful freshness of Chrysostom invests nearly all the multiplied themes in which he engaged, his Homilies on the Romans will always attract the erudite christian by the depth of his penetration, by his earnest sympathy with the apostle, and by his mastery of the majestic language common to them both.

Of a very different intellectual character, and in a very different language, from Chrysostom are the expositions of Augustine on a few verses of the first chapter, and on certain propositions touching some hard texts in the epistle: though tedious and wandering, and many a time irrelevant enough, the great father of Latin theology shews his strong grasp of the grand doctrines of the epistle. The clearness of Theodoret, the judicious and valuable excerpts of Œcumenius and Theophylact, the beautiful remarks of Hugo Sancto Victore, and the acuteness (though without good principles of interpretation) of Thomas Aquinas, conduct us in chronological succession to the great divines of the reformation. A 'golden preface' to the epistle to the Romans, by Luther, is appended to the admirable introduction of Rambach. Of Calvin's commentary it is almost superfluous to say, to those who have enjoyed his classic style, or sounded the depths of his christian views, that it illustrates all his excellences. None of the reformers, no *man*, perhaps, ever was more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of this epistle than Melancthon. While but a youth he transcribed it many times, as Demosthenes is said to have transcribed Thucydides. He was wont to speak of it, *as the light of the prophetic discourses;* he repeatedly delivered lectures on it in public; and he published these lectures in separate forms, unfolding with great power the vital principle of evangelical faith for which the apostle so triumphantly contends.

The expositions of this epistle in our language and in modern times bear their full proportion, both in number and in value, to those which have gone before.

A very learned and skilful commentary on this epistle was published in the reign of James I., by Andrew Willett, the author of similar commentaries on some books of the Old Testament. It is entitled *Hexapla*, containing, (1). The text,

with divers readings. (2). The argument and method. (3). The questions discussed. (4). Doctrines noted. (5). Controversies handled. (6). Moral uses observed.

There is a remarkable commentary on this epistle published in 1627 by Thomas Wilson minister of God's word in Canterbury. It is in the form of a dialogue between Timothy and Silas, and with the striking excellences of the puritan divines combines pith, force, and sometimes brilliancy of expression, which make it a most engaging as well as instructive work.

Some of our readers will forgive us if we direct their attention to the able analysis of the epistle found in Matthew Henry's *preparations* for his commentary.—Of Doddridge and Guyse, we may be allowed to say, that we think they are in danger of being overlooked in these days of German importation.—Scott is well-known, as thoroughly evangelical, solid, judicious, and in the last edition, enriched with valuable philological notes. —Dr. Clarke's commentary on the Romans is not without its critical and exegetical worth; but we have always been dissatisfied with it for its adoption to so great an extent of the principles of Dr. Taylor's Key.—Of M'Knight we are bold to say, that, though his illustrations are sometimes happy, his philological skill is not very eminent, while his views of much that is essential in the epistle are such as we suspect he would have entertained if he had never read it.

The lectures of Mr. Fry, published in 1816, are perhaps not so well known as they deserve to be.—On some of the more difficult passages of his epistle we may refer, in general terms, to separate expositions by Frazer, Ewing, and Wardlaw.

The principal modern commentaries on the Romans are those of Tholuck, Stuart, Haldane, Hodges, and the works of which the titles are prefixed to this article.

The first *three* volumes of Haldane, and the first two volumes of Chalmers, were very briefly noticed in the eighth volume of the *Eclectic*.

It is greatly to be wished that the Scottish practice of pulpit exposition was more popular and more general in the southern part of the island. We can scarcely help thinking it would be acceptable, if our preachers were trained to it as an essential part of college education, and if the same learning, genius, and cultivated manner were devoted to this exercise, which have been so successful in the preparation and delivery of sermons.

The supreme authority of scripture seems to require that greater prominence should be given to pulpit exposition than it usually receives; and we know not that any method so safe, so sacred, and so efficacious, could be adopted, for preserving the christian people from the seductive errors that are constantly afloat.

in no other way, can men's minds be so thoroughly and consistently filled with divine truth, with the whole truth as God has revealed it by the inspiration of his servants.

We are strongly disposed to hope, that in proportion as both our preachers and their congregations become better educated, we shall witness the revival of this practice, and with it a deeper hold of christianity on the minds of men. We do not see that such a system, vigorously and wisely carried on, needs to quench the ardour, or to quell the ingenuity of our most popular preachers; nor are we quite sure that if it did, the attractions and the power of the ministry would be impaired; but in our apprehension, no engagement is so favourable to the production of those lucid statements, calm reasonings, beautiful illustrations, and faithful appeals, combined with whatever is manly and graceful in address, by which our greatest preachers have been most distinguished. And the interspersion of the expository method with set discourses on the great themes of the christian faith, and of the spiritual life, would give a charm to the ministrations of the studious pastor which must increase his usefulness.

We may observe in general on these lectures, completing the uniform edition of Dr. Chalmers's works, that they are irradiated with some of the peculiar splendour of the doctor's style, that they breathe the same fervid tone of urgency which make his sermons so attractive, and that the faults which readers of taste discern in nearly all his publications are far from being rare in this.

We may further observe, that the habits of Dr. Chalmers's mind are scarcely those which go to fit a man for great excellence in this department of theology. There is not sufficient indication of the preparedness which arises from experience in philological studies. There is little proof of the patient and often-repeated analysis of argument. There is an air of hurry, of generality, of superficiality, and of acquiescence in merely systematic divinity, which lessens the value of the exposition, but which, we have no doubt, was lost during the delivery, in the singular energy and impressiveness with which they must have been uttered in the pulpit. There is, moreover, not much light thrown on those passages of the epistle which have given rise to the most anxious thoughts, and for which the mighty expounders of former days have girded up their strength.—Still we are glad to have the meditations of such a man on this grand portion of the New Testament. There is great power in laying hold of the main arguments, unfolding their connexion, and deeply imprinting them on the mind. There is a rich vein of evangelical sentiment; there is a constant aiming at the effects which we can-

not but believe to have been contemplated by the inspired apostle. There is a perpetual and serious tone of rebuke, for both the despisers and the perverters of the doctrines of this epistle. There are many gleams of that flashing and overpowering earnestness of which the doctor is so illustrious an example. And there are not a few of those graphic and picturesque descriptions, and homely illustrations, which are so richly scattered through his other works.

The introductory lecture unfolds the preacher's views of the progress of human illumination by the truths of heaven. Availing himself of the physical adaptation of light to the visual faculty, and the necessity of both to the actual perception of visible objects, he urges, with much warmth and clearness, our need of inward teaching by the Holy Spirit, as well as of objective information by the scriptures. Having traced the progress of both these departments of divine illumination from the days of Adam to the age of the apostles, he presses on his hearers the continued office of the Spirit as the guide of man to saving truth, distinct from the finished revelations of the sacred volume.

Expository lectures scarcely admit of abridgment, and it is not easy to do them justice by extracts. But the opening of Lecture II. may serve to show the expounder's view both of the necessity of the work in which he is engaged, and of the manner in which he thinks it proper to conduct it.

> 'People, in reading the Bible, are often not conscious of the extreme listlessness with which they pass along the familiar and oft-repeated words of scripture, without the impression of their meaning being at all present with the thoughts; and how, during the mechanical currency of the verses through their lips, the thinking power is often asleep for whole passages together. And you will, therefore, allow me, at least at the commencement of this lectureship, first to read over a paragraph, and then to fasten the import of certain of its particular phrases upon your attention, even though these phrases may heretofore have been regarded as so intelligible, that you never thought of bestowing an effort on dwelling one moment upon their signification: and then of reading the passage over again in such extended or such substituted language, as may give us another chance of the sense of it, at least being rivetted on your understanding. We shall generally endeavour to press home upon you, in the way of application, some leading truth or argument which may occur in any such portion of the epistle as we may have been enabled to overtake.'—pp. 45, 46.

As an example of what we cannot but regard as a defect in theological exposition, we have to regret that no notice is taken, in the explanation of the opening verses of the epistle, of the peculiar significance of the phrase 'Son of God,' and of the connection between the Saviour's resurrection and the demonstration

of this claim to a title, for the assertion of which he was put to death.* It is not, of course, consistent with our design to enter on a full elucidation of this important passage; but we may suggest to our readers who wish to pursue it, that they will find much assistance in the noble essay on Christ's account of his own person, by Dr. Whately.†

The following is the most favourable specimen we can select of the strictly expository matter of these lectures. It occurs in the beginning of the fourth.

'The word translated here 'to hold,' signifies not merely to hold, but to hold fast. Now this may be done for the purpose of keeping in secure possession that which you wish to retain. And so this is the word in that place where they who receive the word are said to 'keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience;'‡ and where the Corinthians are praised by Paul because they observed to remember him in all things, 'and to *keep* the ordinances which he had delivered them;'§ and where he tells them that they are saved 'if they *keep* in memory that which he had preached unto them;'‖ and where he bids the Thessalonians '*hold fast* that which is good;'¶ and where he informs the Hebrews that Christ dwelleth in them, if they '*hold fast* the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end;'** and also that we are made partakers of Christ, if 'we hold the beginning of our confidence stedfast unto the end;†† and finally, where he encourages them to 'hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering.‡‡

'It is not in the sense of the word in any of these passages that we are to understand it here. They who hold the truth in unrighteousness, do not hold it for the sake of keeping it in possession, as an article which they valued; and, therefore, were desirous of retaining in safe and cherished custody.

'One may hold fast for the purpose of confining or keeping down, so as to impede and repress that which is thus confined, from the putting forth of its energies. And accordingly this is the very word which Paul uses, when he says to the Thessalonians. And now ye know what *withholdeth*, that it might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way.§§

'He alludes to something that so confined antichrist, as to keep him back, so that he came not out into full and immediate manifestation. It is in this second sense that men hold the truth in unrighteousness. They have the truth—they are in possession of it. But they keep it down. They chain it, as it were, in the prison-hold of their own corruptions: they throw the troublesome adviser into a dungeon, just like a man who has a conscience to inform him of what is right, but who stifles its voice,

* See Luke xxii. 69—71.

† The kingdom of Christ delineated by R. Whately, D. D. London: B. Fellowes, 1841.

‡ Luke viii. 15. § 1 Cor. xi. 2. ‖ 1 Cor. xv. 2.
¶ 1 Thess. v. 21. ** Heb. iii. 6. †† Heb. iii. 14.
‡‡ Heb. x. 23. §§ 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7.

and brings it under bondage to the domineering ascendency of passion and selfishness, and all the lawless appetites of his nature. Thus it is with men who restrain the truth, or suppress the truth in unrighteousness.' —Vol. i. pp. 69, 70,

In several portions of these lectures we are made to feel the high advantage derived by this accomplished preacher from the philosophic discipline of his mind, and his familiarity with man's moral constitution. Never do we feel this more strongly, or with greater satisfaction, than in his illustrations of those passages in the epistle which refer to the degeneracy and condemnation of the heathen. We might desiderate the calm and elegant criticism which has been turned to such good account, on the same subject, by Dr. Wardlaw; yet there is a breadth of view, and a fulness of illustration, which bespeak the peculiar genius of Chalmers.

There is a question closely connected with that of the responsibility of the heathen, which has forced itself on many minds in attending to this subject, which is really encompassed with no small difficulty, and which has been so put as to discourage to a far greater extent, we fear, than is generally known, the great enterprise of preaching the gospel to all nations. This question has been touched by Dr. Chalmers, in some of his former publications; but it will interest our readers to see his mode of handling it, as he evidently does, with the putting forth of his strength for the undertaking, in the eighth lecture of the present series. To ourselves, we must say, the value of what Dr. Chalmers has said lies in the thoughts he *suggests*, rather than in the fulness of his own solution. A very great quantity of words is bestowed on the simple consideration, that we have not all the materials of the question before us; 'we know not how to state, with the precision of arithmetic, what the addition is which knowledge confers upon the sufferings of disobedience, or how far an accepted gospel exalts the condition of him, who was before a stranger to it;' but the true solution of the question, according to Dr. Chalmers, is found in the fact, that it was better for the Jews, on the whole, that they had the oracles of God, notwithstanding the terrible amount of guilt aggravated by that possession, which was handed down by one generation to another. Besides this consideration, resting on the authority of the apostle, some stress is laid on the fact, that to increase the wretchedness of those already miserable, is a different thing from inflicting misery on those who would otherwise have been happy. Further light is thrown on this question by anticipating the period when 'all our present proportions shall at length be reversed.'

'Even in this day of small things, the direct blessing which follows

in the train of a circulated Bible, and a proclaimed gospel, overbalances the incidental evil; and when we think of the latter day glory, which it ushers in; when we think of that secure and lasting establishment which in all likelihood it will at length arive at; when we compute the generations of that millenium which is awaiting a people and a cultivated world; when we try to fancy the magnificent results, which a labouring and progressive christianity will then land in, who should shrink from the work of hastening it forward, because of a spectre conjured up from the abyss of human ignorance? Even did the evil now predominate over the good, still is a missionary enterprise like a magnanimous daring for a great moral and spiritual achievement, which will at length reward the perseverance of its devoted labourers. It is like a triumph for the whole species, purchased at the expense, not of those who shared in the toils of the undertaking, but of those who met with their unconcern or contempt, the benevolence which laboured to convert them.

'There are collateral evils attendant on the progress of christianity. At one time, it brings a sword instead of peace, and at another, it stirs up a variance in families, and at all times does it deepen the guilt of those who resist the overtures which it makes to them. But these are only the perils of a voyage that is richly laden with the moral wealth of many future generations. These are but the hazards of a battle which terminates in the proudest and most productive of all victories; and, if the liberty of a great empire be an adequate return for the loss of the lives of its defenders, then is the glorious liberty of the children of God, which will at length be extended over the face of a still enslaved and alienated world, more than an adequate return for the spiritual loss that is sustained by those, who, instead of fighting for the cause, have resisted and reviled it.'—Vol. i. pp. 149-151.

The apparent difficulty of this question arises from our incompetency to judge of the ways of God. If it were assumed as a principle that it is better not to confer advantages which may be abused by moral and responsible agents, because of the evils which those agents bring upon themselves by criminal perversion of such advantages, the whole system of the great Creator would be liable to objection. The absurdity as well as the impiety of such a conclusion sufficiently demonstrates that the principle itself is false; and—the principle being false—all the deductions from it and the applications of it are, by logical necessity, as false as the principle itself.

The argument of the third chapter of the epistle to the Romans, which is singularly interesting in its form, as well as massive in its force, is frequently lost upon the reader from his not perceiving that it is a dialogue between the apostle and an imaginary objector.

Having copiously illustrated this dramatic interchange of argument, the whole is summed up in a passage highly charged with the preacher's singularities in the mode of reasoning as well as in the style of language.

It is remarkable that one of the most glowing passages in these lectures is a eulogy pronounced on a body of christians from whom the lecturer differs, as is well known, on the ordinance of baptism. We cannot forego the pleasure of extracting it, because, beside its extreme beauty both of thoughts and of expression, it breathes so freshly and so fervently the spirit which the writers in this journal have at all times laboured to diffuse.

'It forms no peculiarity of the age in which we live, that men differ so much in matters connected with christianity, but it forms a very pleasing peculiarity that men can do now what they seldom did before, they can agree to differ. With zeal for the essentials, they can now tolerate each other in the circumstantials of their faith; and under all the variety which they wear, whether of complexion or of outward observance, can recognize the brotherhood of a common doctrine and of a common spirit, among very many of the modern denominations of christendom. The line which measures off the ground of vital and evangelical religion, from the general ungodliness of our world, must never be effaced from observation; and the latitudinarianism which would tread it under foot, must be fearfully avoided; and an impregnable sacredness must be thrown around that people, who stand peculiarized by their devotedness, and their faith, from the great bulk of a species who are of the earth and earthly. There are landmarks between the children of light and the children of darkness, which can never be moved away; and it were well that the habit of professing christians was more formed on the principle of keeping up that limit of separation, which obtains between the church and the world; so that they who fear God, should talk often together; and when they do go forth by any voluntary movement of their own on those who fear him not, they should do it in the spirit, and with the compassionate purpose of missionaries. But while we hold it necessary to raise and to strengthen the wall by which the fold is surrounded, and that, not for the purpose of intercepting the flow of kindness and of christian philanthropy from within, but for the purpose of intercepting the streams of contamination from without; we should like to see all the lines of partition that have been drawn in the fold itself, utterly swept away. This is fair ground for the march of latitudinarianism, and that, not for the object of thereby putting down the signals of distinction between one party of christians and another; but allowing each to wear its own, for the object of associating them by all the ties and the recognitions of christian fellowship. In this way, we apprehend, that there will come at length to be the voluntary surrender of many of our existing distinctions; which will far more readily give way by being tolerated, than by being fought against. And this is just the feeling in which we regard the difference that obtains on the subject of baptism. It may subside into one and the same style of observation, or it may not. It is one of those inner partitions which may at length be overthrown by mutual consent; but in the mean time, let the portals of a free admittance upon both sides be multiplied as fast as they may along the

whole extent of it; and let it no longer be confounded with the outer wall of the great christian temple, but be instantly recognized as the slender partition of one of its apartments, and the door of which is opened for the visits of welcome and kind intercourse to all the other members of the christian family. Let it never be forgotten of the particular baptists of England, that they form the denomination of Fuller, and Carey, and Ryland, and Hall, and Foster; that they have originated among the greatest of all missionary enterprises, that they have enriched the christian literature of our country with authorship of the most exalted piety, as well as of the first talent and first eloquence; that they have waged a very noble and successful war with the Hydra of Antinomianism; that perhaps there is not a more intellectual community of ministers in our island, or who have put forth to their number a greater amount of mental power and mental activity in the defence and illustration of our common faith; and what is better than all the triumphs of genius or understanding, who by their zeal and fidelity, and pastoral labour among the congregations which they have reared, have done more to swell the lists of genuine discipleship in the walks of private society; and thus, both to uphold and to extend the living christianity of our nation.'—Vol. i. pp. 235-238.

All readers of the New Testament know that it is from the epistle to the Romans chiefly that we derive the doctrine generally expressed by the technical phrase, original sin. We believe that the phrase was first introduced by Augustine in his controversy with Pelagius; and though it is not a scriptural phrase, it is not on that account to be rejected, provided that the doctrines thus summarily expressed are taught in the word of God.

The scientific mind of Dr. Chalmers has placed these doctrines in a light which convicts those who reject them of defective philosophy not less than of heretical theology, while his powers of illustration give novelty and grandeur to a theme too frequently discussed with a nakedness and dryness such as repel enquiry, by adding to the distastefulness of truths which, with whatever clearness they may be demonstrated, and with whatever splendours they may be invested, will revolt the pride and excite the opposition of our fallen nature, and furnish, in the manner of exhibiting the truth, an excuse—slight, indeed, yet not without its influence—for overlooking the evidences of the truth itself.

Dr. Chalmers does not profess to give any new doctrinal views, nor to support the old views by substantially new arguments. And the analogies familiar to divines of the orthodox school are only carried out by him, in his own manner, into greater amplitude of illustration. After unfolding, very skilfully, the evangelic doctrines, and shewing their agreement with the known history of man, and all the just conclusions of reason from similar premises; he summons the philosophers and poets of infidelity as witnesses for the truth: denouncing calmly the absence from

moral literature of all evangelical tincture, he urges, with the dignity of a christian divine, the 'experiment of this very peculiar gospel,' as offering to guide the world to morality and happiness.

Several preliminary discourses are devoted in the way of preparation for the exposition of the remarkable statements of the apostle in the fifth chapter. In these discourses we trace a laudable desire to harmonize the doctrines taught as far as possible with the results of constant experience, with the analogies of nature, and with the moral estimates of conscience. To some extent we regard this effort as ingenious, powerful, and successful. Enough appears for the vindication of the divine character from the objections of men to the facts on which the apostle reasons, and especially as those objections may be put by those to whom the gospel is preached, as excuses for neglecting the salvation which the gospel reveals. At the same time, we confess our disappointment, on the whole, in reading this portion of the lectures. We admit the truth of the statements, we admire the vividness of the illustrations, we heartily respond to the tone of sound piety and of earnest faithfulness with which the preacher urges the truth upon his hearers; but we have a feeling, after all, that the difficulties of this subject should either have been passed over, or more deeply sounded, and more clearly solved. Two methods are open to divines in relation to these knotty points of theology.

The first method commends itself by its simplicity and safety: it is—to shew that the inspired writers actually teach the doctrines which are felt to be so difficult, and that *for this reason*, they are to be received by us with whatever seeming or real difficulties they may be entangled. The Apostle teaches—as Dr. Chalmers understands him, rightly, in our judgment—that the human race is inherently and universally corrupt; that the human race is, without exception, treated as guilty; that this corruption and this guilt, are connected with the fault of Adam in the garden of Eden; and that there is a purposed analogy between this connection of the human race with Adam, and the connection of the human race with Christ. All this should be presented as divine truth, to be received with reverence and humility, as the teaching of the Holy Spirit by the inspired Apostle; and it should be kept clear from all admixture with human creeds, and with the speculations and reasonings by which those creeds are accompanied or supported. It is this admixture which has done so much already to corrupt the simplicity of the gospel. And it is worthy of observation, that from the earliest ages in which the teachers of christianity arose in the schools of learning, they have always yielded to the seductions of their times, grafting upon the truth which came with authority from God the opinions

and the theories of men. From this prolific source arose the heresies of many of the Greek writers, and the peculiar forms in which the truth was presented in opposition to those heresies; and to the same source we trace all the subtleties of the scholastic divines, and nearly all the disputations which have formed the staple of theological controversies in western Europe for the last three hundred years. If we can see and condemn the errors of past times in this respect, why can we not awake to the perception of like tendencies and equal danger in our own country in the present age? All well-informed men are aware that the scriptures have been assailed by the disciples of every master, by the archaist, by the historian, by the astronomer, by the geologist, by the metaphysician, by the ethical philosopher:—while each in his turn has been repelled by the invulnerable authority of the evidence on which our belief in the scriptures is maintained, and by the fair exposition of the words in which those scriptures teach us.

We do think that this is *the* ground on which the christian divine should stand, relying on the fundamental agreement of revealed truth with all other truth; and seeking the clear display of that agreement, not in the moulding of his theology to the temper of any human system, in any department of thought, however well supported; nor in the adaptation of human systems to what he believes to be the right interpretation of the scriptures, but in the freedom of research in every province of inquiry, conducted on sound and independent principles. We are no more bound by the metaphysics of the seventeenth century, than we are by the imaginations of the Greeks revelling in the pruriences of oriental philosophy, or by the subtleties of the schoolmen freezing their thin abstractions into forms of logic, and baptising them with the name of systems of divinity. Until the metaphysicians have determined—what metaphysical principles never can determine—their dark and tortuous questions about good and evil, and fate and free-will, the christian divine may surely pursue his avocations as unmoved by their speculations as the lawyer or the physician, feeling that in his teaching and in his transactions, as well as in theirs, he has to do with living and with dying men. The entire scheme of christianity is *sui generis;* there is nothing with which it can be compared; there is no primary philosophy in which it can be included; there are no deeper or wider principles into which its truths can be resolved. As in the truth of the divine Unity we contemplate a fact which stands by itself—which cannot be classified with any other facts, so in the revelations of that one mind concerning the purposes of grace towards man we are invited to contemplate facts—principles—arrangements—results, having

nothing in common with the elements on which human philosophy must be content to draw. For anything that can be shewn to the contrary, there may yet arise upon the mind a ray of light so cloudless that the deep things of man in the laws of his mind, and in the perplexing turns of his moral history, shall lie open to the gaze of every thinker in the midst of the most obvious truths; and we are willing to appeal to the philosophy of that day, whether it be far off or nigh, for the perfect consonance of the Pauline theology with all its dictates! Meanwhile, we have more proof that the Apostle teaches truth, than we have that metaphysical objectors to his doctrine cannot err.

The other method lying open to divines is the abstruse, the metaphysical, showing that there is nothing in the doctrines of the New Testament properly expounded, which offends the laws of human thought, the convictions of the disciplined human conscience, or the conclusions of sound and sober moral reasoners. —We are able to point out one example which comes very near to our beau-ideal in this matter.—President Edwards' Treatise on Original Sin, a work to which we have been in the habit of recurring with increasing satisfaction, as exhibiting a giant's strength upon a theme for which a seraph's power were too weak. Having mentioned this work, it may be well to commend it to the study of any of our readers who wish for the intellectual bracing, as well as for the improvement in manly and humble views of grand truths, which we are fain to confess we ardently desire among the rising thinkers of our nation.—To return to Dr. Chalmers, we repeat our disappointment that he has touched nearly all the speculative difficulties attending the doctrine of original sin, but left them with very little that is likely to remove or lighten them. Tempting as the occasion is, we can only refer to the superficial manner in which he treats the effect of Adam's sin on the mortality of the human race, and to his not seeing or forgetting the moral difficulty of the whole question of his federal capacity, *irrespectively* of the redemption which is by Jesus Christ. We are free to admit that the reasonings which would be required to elucidate this difficulty are not suitable to pulpit instruction; but then, the preacher should confine himself to the simpler and safer method of avoiding these difficulties altogether.

There are two cardinal points in the theology of the Epistle to the Romans, to which it is evident to all who are in any degree acquainted with the writings of Dr. Chalmers, that this distinguished preacher has given great attention, and on which in these Lectures he has poured out all the strength of his healthy intellect, with the radiancy of his imagination, and the earnestness of his christian feelings. We refer to the perfect freeness

with which the justification of a believer is vouchsafed for the sake of the atonement; and to the exclusive power of this atonement, acccpted by faith, to produce all the fruits of evangelical holiness. We warmly commend this portion of the Lectures, and we feel it difficult to resist the temptation to extract largely from them. It has seldom been our happiness to see these capital truths handled in a way so masterly, so engaging, and so impressive.

Of Mr. Barnes's former Notes on the New Testament, our readers are already acquainted with our judgment. The work now before us is also designed for the use of Sunday-schools and Bible-classes. It is plainly the fruit of much thought and much reading. It consists of a lucid introduction, an admirable analysis of the design and argument of the Epistle, select marginal references to parallel passages, notes generally brief, but occasionally drawn out to great length, and frequently the deduction of doctrinal and practical conclusions from the portion which has been explained.

We are not quite sure of the judiciousness of this reprint of Mr. Barnes's work. The anonymous editor feels that on several points he differs from the annotator, and in all those instances in which the Notes propound opinions differing from the received theology of Scotland, counter notes are inserted in smaller type, to remedy the defects of the work. The introduction of controversies of this kind is not exactly what we like in expositions of scripture, and especially in expositions intended for the young. It brings the wrangling of human disputes into the temple of inspiration: our attention is called away from the oracle to the contending explanations of fallible worshippers.

Taking the work as it is, we must commend the editor's zeal for orthodoxy, though in several of the examples which occur it may be wisely doubted whether the orthodoxy be with the American expounder, or with his Scottish critic. One example may suffice.

In explaining the seventeenth verse of the first chapter, Mr. Barnes remarks, 'The phrase *righteousness* of God is equivalent to God's plan of justifying men; his scheme of declaring them just in the sight of the law, or of acquitting them from punishment, and admitting them to favour. The plan of God was to arrive at it by faith.'

In support of this view he appeals to the connection, and to the usual meaning of the word. To this explanation a long note is appended by the editor, to show that the phrase, 'righteousness of God' is that righteousness which Christ wrought out in his active and passive obedience. In proof of this he quotes a passage from Mr. Haldane, in which it seems to have

escaped him that it proves exactly what Mr. Barnes has taught, namely,—'that righteousness which, in conformity to his justice, God has appointed and provided.'

It will not be inferred, we hope, from what we have said, that we rank with the admirers of the modern American theology. On the contrary, we are disposed to demur to the assiduity with which large importations of Arminianism, and of German philosophizing, are thus unwittingly diffused among our young people.

In looking seriously at this Epistle for ourselves, we are deeply impressed with some striking and cardinal views which appear to us to be not only full of vital interest at all times, but specially urgent in the present state of general and religious literature among ourselves.

(i.)—*The necessity of distinct conceptions of evangelical truth,* spreads like a glow of light over the whole of this remarkable document. The controversies of the present age turn more on ecclesiastical than on theological questions; not because men's minds are settled on the fundamental points of Christianity, but because the conflict of freedom against usurpation, and the revival of obsolete church formalities, have quickened the minds of disputants, and summoned all the eagerness and energy of party on both sides of this great encounter. In the midst of these contests, we must take heed that THE GOSPEL ITSELF be not forgotten. For this reason we are specially concerned that the strong and inquiring minds of our day should be exercised on the inspired reasonings of this Epistle. We need a manly and intellectual apprehension of what that truth is which has come to us from God, which apostles preached, which martyrs attested, which is the life of the church and the hope of the world. We know of nothing so likely to give the proper tone to the religious mind of England in relation to this truth, as the deep and patient study of this magnificent Epistle.

(ii.)—*The origin of Polytheism* is one of the most alluring themes to the inquirer into the history of man; and while some have traced it to the inventions of priestcraft, and others to allegorical mythism, some powerful followers of the German modes of thinking have undertaken to represent it as the living truth of reverence for superior power and goodness expressing itself in such forms as most naturally occurred to the most healthful thinkers of past ages. There is much that is fascinating in this theory. The mode of putting it is grand, both in conception and in language. It seems to dignify human nature. It gives a show of progress in man's religious history. It looks like the successive and fragmentary grasping of the truth which, as a whole, is summed up in the perfective and comprehensive scheme of Christianity. Even if this mode of viewing paganism

in the classic nations, in the northern lands of Europe, in the fantastic mythologies of the east, or in the more barbarous absurdities of African or American tribes, were admitted to be as true in fact as it is captivating in theory, we should still feel it to be our duty to impart to our erring brethen in all countries the sublime and glorious religion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. But to say the truth, we hold these views to be imaginative and superficial. They surround a few facts, dimly apprehended, with the radiancy of creative genius. They overlook the actual history of man. They fail to touch the moral character of idolatry. They allow *more than can be proved* to the love of nature, and to the love of truth, in man. They are utterly at variance with the manner of dealing with idolatry which obtains in the word of God. We turn from such speculations to the teaching of the apostle of the Gentiles, who was conversant with Paganism as an existing power; who saw it, not through the haze of a poetic antiquity, but in its temples, priests and worshippers brought before his personal observation; who had to do with it not as the theme of a disquisition, but as a gigantic opponent of his mission of truth; who treats of it not as a philosophic theorist, but as a servant of the living God. We need not say how he speaks of this 'natural reverence of a higher mind,' of this 'elegant mythology,' this '*germ of christianity itself.*' Either the apostle was in the dark, or our modern expounders of idolatry are in the light that leads astray. For ourselves, we are content to prefer the ancient to the modern thinker, the man of observation to the man of theory, the inspired divine to the far-seeing philosopher, the declarations of God to the opinions of men: and holding this preference for reasons which every christian understands and honours, we believe that hero-worship, or the worship of nature, is nothing more nor less than 'changing the truth of God into a lie;' that it hath its origin in the pride, lusts, and folly of men, and that all the beautiful sayings with which we have been lately charmed, are just the exploded figments of former ages, uttered with the tone of an oracle in language which beguiles the understanding by dazzling the fancy.

(iii.)—*The principles of the divine administration* are of capital moment in coming to just views of christianity, which reveals the dispensation of God towards the guilty subjects of his government. The intimations of that government are not far to seek in the constitution of the human mind,—in the judgments we form of our own actions, and of the actions of others,—in the tendency of given courses of life to secure good or evil consequences,—in the probabilities of future retribution which are suggested by the manifest imperfections of the present sys-

tem, and by all the analogies which have been so calmly and clearly set forth in the profound reasonings of bishop Butler. In the epistle to the Romans these principles of moral government, which are deducible from the government itself, are formally enounced and declared *upon divine authority* to be true.

These principles resolve themselves into one, namely—perfect fairness of dealing with men, agreeably to the worthiness or unworthiness of their doings. On this proper ground the apostle clears away the apparent difficulties of charging moral guilt on men who have not the advantage of revealed law, by proving that according to the law they have, whose authority they acknowledge, and by whose requirements they *judge themselves and one another*, they have failed, and are, therefore, sinners against God. In like manner those who have the law of God expressly revealed to them lie under so much heavier responsibilities, and, failing in obedience to the law of which they make their boast, are sunk in deeper guilt. The application of these principles is universal. They surround the throne of God with inextinguishable glory. They fill our minds with reverence of his majesty and adoration of his righteousness. On the basis of these eternal principles we uphold THE THEORY OF ATONEMENT, which is drawn from the revealed facts and the positive declarations of the gospel. We can form no conception of any act of grace by which these principles shall be set at nought. We see the depth and grandeur of the reason which is placed in the mediation of the Son of God for the pardon of transgressors. The doctrine of expiation of sin by the blood of the cross is thus proved to have its *root* in the essential character of God, and it can be maintained as the perfection of morals no less than as the consummation of grace. The christian system is seen to have to do all along with the conscience, arousing its slumbers, seconding its accusations, satisfying its demand for light, and—in the relief of the terrors with which that demand must shake the soul,—providing at once for present peace, for progressive sanctity of character, and for final safety and joy in the harmony of our moral nature through future ages of unsullied purity and ever-growing bliss.

(iv.)—No thoughtful mind can long evade this question,—*On what foundation can I rest my hope of final acceptance with God?* To this point all professed religions undertake to guide us.

The peculiarity of the christian system lies, mainly, in the emphasis which it lays on *this* question, in the sharpness with which it makes it press upon us, and in the entire success with which it solves it. Whatever diverts the mind from this question of questions to every man that lives, whatever tends to lessen our sense of its gravity and seasonableness, and whatever ways-

tifies, perplexes, or deceives us in relation to it, is essentially ANTI-CHRISTIAN. Nothing can meet this case but plain truth—truth that satisfies an enlightened and quickened conscience—truth that harmonizes with the real character of man, and with the real character of God. These conditions are *not* met by vague generalities on divine compassion, by descanting on the efficacy of repentance, by insisting on the power of priests and the virtue of sacraments, or by urging the necessity of austerities or alms-giving: none of these are offered for the solution of this great question in the gospel. On the contrary, it presents to our minds a statement—to our consciences a fact—to our hearts a promise—by believing which, we lose our anxieties and find our peace with God at the footstool of His throne. That statement, that fact, that promise, constitute the gospel; and it is *the theme* of the inspired teacher of the nations in this truly catholic epistle. To him who has once laid hold of this divine settlement of the greatest of all difficulties, every human device is seen to be lighter than vanity, and is rejected as a mockery of man. So lustrous is the grace, and so surely is it blended with righteousness, that the heart that rests upon it feels its happiness to be secured upon a basis that cannot fail.

(v.)—Closely connected with the foundations of our peace with God, is that *peculiar preparation* for the happiness itself, in which consists the mystery of christian holiness. A mystery indeed it is—an unfathomable mystery of heavenly light and heavenly power! The holiness of the christian is not at variance with any law of our intelligent and moral nature; but it is a principle—a power—a habit, beyond those laws. Wonderful! that the very system which the superficial moralist, and even the moralist that would not pass for superficial, regards with distrust, as loosening the bonds of virtue, and giving licence to the vagrant propensities of our nature, should turn out after all to be the only system for restoring the image of God in man. Yet, so it is—and so the deep reasonings of this epistle prove it to be.

Other themes allure us in our contemplation of this epistle, on which we feel we must not enter. We have but passed the precincts of a divine building, where lights from heaven are seen glancing on our darkest mysteries; and we retire with unwilling steps, looking back on happy days which have been given to these most sacred studies, with some share, we trust, in the feelings of that great European scholar,* who is reported to have said, when lying down to die, 'I have lost a world of time—if I had one year more, I would spend it in reading David's Psalms and PAUL'S EPISTLES.'

* SALMASIUS.

Art. IV. *Memoir of Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow.* By his Daughter. 8vo. pp. 672. London, J. Snow, 1843.

At the close of a brief sketch of the life and character of the late Mr. Ewing, which appeared in this journal* shortly after his decease, we expressed the gratification with which we had learned that it was the purpose of his daughter, Mrs. Matheson, to prepare and publish a copious memoir of his life. Since that period we have waited with mingled feelings of expectation and anxiety for the appearance of the promised work. We felt assured that it was impossible for one so intimately acquainted with Mr. Ewing, and in many other respects so well qualified for the undertaking as Mrs. Matheson, to produce other than a deeply interesting volume out of the materials which were at her disposal; at the same time we were not ignorant that there were certain passages in Mr. Ewing's life which would present no small difficulty to his biographer, arising out of the diversity of opinion existing in Scotland, regarding some transactions of an ecclesiastical nature in which he took an active part, and the acerbity of feeling to which that diversity is even yet apt to lead. In all cases, as Horace tells his friend Asinius Pollio, the '*graves principum amicitiæ,*' no less than the '*arma nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,*' present to the historian '*periculosæ plenum opus aleæ;*' and in the case of religious feuds, and of controversies arising out of personal misunderstandings and the rupture of intimate friendships, the peril is so much enhanced that the path of the narrator is indeed '*per ignes suppositos cineri doloso.*' We were not, therefore, without our fears lest Mrs. Matheson, meaning only to narrate facts, might, nevertheless, find that she had unconsciously raked up the ashes of smouldering disputes, and rekindled flames which had better be left silently and for ever to expire. It gives us great satisfaction to say, that these fears have been utterly disappointed by a perusal of her work. Characterized as it is throughout by a modest yet dignified simplicity, in no part of it are the tact and delicacy of the writer more pleasingly displayed than just on those points where, without delicacy and tact, she could hardly have avoided giving offence to parties yet alive, and involving herself and her father's memory in profitless, perhaps acrimonious, disputes. The entire tone and character of the volume indicates the amiable disposition, good sense, and graceful talent of the author; and we have no hesitation in recommending it to our readers, as containing an account of Mr. Ewing's personal history which leaves nothing to be desired, and a narrative of the important transactions in the ecclesiastical

* Eclectic Review, December, 1841.

world in which he took a leading share, greatly superior to any that has yet appeared.

To those who are even slightly acquainted with the facts of Mr. Ewing's life, and aware of the position he occupied and the influence he exercised, not only in his own denomination, but throughout a wide circle of christian friendship, especially in his own country, it is unnecessary to say that a work, such as we have stated that before us to be, must be replete with interest and instruction. Mr. Ewing was no ordinary man, and he was called to bear a prominent part in events of no ordinary moment. In his personal character there was an admirable mixture of strength and sweetness, of firmness and gentleness; his intellectual vigour was not greater than the energy of his will; nor was his determination to act out his convictions more conspicuous than his delicate regard to the feelings and interests of all whom his determination might affect. He possessed the rare talent of combining the most unbending attachment to what he judged right, and the most unfettered freedom in the expression of his views, with a blandness of deportment and a courtesy of manner which seldom failed to win over a candid opponent, whatever effect it might have on one who was intemperate or bigotted. As a controversialist he was indeed apt to become keen, especially where he thought his antagonist guilty of evasive or dishonest shifts; but his keenness never betrayed him into rudeness, and when he laid on the lash it was with the dignity and self-respect of one who was conscious that zeal for the truth rather than mere personal feeling prompted his severity. Favoured with valuable opportunities of mental cultivation, he had diligently availed himself of the advantages thus placed within his reach, so that in point of literary furniture, both sacred and secular, he stood very much in advance of the majority of his clerical contemporaries in his own country. Above all, he was a man of deep, fervent, devoted piety, who counted all things but dross for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, and was prepared to encounter any obloquy or persecution rather than fail to preserve a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. That such a man was admirably fitted to act a disinterested, a dignified, and an imposing part in the religious history of his country, should occasion require it, no person accustomed to study the developments of human character and the tendencies of peculiar constitutions, will for a moment doubt.

The most prominent event in Mr. Ewing's life was his relinquishment of his office as a minister of the established church of Scotland, and his secession from the communion of that church. The circumstances which led to this event, the manner in which

it took place, and its consequences both immediate and more remote, are fully handled in the volume before us, and present matter for deep and interesting reflection. It was not that his prospects were not flourishing, that Mr. Ewing forsook the communion of the church in which he had been educated and ordained; for his popularity had been far beyond that of any man of his own standing in the church, and he had had more opportunities of declining advancement than most preachers have of seeking it. Nor had he been vexed or mortified by any coldness, insolence, or persecution on the part of those who were his superiors in age and ecclesiastical influence in the church; for, however much of this he had to bear when he had actually taken the step of becoming a dissenter, it does not appear, that previous to his forsaking the establishment, he had to complain of any want of courtesy or kindness on the part of those with whom he was outwardly associated. As little is there any evidence that antecedently to the time of his seceding, his mind had become seriously impressed with a conviction, that civil establishments of religion are unscriptural, and that the fellowship of saints is most effectually secured by the adoption of the congregational form of church order; for though he was dissatisfied with much that he saw in the establishment, and was in spirit and feeling more closely allied with the congregationalist brethren from England, who at that time occasionally visited Scotland, than with his own brethren in the church; yet it does not appear, that the question of church order by itself had at this time received any peculiar portion of his study. To what, then, is his withdrawal from the established church to be ascribed? Simply to the growth within him of the spirit of vigorous, active christianity, which repudiated the mockery of dry forms, rebelled against the slavery of human restraints, and aspired to the enjoyment of that intellectual, spiritual, beneficent liberty wherewith Christ has made his people free. Mr. Ewing left the establishment because the establishment forbade him to do all that he thought Christ had enjoined upon his ministers. He left the establishment, because the establishment cramped and limited his efforts to save men's souls. As his daughter most correctly observes, 'the origin of his dissatisfaction, and that which became, as it were, the clue to all his progressive enquiries and convictions, was a desire for more extensive usefulness, as a minister of that gospel which is to be preached to every creature.'—p. 181.

At the time Mr. Ewing was ordained to the office of the ministry in Edinburgh, the religious state of Scotland, as a whole, was perhaps more deplorable than it had been since the time of the Reformation. In the established church, the iron policy of

the Robertsons and Hills, by whom the majority in its courts for half a century been commanded, had well nigh crushed of it all the sap, and extinguished all the fire of vital godlin In the fashionable circles, infidelity was openly sported, witty clergymen accepted satisfaction for insults to their cl in a bottle of old claret, provided it was not too small of its ag 'In my youth,' said an octogenarian lady, to us the other d 'no young man of good birth went to church; it was not fashion.' In the higher and lower classes, laxity of morals p vailed to a fearful extent, especially in the metropolis. A whilst the middle class was then, as it ever has been, the m virtuous and religious portion of the community, it is not to denied that even among its members the grossest hypocr and vice were too often displayed. But on the moral and r gious state of Scotland at the close of the last century, let hear the testimony of one whose valuable contributions h served to enrich more than one of Mrs. Matheson's pages.

'The ministers of the olden time,' writes Dr. Russel of Dundee, 'v had survived the persecution of the Stuarts, preached the doctrine of standards of the church, established at the Revolution. But not a of the ministers, who had conformed to the establishment which exis before the Revolution, were continued in their parishes, on their c forming to the new establishment; and many of them were, by means, evangelical preachers. To what extent the latter had an influen in producing the state of things, which very soon followed, it is not e to say; but that they had an influence, can hardly be doubted. Be t as it may, it was not long, till a great change took place in the doctri views, of a great proportion of the younger clergy. The ethical disc sions common, at that time, in England, became fashionable in Scotla Sir Henry Moncrief, in his life of Dr. Erskine, says:—'There was c tainly, at this time, in Scotland, a class of preachers, who, besides absurd affectation of bringing their public instructions from Socrat Plato, or Seneca, rather than from the morality of the gospel, d tinguished themselves by an ostentatious imitation of Francis Hut inson, and the Earl of Shaftesbury.' p. 59. Cold disquisitic were delivered, which spoke neither to the hopes, nor fears, nor affi tions; so that the church, in many instances, became the dormitory the parish. Pelagian and Socinian heresies came to be openly taught, not a few pulpits; while, in others, they were introduced in a more cov manner. And where such corrupt doctrines were not taught, there w errors inculcated, which though more refined, were not less dangero In various ways, there was a systematic perversion of the gospel

• 'Come Doctor,' said a noted scoffer to the *evangelical* minister of Tolbooth church, 'I can give you a treat—a bottle of claret forty years ol The Doctor was in raptures, and eagerly accepted the invitation, when to dismay the expected quart proved to be only a pint bottle. 'Wae's m said he, taking it up in his hand, "but its unco wee (*anglice* strangely litt of its age."—*Kay's Edinburgh Portraits*, vol. i, p. 30, 4to edition.

Christ, by reiterated statements, of a character altogether self-righteous. The true ground of hope to a sinner, was never brought forward; or if any reference was made to it, the object was, to hold it up to ridicule and scorn. The doctrine of salvation through faith in the expiatory work of Christ, was reproached as hostile to morality; and this, too, often by men, whose own immoralities were foul and flagrant. Religion, where any attention was paid to it, became cold and speculative; but, in many quarters, it was altogether disregarded, for the people had sunk into a listless indifference, and a torpid apathy.

'Had it not been, that the different bodies of evangelical dissenters kept alive the knowledge of the gospel, in certain districts of the country, it must, to all human appearance, have been extinct; not only in them, but by a natural process, even in some other quarters. In cases where gross error was not taught, there was a fearful poverty of scriptural knowledge, and of the fruits of personal study and observation. There was a monotonous repetition of a few common-place topics; the same images, like so many natural and necessary shadows, waited on the statements; and the consequence was, that the church was a picture of still-life. In the course of time, men arose, who gave a more respectable appearance, to a system radically the same. The polished classes were charmed with the meagre theology and the superficial morality of Blair. Not a few followed in his wake; but we have but to glance at the flimsy compositions, bearing the name of sermons, published by the men of this school, and so highly lauded by those who fancied themselves to be people of taste, to perceive how low the state of knowledge and of piety must have been among them. In the mean time, the other orders of society were sinking, deeper and deeper, into a state of utter ignorance, infidelity, and immorality. Corrupt doctrines; the prostitution of the most solemn ordinances of Christ, to all who chose; and the utter neglect of church discipline, fearfully prevailed. An empty form of religion was observed, while the power of it was ridiculed.'—pp. 621-623.

During the whole time that this degenerating process was going forward, there were doubtless many who in secret were sighing and crying over the evils which prevailed around them. Very little, however, had been done, up to the time when Mr. Ewing commenced his public career, in the way of using active exertions to disturb the deep spiritual slumber into which all classes of the people had sunk. The bugbear of latitudinarianism frightened many, otherwise good soldiers of the cross, into their hiding-places. The majesty of forms kept in bondage not a few who had pith and sinew enough to have done good service to the cause of truth, had they been but free to do it. There wanted altogether a man who would *dare* something for the salvation of his fellows. And such a man, God in his good providence sent, under favourable circumstances, in Mr. Ewing.

The steps by which Mr. Ewing advanced towards the erection of the standard of spiritual liberty in his native land, were simple and natural. As a whole, they were, we believe, utterly un-

premeditated, and arose, the one out of the other, as occasion demanded. At first, he aimed at nothing but to preach fully, freely, and impressively, the gospel to his own congregation. Then he began to moot the subject of purity of church-fellowship, and to denounce the evils resulting from promiscuous assemblies of the precious and the vile around the table of the Lord. Then his soul caught the impulse which the formation of the missionary society and the sending forth of missionaries to the heathen, gave to all good men throughout the empire; and he determined to devote himself, with three other kindred spirits, to the missionary work in India. Frustrated in this design through the influence of the East India Company, his zeal for doing good sought scope at home. He found it in editing the Missionary Magazine, in sustaining, directing, and encouraging the formation of Sabbath schools, in co-operating with men who, like the late Rowland Hill, came from the south to communicate a portion of their fire to the Christians of the north, and especially in patronizing, sanctioning, and defending the efforts of certain pious laymen who, unauthorised by session or presbytery, had begun to traverse the country, proclaiming the gospel of the kingdom. This last was the crowning offence against the empire of forms of which Mr. Ewing was guilty. All else might be forgiven; this never. That a clergyman should stoop to preach in a barn, or by the roadside, was bad enough—that he should sanction men on whose heads no reverend hands had been laid, in conducting the religious education of the young, was still worse—but that he should defend lay-preaching, was a crime against good order, which stiff and starched divines knew not how to overlook. Mr. Ewing, accordingly, from the time when he preached and published his sermon on itinerant and field preaching, felt himself to be a marked man. He saw the clerical power bestirring itself to put a curb upon him and his brethren, and extinguish the light which he and they had succeeded in kindling. The time, he felt, had at length come when he must either relinquish his connexion with the establishment, or forfeit his integrity and the testimony of his conscience in the sight of God. In such a case he was not the man to hesitate. His decision was quickly and finally made. He anticipated the censures of the venerable assembly, by resigning his charge and casting himself upon the protecting care and goodness of his heavenly Master.

Emancipated from the trammels of the establishment, Mr. Ewing now felt himself free to co-operate fully with those zealous and devoted brethren whose efforts for the good of the people he had countenanced whilst a minister in the church. They were indeed a noble and devoted band; of whom some have fallen

asleep, and some still continue, veterans at their post. A few of them were men of fortune, like the Messrs. Haldane; others were persons who had been in business, like Mr. Aikman, late of Edinburgh, and Mr. John Campbell, late of Kingsland; others had been clergymen and probationers, who, with Mr. Ewing, had seceded from the established church, or from some of the bodies of presbyterian dissenters, of whom Mr. Innes, of Edinburgh, who still survives, and Mr. Cowie, late of Montrose, deserve especial mention; and not a few were students, and young men anxious to devote themselves to the ministry, but who had not yet received license from any ecclesiastical body. Of those thus brought together, Mr. Ewing, from his superior attainments, his energy, and his talents, became very soon the centre, and in a certain sense the leader. Availing himself of his emancipation from ecclesiastical bondage, he gave himself, with his characteristic energy, to the labours of an itinerant preacher of the gospel, visiting sometimes alone, sometimes in company with one of his esteemed friends, those parts of the country where such services were most required. He also very soon entered upon the labours of a theological tutor, and had placed under his charge a number of young men of piety and talents belonging originally to different denominations of Christians, and still differing in opinion on some points of ecclesiastical polity, but all inspired with the same earnest desire to diffuse among their countrymen the knowledge of the Saviour. Nor was it long before he was called upon to give counsel and take a leading part in the formation of a Christian church, in which those who had thus, through the force of conscientious convictions and peculiar circumstances, found themselves extruded from the fellowship of the already existing churches, might find that communion with each other, which every true Christian feels to be so salutary, and which, to persons in their circumstances, had become a necessary condition of their spiritual life. In this matter Mr. Ewing's knowledge, sincerity and firmness, proved of eminent service in at once resisting the impetuosity of those who having, after long quiescence, begun to move, knew not well where to stop, and in dispelling the prejudices, removing the ignorance, and encouraging the progress of those who, in their dread of transgressing the limits of truth, were hesitating to take the necessary steps to bring them within these limits. The result was the formation in Edinburgh of a church on congregational principles similar to those which had long existed in England, and which served as the model on which other churches throughout the country were afterwards framed. Over this church, which met in the Circus—a place of amusement which had for some time been used as a place of worship, and where Mr. Hill and

tyranny had been amply proved; and the consequence was, the rising within the church of that spirit, which gradually growing and strengthening, and becoming bolder, has at length ended in the withdrawal, by the recent secession from her communion, of nearly all the stamina, and pith, and sap, that she possessed. 'When the ecclesiastical history of the nineteenth century shall come to be written,' said the professor of church history, in Marischall College, Aberdeen, at the meeting of the Scottish Congregational Union for 1843, 'the historian, if he be well informed and candid, will not fail to record, that to the rise and influence of the congregational churches, the present crisis in the church of Scotland is in no small degree to be ascribed.' Such and so great are the effects which may flow from the faith and fortitude of men, who, undeterred by the scoffs and hatred of the world, stand true in some hour of trial, to the claims of conscience and the cause of truth.

A plan having been adopted for the erection of tabernacles or large places of worship, not especially connected with any particular christian body, in the larger towns of Scotland, Mr. Ewing, very shortly after his secession from the national church, removed to Glasgow to take charge of that which had been erected there. In this place was formed that pastoral relation which subsisted between him and the flock he was instrumental in gathering, with uninterrupted harmony, until his removal from them by death. Of the changing fortunes of his private history; of his pastoral labours, trials, and successes; of his manifold efforts for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, both at home and abroad; of his literary pursuits and productions; of his reputation and worth, as a theological professor; and of the many virtues and graces which enriched his character and adorned his home; the volume before us presents a full, a faithful, and a charming picture. Into this part of its contents, however, our limits forbid us to enter. We must therefore content ourselves with calling the attention of our readers to the store of holy enjoyment and profitable information which Mrs. Matheson's pages have provided for them, and leave them to seek it for themselves. To all who are interested in works of christian biography or denominational history, and especially to pastors and theological students, we confidently commend this volume, as one which they cannot peruse without satisfaction, or study without profit.

Art. V. *The Old Red Sandstone: or, New Walks in an Old Fi*
By Hugh Miller. Edinburgh: Johnstone. 1841.

We owe an apology, first to Mr. Miller, that we have not now recorded his labours; and secondly to our readers, that have been so long in introducing him to their acquaintan This apology we frankly, and in good earnest, offer; and bef proceeding to notice his volume, will allow the author to tel little of his early history:—

'It was twenty years, last February,' he says, 'since I set out a lit before sunrise to make my first acquaintance with a life of labour a restraint; and I have rarely had a heavier heart than on that mornir I was but a slim, loose-jointed boy at the time—fond of the pre intangibilities of romance, and of dreaming when broad awake; a woful change! I was now going to work at what Burns has instanc in his 'Twa Dogs,' and as one of the most disagreeable of all emplc ments—to work in a quarry. I had been a wanderer among rocks a woods—a reader of curious books, when I could get them—a gleaner old traditionary stories; aad now I was going to exchange all my da dreams, and all my amusements, for the kind of life in which men t every day that they may be enabled to eat, and eat every day that th may be enabled to toil.' (p. 4.)

So he began his life as an humble quarryman, and his natu inquisitiveness immediately rendered him a diligent, an eventually, a successful student of the wonders exhibited in h lowly scenes of labour:—

'In the course of the first day's employment, I picked up a nodul mass of blue limestone, and laid it open by a stroke of the hamme Wonderful to relate, it contained inside a beautifully finished piece sculpture—one of the volutes apparently of an Ionic capital, and n the far-famed walnut of the fairy tale. Had I broken the shell, a found the little dog lying within, it could not have surprised me mor Was there another such curiosity in the whole world? I broke op a few other nodules of similar appearance, for they lay pretty thickly the shore, and found that there might. In one of these there we what seemed to be scales of fishes, and the impressions of a few minu bivalves, prettily striated; in the centre of another there was actual a piece of decayed wood. Of all nature's riddles, these seemed to n to be at once the most interesting, and the most difficult to expoun I treasured them carefully up, and was told by one of the workmen, whom I showed them, that there was a part of the shore, about tw miles further to the west, where curiously shaped stones, somewh like the heads of boarding pikes, were occasionally picked up; and th in his father's days the country people called them thunder bolts, an deemed them of sovereign efficacy in curing bewitched cattle. O employer, on quitting the quarry for the building on which we were

be engaged, gave all the workmen a half holiday. I employed it in visiting the place where the thunder-bolts had fallen so quickly, and found it a richer scene of wonder than I could have fancied in even my dreams.'—p. 11.

We have not space enough to allow Mr. Miller to describe the feelings with which he looked on the treasures of scallops, and gryphites, and ammonites of almost every variety; of twigs of wood, leaves of plants, cones of pine, and scales of fishes; but our friends must hear the instructive sequel:—

'My curiosity once fully awakened, remained awake, and my opportunities of gratifying it have been tolerably ample. I have been an explorer of caves and ravines, a loiterer along sea-shores, a climber among rocks, a labourer in quarries. My profession was a wandering one.'—p. 13.

These interesting statements fully establish the important truth which the author founds upon them, that 'there are few professions, however humble, that do not present their peculiar advantages of observation: there are none, in which the exercise of the faculties does not lead to enjoyment.'

It may be said, indeed, that Mr. Miller could scarcely help becoming a geologist; that his curiosity, his love of nature, his descriptive power, his fondness for classification, when brought into the midst of the fossil charnel house wherein he was placed, made him one, *e necessitatê naturæ*. But not so, exactly, for, let it not be forgotten that, before his observations began, the old red sandstone was 'the Great Sandy Desert' of Geology: not a few travelling mineralogists had gone from the mountain limestone to the Silurian System, and said that 'all was barren;' and had the quarryman of Cromarty been content 'by books alone the world to know,' the 'New Walks in an Old Field' had never been taken. It was considered as 'remarkably barren of fossils,' an ingenious foreigner had said to Mr. Murchison: 'you must inevitably give it up; it is a mere local deposit—a doubtful accumulation huddled up in a corner, and has no type or representative abroad.' Of so little interest was it deemed, that Mr. Lyell, in his Elements, published only two years before Mr. Miller's book, though he occupies more than thirty pages with the coal measures, gives but two and a half to the old red sandstone. Our author, therefore, deserves credit for original and independent observation, and, as the result, has not presented the labours of other men, but a fresh record of his own; not a compiled volume, but a new book.

As we are about to present to our readers some of the scenes which are beheld in this 'old field,' we are reminded of the eulogy which Dr. Buckland gave of them at a meeting of the

British Association, where he said he 'had never been so astonished in his life by the powers of any man, as he ha by the geological descriptions of Mr. Miller. That wo man described these objects with a felicity which mad ashamed of the comparative meagreness and poverty of h descriptions in the *Bridgewater Treatise*, which had co hours and days of labour. He would give his left hand t sess such powers of description as this man; and if it p Providence to spare his life, he, if any one, would certainl der the science attractive and popular, and do equal ser theology and geology.'

Let us now accompany our geologist on one of his excu and contemplate the interesting scenes to which he can le and which he knows so well how to describe. Let it be th ploratory excursion of which he says:—

'I set out on a delightful morning of August, 1830. The ti falling; it had already reached the line of half ebb; and from the ern Sutor to the low, long promontory on which the town of Cr is built, there extended a broad belt of mingled sand-banks, and accumulations of boulders, and shingle, and large tracks, darkene algæ. . . . . I turned to trace through the broad belt left retiring waters the beds and strata of the old red sandstone, in t cending succession, I first crossed the conglomerate base of the here little more than a hundred feet in thickness. . . . . I next over a thick bed of coarse red and yellowish sandstone, with h there a few pebbles sticking from its surface, and here and there tum of finer grained fossile sandstone, inserted between the r strata; I then crossed over strata of an impure greyish limestone slaty clay abounding, as I long afterwards ascertained, in icthyoli vegetable remains. . . . . I passed onwards, and reached a litt in the neighbourhood of the town. It was laid bare by the ti morning far beyond its outer opening; and the huge table-like b which occupies nearly its centre, held a middle place between t darkened flood-line that ran high along the beach, and the brown ebb that bristled far below with forests of rough-stemmed tangle I found the rock exposed is a stratified clay, of a grey colour, with olive, and occurring in beds separated by indurated ba grey micaceous sandstone. They also *abound* in calcareous n thickly spread. The first nodule I laid open, contained a bitu looking mass, in which I could trace a few pointed bones, and minute scales. The next abounded in rhomboidal and finely ena scales, of a much larger size, and more distinct character. I w on with the eagerness of a discoverer entering for the first tim *terra incognita* of wonders. Almost every fragment of clay, splinter of sandstone, every limestone nodule, contained its org Scales, spines, plates, bones, entire fish; but not one organism lias could I find. I was struck, as I well might, by the utter s ness of the forms—the oar-like arms of the *Pteric thys*, and its t

like plates—the strange, bucklar-looking head of the *Coccosteus*—the polished scales and plates, of the *Osteolepis*—the spined and scaled fins of the Cheiracanthus—above all, the one-sided tail of at least eight out of the ten or twelve varieties of fossil which the deposit contained. . . . . I wrought on till the advancing tide came splashing over the nodules, and a powerful August sun had risen toward the middle of the sky; and were I to sum up all my happier hours, the hour would not be forgotten in which I sat down on a rounded boulder of granite by the edge of the sea, when the last bed was covered and spread out on the beach before me, the spoils of the morning.'—pp. 109—117.

A few of these spoils we must 'spread out' before our friends, in the hope that they will examine for themselves all the interesting descriptions with which Mr. Miller's book is filled. And let not any be discouraged by the hard names which these fossils bear. As our author, with much good sense and modesty says—

'They are like all names in science, unfamiliar in their aspect to mere English readers, just because they are names not for England alone, but for England and the world. I am assured, however, that they are all composed of very good Greek, and picturesquely descriptive of some peculiarity in the fossils they designate. One of the ichthyolites, with a thorn or spine in each fin, bears the name of *acanthodes*, or thorn-spike; another, with a similar mechanism of spines attached to the upper part of the body, and in which the pectoral, or hand-fins, are involved, has been designated the *cheiracanthus*, or thorn-hand; a third, covered with curiously fretted scales, has been named the *glyptolepis*, or carved scale; and a fourth, roughened over with berry-like tubercles, that rise from strong osseous plates, is known as the *coccosteus*, or berry on bone. . . . . There is, however, no necessary connection between geology and the dead languages.'—pp. 36, 37.

The pterichthys, or *winged fish*, is one of the most remarkable organisms presented in the old red sandstone. When our author laid open to view his first specimen, he says—

'There, on a ground of light coloured limestone, lay the effigy of a creature, fashioned apparently out of jet, with a body covered with plates, two powerful looking arms articulated at the shoulders, a head as entirely lost in the trunk, as that of the ray, or the sun-fish, and a long angular tail. . . . I have placed one of the specimens before me. Imagine the figure of a man, rudely drawn in black, on a grey ground, the head cut off by the shoulders, the arms spread at full, as in the attitude of swimming, the body rather long than otherwise, and narrowing from the chest downwards, one of the legs cut away at the hip joint, and the other, as if to preserve the balance, placed directly under the centre of the figure, which it seems to support. . . . The body was of very considerable depth, perhaps little less so proportionally from back to breast, than the

body of the tortoise; the under part was flat, the upper rose towards the centre into a roof-like ridge, and both under and upper were covered with a strong armour, of bony plates, which, resembling more the plates of the tortoise than those of the crustacean, received their accessions of growth at the edges or sutures.'—pp. 48—49.

We regret not being able to give the more minute details of the description, the following notice of the various species we cannot withhold—

'Agassiz, in the course of his late visit to Scotland, found six species of the ptericthys; three of these, and the wings of a fourth, are in the collection of the writer. The differences by which they are distinguished, may be marked by even an unpractised eye, especially in the form of the bodies and wings. Some of a fuller, some are of a more elongated form; in some, the body resembles a heraldic shield, of nearly the ordinary shape, and proportion; in others, the shield stretches into a form not very unlike that of a Norway skiff, the midships forward. In some varieties, too, the wings are long, and comparatively slender; in others, shorter, and of greater breadth. . . . I am informed by Agassiz that they were weapons of defence only, which, like the occipital spine, of the river bull-head, were erected in moments of danger or alarm, and at other times lay close by the creature's side . . . It is a curious fact, that in this attitude (of danger and alarm) nine-tenths of the ptericthyes of the lower old red sandstone are to be found. We read in the stone a singularly preserved story of the strong instinctive love of life, and of the mingled fear and anger implanted for its preservation,—'the champions in distorted postures threat;'—it presents us, too, with a wonderful record of violent death, falling at once, not on a few individuals, but on whole tribes.—pp. 52—53.

Let us look at another of these curious fishes, the coccosteus, the figure of which is compared to a boy's kite:—

'There is a rounded head, a triangular body, a long tail attached to the apex of the triangle, and no arms. The manner in which the plates are arranged on the head is peculiarly beautiful; but I am afraid I cannot adequately describe them. A ring of plates, like the ring stones of an arch, runs along what may be called the hoop of the kite; the form of the key-stone is perfect; the shapes of the others are elegantly varied, as if for ornament; and what would be otherwise the opening of the arch, is filled up with one large plate, of an outline singularly elegant. A single plate, still larger than any of the others, covers the greater part of the creature's triangular body, to the shape of which it nearly conforms. It rises saddlewise towards the centre: on the ridge there is a longitudinal groove ending in a perforation, a little over the apex; two small lateral plates on either side fill up the base of the angle; and the long vertebrated tail fills up the angle.'—pp. 53, 54.

We must give a little account of the *holoptychius*, which is one of the most remarkable objects we meet in our walk through

this interesting 'old field.' Speaking of the holoptychius nobilissimus, of which he gives a very excellent engraving, Mr. Miller says—

'There is a general massiveness about the separate portions of the creature, that imparts ideas of the gigantic, independently of its bulk as a whole; just as a building of a moderate size, when composed of very ponderous stones, has a more imposing effect than much larger buildings in which the stones are smaller. The body measures a foot across, by two feet and a half in length, exclusive of the tail, which is wanting; but the armour in which it is cased might have served a crocodile or alligator of five times the size. It lies on its back in a mass of red sandstone; and the scales and plates still retain their bony colour, slightly tinged with red, like the skeleton of some animal that has lain for years in a bed of ferruginous marl or clay. The outline of the occipital portion of the specimen forms a low gothic arch, of an intermediate style, between the round Saxon and the pointed Norman. This arch is filled by two angular pane-like plates, separated by a vertical line, that represents, if I may use the figure, the dividing astragal; and the under jaw, with its two sweeping arcs or branches, constitutes the frame. All of the head which appears is that under portion of it which extends from the upper part of the belly to the snout. The belly itself is thickly covered by huge carved scales, that, from their massiveness and regular arrangement, remind one of the flags of an ancient stone roof. The carving varies as they descend towards the tail, being more in the ridge style below; and more in the tuberculated style above. So fairly does the creature lie on its back, that the ventral fins have fallen equally, one on each side, and from their semicircular form, remind one of the two pouch holes in a lady's apron, with their laced flaps. The entire outline of the fossil is that of an elongated ellipsis, or rather spindle, a little drawn out towards the caudal extremity.'—pp. 162, 163.

We regret that we cannot pursue these pleasing descriptions any further, and introduce to our readers the strange forms which are so graphically depicted. We recommend them to obtain the book, and read of the *osteolepis* 'cased in complete armour;' of the *cheirolepis*, with its enamelled scales and plates glittering with minute ridges, and showing, 'like thorns in a December morning, varnished with ice;' of the *glyptolepis*, the sculpturing of whose scales is larger and more rudely finished, 'reminding one of the tattooings of a savage, or the corresponding style of art in which he ornaments the handle of his stone hatchet, or his war-club.'—pp. 98, 99.

A consistency of style pervades the fossils of the old red sandstone, which is pointed out in a very interesting manner.

'In no single fish of either group do we find two styles of ornament; in scarce any two fishes do we find exactly the same style. I pass fine buildings every day. In some there is a discordant jumbling; an Egyptian sphynx, for instance, placed over a doric portico; in all there

prevails a vast amount of timid imitation.... But the case is otherwise among the icthyolites of the old red sandstone; nor does it lessen the wonder, that their nicer ornaments should yield their beauty only to the microscope. There is unity of character in every scale, plate, and fin—unity such as all men of taste have learned to admire.'—p. 96.

Here our author slightly touches a theme of deep interest, into which he enters more fully towards the end of his book, where he speaks of the 'wonderful analogies that exist in nature between the geological history of the vertebrated animals as an order, and the history of every mammifer; between the history, too, of fish as a class, and that of every single fish.'—p. 241.

After describing these analogies, 'which point through the embryos of the present time to the womb of nature, big with its multitudinous forms of being,' he asks—

'Are they charged with no such nice evidence as a Butler would delight to contemplate; regarding that unique *style* of Deity, if I may so express myself, which runs through all his works, whether we consider Him as God of Nature or Author of Revelation.'—p. 243.

He then adds, and we quote his words as a specimen of the admirable manner in which he frequently makes a noble, and yet natural transition, from rocks and fossils into the high region of purely religious contemplation:—

'In this style of type and symbol did He reveal himself of old to his chosen people: in this style of allegory and parable did He again address himself to them, when He sojourned among them on earth.'

Mr. Miller's book is, in our opinion, calculated to induce a large number of plain common sense persons to pay some attention to rocks and fossils. He has succeeded to admiration in divesting the subject of technicalities, and in placing it before ordinary minds in a very interesting and attractive form. We imagine there are many thoughtful persons laying no claim to geological science, who have occasionally asked what has been the origin of the various minerals with which the earth abounds, and have wished for some satisfactory mode of accounting for their formation. We are certain that such persons cannot peruse these pages without deriving from them very great satisfaction.

'The transmission of iron, in a chemical form, through chalybeate springs, from deposits in which it had been diffused in a form merely mechanical, is, of itself, curious, but how much more so its passage and subsequent accumulation, as in bog iron, and the iron of the coal measures, through the agency of vegetation? How strange, if the steel axe of the woodman should have once formed part of an ancient forest! If, after first existing as a solid mass in a primary rock, it should next

have come to be diffused as a red pigment in a transition conglomerate, —then as a brown oxide in a chalybeate spring,—then as a yellowish ochre in a secondary sandstone,—then as a component part in the stems and twigs of a thick forest of arboraceous plants,—then again as an iron carbonate, slowly accumulating at the bottom of a morass of the coal measures,—then as a layer of indulated bands and nodules of brown ore, underlying a seam of coal,—and then finally, that it should have been dug out, and smelted and fashioned, and employed for the purpose of handicraft.'—p. 250.

In the same popular manner we are presented with some excellent observations on the age of the globe, which are given in a manner calculated to bring every unprejudiced mind to the conclusion that our 'age is as nothing,' when compared with the long eras by which it has been preceded. But we must close. Before doing which, however, we must barely refer to our author's masterly sketch of the older formations, of the former aspect of those regions in which they were deposited, in which, having brought his history up to the coal measures, he alludes to the anticipation of Cuvier, that a period would come in which man would have to resign his post of honour (on our planet), to some nobler and wiser creature, the monarch of a better and happier world, and adds—

'How well it is to be permitted to indulge in the expansion of Cuvier's thought, without sharing in the melancholy of Cuvier's feeling; to be enabled to look forward to the coming of a new heaven and a new earth not in terror, but in hope; to be encouraged to believe in the system of unending progression, but to entertain no fear of the degradation or deposition of man! The adorable monarch of the future, with all its unsummed perfection, has already passed into the heavens, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, and Enoch and Elias are there with him, fit representatives of that dominant race, which no other race shall ever supplant or succeed, and to whose onward and upward march the deep echoes of eternity shall never cease to respond.'—p. 274.

And now we must unwillingly close our pleasant work; which we cannot do without strongly urging our readers to possess themselves of one of the most pleasing and original contributions ever made to the treasures of the christian philosopher. We are, as we hope they will, ere long, be, greatly improved in our moral health by these 'new walks through an old field.'

Art. VI. *Letters from America.* By John Robert Godley. 2 vols. 12mo. London: John Murray.

THESE volumes are the production of a sensible and intelligent traveller, who is evidently concerned to do justice to the people whom he describes, and to furnish useful information, rather than to amuse his readers with florid descriptions of scenery, or exciting details of personal adventure. We dissent from many of the views which are expressed, and can trace in some places the distorting influence of political and ecclesiastical predilections, yet we are, on the whole, much pleased with our companion, and readily admit his general good feeling and candour. His preface is written in an admirable spirit, and can scarcely fail, while it conciliates the confidence of his countrymen, to secure for his remarks the attentive consideration of intelligent American readers. Alluding to the variety of works issued by English travellers on America, Mr. Godley observes that while distinguished by endless diversities in other respects, there is one characteristic common to all, and that is, *satire*. This is deeply to be regretted, as there are no other two nations between whom so many natural ties exist, and to whom it is of so much importance that feelings of esteem and cordial good-will should be mutually cherished. In reading the volumes of Hall, Marryat, Trollope, Dickens, and others, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that their tendency is to irritate and offend the American reader; and that, too, not simply nor principally, by expressing views unfriendly to their institutions and character, but by the air of ridicule and satire that is thrown over all which they deem most valuable, or regard as most distinctive. The tone of our literature has, till recently, evinced much of this. The men who ought to have corrected the evil, have laboured to increase it, by attributing to the community the faults of individuals, and thus catering to the worst passions of their own people. Some general causes have been in operation in this matter. Aristocratic and hierarchical predilections have been offended by the simplicity of American institutions, whilst the refinement and false sentimentalism of some of our countrymen have been outraged by the rough energy and unpolished exterior of portions of the American people.

It would be well for us to remember that the Americans are an English stock, a branch of our own family, between whom and ourselves a strong resemblance may be traced, notwithstanding the diversities of complexion and feature, to which special circumstances and the infusion of other races have given rise. This relationship might well serve to mitigate the severity of

the censure of our travellers, or at least to extract from their writing some portion of the gall and bitterness so discreditably displayed. A regard to our own credit, an honourable jealousy for our national character, might suffice—in the absence of higher motives—to moderate the asperity with which the American branch of our own family is frequently adverted to by our countrymen. Let our positions be changed, let the inhabitants of the States be dwellers in a country like our own, over which the shadows of a dominant aristocracy and church have been cast for ages; and let us take their place and encounter all the necessities and impulses which have been concerned in the formation of their character, and we should no longer wonder at that which now excites our displeasure, or deem submissive deference the due return for insulting calumnies. The strife fomented by the bad taste and bad feelings of many of our tourists is as injurious as it is discreditable, and cannot fail, if persisted in, to widen a breach which every wise man, whether English or American, must desire to see healed.

It is in a vastly different spirit,—and in this consists the great charm of his work,—that Mr. Godley has entered on his task. He is far from agreeing in opinion with the great majority of Americans, on the merits of their religious, political, and social systems. It is enough to say that he is a conservative in politics, and in religion a disciple of the modern school, which looks to Oxford as its fountain, and boasts of catholicity in the spirit of a confirmed and bitter sectarianism. But notwithstanding all this, and much puerility which flows from it, he is honestly concerned to do justice to the people of America, and does not hesitate to affirm their superiority to ourselves in some important respects. Referring to this in his preface, he remarks,

'In energy, enterprise, perseverance, sagacity, activity, and varied resources,—in all the faculties, in short, which contribute to produce what is now technically called material civilization, and which have always, in a peculiar manner, distinguished the British from the continental Europeans, there is no disputing the superiority of the Americans to ourselves. Wherever they have a fair field for the exercise of them, they beat us. Their ships sail better, and are worked by fewer men; their settlers pay more for their land than our colonists, and yet undersell them in their own markets: wherever administrative talent is called into play, whether in the management of a hotel, or a ship, or a prison, or a factory, there is no competing with them: and, after a little intercourse with them, I was not surprised that it should be so; for the more I travelled through the country, the more was I struck with the remarkable average intelligence which prevails: I never met a stupid American; I never met one man from whose conversation much information might not be gained, or who did not appear familiar with life and business, and qualified to make his way in them. There is one singular proof of the general

energy and capacity for business which early habits of self-dependence have produced;—almost every American understands politics, takes a lively interest in them (though many abstain under discouragement or disgust from taking a practical part), and is familiar, not only with the affairs of his own township or county, but with those of the state and of the Union; almost every man reads about a dozen newspapers every day, and will talk to you for hours *(tant bien que mal)*, if you will listen to him, about the tariff, and the bank, and the Ashburton treaty. Now, anywhere else, the result of all this would be the neglect of private business,—not so here; an American seems to have time, not only for his own affairs, but for those of the commonwealth; and to find it easy to reconcile the apparently inconsistent pursuits of a bustling politician, and a steady man of business. Such a union is rarely to be met with in England; never on the continent.'—Preface, pp. ix.—xi.

Mr. Godley's work is published in the form of letters, having been originally addressed to his relations in Ireland—most of them to his father—during his tour. They were written we are informed,—and we see no reason to doubt the statement,—without any view to publication, but have been somewhat remodelled prior to their appearance in their present form. The first volume is occupied almost exclusively with Canada, towards which the author hastened from Boston, where he landed July 20th, 1842. The promiscuous nature of the company encountered in travelling is early noted, together with the reserve maintained by the more respectable Americans towards strangers, prior to their introduction. As some misconceptions have grown out of these facts, we quote Mr. Godley's remarks for the information of our readers.

'Here everybody travels; and everybody, except the labouring class, dresses alike. A foreigner makes acquaintance (we will suppose in a steam-boat or railroad-car) with a person who has, in all respects, the same external pretensions as those of his own class in life; he enters into conversation with him; finds him, perhaps, impertinent, prejudiced, conceited, and ignorant of the common refinements and courtesies of civilized life; and after having argued and disputed almost to the verge of a quarrel, goes off and describes his fellow-traveller in his journal (probably with a good deal of exaggeration) as a fair specimen of the best American society; whereas the man was most likely a shopkeeper's apprentice, in no respect different in point of refinement from a youth of the same class out of St. Paul's Church Yard. I speak from experience, having often been tempted to do so myself. The best people in America are not accessible without good letters of introduction: when you meet them, as you do, in places of public entertainment, they are silent and reserved. I have often been disappointed by the coldness with which my advances towards acquaintance have been made, where such advances appeared natural and allowable; but, upon consideration, I have remembered that a different mode of proceeding would, from the very promiscuous

nature of the company one meets with, lead to innumerable annoyances. On the other hand, I recollect but one instance in my own experience, (which probably might have been satisfactorily accounted for), where an introduction met with the slightest inattention or neglect; on the contrary, in no country have I ever met with such a real, cordial desire to make a stranger feel at home, by avoiding anything like irritating or unpleasant subjects of conversation, and by admitting him at once into the family circle. In *travelling*, however, I must confess that a foreigner must expect to meet with much that is unpleasant and grating to his feelings; and I am the more sorry when he is thereby deterred from extending his acquaintance with the better portion of American society.'—vol. i. pp. 29—31.

Our traveller left New York on the 29th August and proceeded up the Hudson in a beautiful steamer, at the rate of fourteen miles an hour. Travelling on the more frequented routes in the Northern States is represented as very cheap, the fare from Boston to New York, a distance of 200 miles, being about 9s. 6d., and from New York to Albany, a distance of 160 miles, only 6s. The hotels also are proportionately moderate in their charges, from one and a half to two dollars per day, being the usual price for board, lodging, and servants. A brief stay was made at Saratoga, the Cheltenham of America, where some noted duellists were pointed out to Mr. Godley, which gives occasion for the following account of this absurd and barbarous practice, unhappily more prevalent in the States than in our own country:—

'There is one gentleman who wears a green shade over his eye, in consequence of a contusion which he received the other day from the rebound of a bullet, in practising for an affair of this kind. I had a good deal of conversation with some American gentlemen upon the subject, and heard some stories which astonished me not a little. The American system of duelling is quite different from ours, and far more consistent and rational: they never think of apologies on the ground, or firing in the air, or separating, after a harmless interchange of shots, which, in England, throws an air of bombastic absurdity over most proceedings of the kind. In America, they 'mean business,' not child's play, when they fight duels, and never separate till one is killed or wounded. The usual plan is to fire at ten paces, and to advance one pace each shot till the desired effect is produced (the newspapers lately gave an account of a duel, where the parties fired six times each). The challenged has the choice of weapons; and pistols, muskets, or rifles are usually selected. Not long since a well-known individual, who, I see, figured as second in an affair that took place about a month ago, challenged another man, who had objected to his vote at an election for personation (which of course involved a charge of perjury), to walk arm in arm from the top of the Capitol with him. As this was declined, his next proposal was to sit upon a keg of powder together, and apply a match. However,

even in this country, these were considered rather strong measures; and through the mediation of pacific friends, it was at length amicably arranged that they should fight with muskets at five paces. Each piece was loaded with three balls, and of course both parties were nearly blown to pieces; the challenger, however, unfortunately recovered, and is now ready for fresh atrocities. Of course such a case as this is rare; but I think I am right in stating that a bloodless duel is almost unknown. Now there is some sense in this, whatever one may say of its christianity. A man is injured by another, he wishes to be revenged upon him, and takes the only method of effecting this which society will allow. In England we superadd absurdity. Our duellist, generally speaking, goes out upon the speculation that there is hardly, without avoiding guilt, any chance of a serious result: he commits what is confessedly and notoriously a breach of every law, divine and human; not at the instigation of overpowering passion, which though of course it cannot *excuse* the crime any more than it could that of assassination, at least reasonably *accounts for* its commission; but at the command of a perverted public opinion which he has not manliness or courage to defy, or for the gratification of a miserable vanity, which aims at obtaining (at a very cheap rate) the reputation of a hero at Limmer's or the Saloon. I think some late transactions have contributed to cast upon the practice some of the ridicule which it deserves: there is, too, a stricter feeling of morality and religion growing up, so that I do not despair of seeing this paltry caricacature of a barbarous custom totally given up.'—ib. pp. 46—48.

Our author goes somewhat out of his way to abuse the *Peace* Societies of America,—indeed he has apparently a morbid dislike of all popular associations, however philanthropic their object. We know not who may have abused our 'soldiers and sailors' in the manner to which he adverts, but certainly, though no members of a peace society, we are not prepared to admit the necessity of the military profession, much less its accordance with the spirit of christianity. That there are pious men in both departments of the service we readily admit, but that their being there is consistent with their piety, we more than doubt. We have never yet seen the consistency of their practice with their religious profession satisfactorily made out, but, on the contrary, have a strong conviction that it is utterly abhorrent from the genius of christianity, and betokens an imperfect apprehension of the obligations entailed on its disciples. But we must not wander from our author.

The following remarks on the feelings entertained towards ourselves and our French neighbours, are characterized by discrimination and sound sense, and deserve attentive consideration.

'With respect to the hostile feeling which is said to exist in America towards England, I think I must confirm the impression, so far as regards the masses of the population, if one may judge from the newspaper

press, and the character of the speeches at public meetings; both of which must, to a great extent, be an index of popular feeling, as well as exercise a powerful influence in directing and fostering it in their turn. The statesmen of America, and the educated and wealthy classes generally, far from participating in this feeling, appear to me to entertain and express more friendly sentiments towards us than our countrymen in general reciprocate; but the popular mind, feeding as it does upon the absurd and exaggerated accounts of the miserable and enslaved state of the lower classes in England, and the pride and privileges of her aristocracy, and taught to consider her as the unnatural parent, and as the only powerful rival of America, politically and commercially, is certainly disposed to detract from her glory, and to exult in her misfortunes.

'Towards the French, on the other hand, there is a much less respectful, but much more friendly disposition; this is to be accounted for, partly by the grateful recollection retained by America of the services rendered to her by France in effecting her independence, and which contrasts strongly with the hereditary antipathy towards England nourished by the perusal of American history, partly also by the more sympathetic and hopeful views expressed by French travellers on the subject of America, but chiefly, I have no doubt, by the absence of causes of collision. The policy of France, and that of America, like two parallel lines, never meet; they occupy different provinces of action, and never excite any feelings of rivalry or hostility. Again, the tone of society, and the general habits of thought and expression, are far more aristocratic, *i. e.* far more repugnant to those of an American, in England, than in France. I hardly ever heard of an American residing permanently in England, except for purposes of commerce; while, as everybody knows, they occupy a very prominent position in Paris. Paris, not London, is the school of manners, as wells as dress, for the travelling Americans of both sexes: its sentiments are imported with its fashions by the young *élégans* of New York and New Orleans;* and though these do not fill an important position in American society, still they are not wholly without influence in leavening the national character.

'It is very important to consider these elements of popular feeling in America, as respects the great European nations, because upon that feeling depends American policy; we must recollect that whenever the masses raise their voices, so as not to be mistaken, the federal government must obey at once: whatever may be the opinion of statesmen, capitalists, or judges, it is the popular feeling which must be conciliated, if the American government is to be our friend; and believing, as I do, in the importance to both countries of mutual good feeling, I am sorry and angry when I see people adding needlessly to the irritation for which there already exist so many natural and inevitable causes, for the sake of giving point to a story, and procuring sale for a book.'—ib. pp. 63—66.

Crossing the Canadian border, Mr. Godley found himself 'in the midst of a mongrel-looking and mongrel-speaking popula-

* I hardly ever saw an American whom I could have mistaken for an Englishman; whereas I saw hundreds every day, whom, till they spoke, I should have passed by in Paris without observation, as Frenchmen.

tion, who seemed to talk French and English equally well, or rather equally ill, and to exhibit tolerably equal proportions of French and English, with a dash of Indian blood.' The admixture of Aborigines with the imported race was at once observable, 'infinite gradations of colour and feature, from the dark copper hue, high cheek-bones, and slenderlimbed figure of the full-blooded Huron, to the white and muscular proportions of the European race,' being visible. The general view given of Canada is highly favourable, and would certainly induce us, were we thinking of emigrating, to make further enquiries respecting the colony. On board the steamer, proceeding from Queenstown to Hamilton, Mr. Godley met with an Irishman, from Derry, the result of whose experience—which is represented as a fair specimen of that of his class—is thus given:—

'He came out five years ago, a single man, with nothing but his passage money, his health, and his hands. He got immediate employment at Montreal, and afterwards came on to the upper province, where wages were higher: he has received on an average, (working generally in summer on a farm or on board a lake-steamer, where no skill is required, and lumbering in winter), twelve dollars per month besides his keep, which he values at six or eight dollars more (the ordinary price at one of their boarding-houses), and has never been idle for a single day. This year he has invested his savings, which amount to 400 dollars, in 100 acres of wild land, lying close to the lake, and about ten miles from Hamilton; and intends, after this fall, to build a shanty on his farm, and commence chopping. He says he can clear (alone) about an acre per week; so that by spring he will have about twelve or fifteen acres ready for cropping: after the first year all will be plain sailing, and he *must* get on if he continues healthy and industrious.'—ib. pp. 157—158.

This is certainly encouraging, and if any thing like it be realized by the average class of emigrants, a greater temporal good cannot be conferred on our destitute countrymen, than to aid their transit to the colony. The roads are of course bad, and at some seasons almost impassable. The following induces no very pleasing estimate of the luxury of Canadian travelling in September.

'On Friday I bade farewell to my kind friends at Woodstock, and started per stage for Hamilton, by the same road which I had travelled before; but, alas! how different was its condition. The roads in America are dependent upon the weather, and the weather has now completely broken up. It rained unceasingly from Thursday morning to Friday evening, and the mud-holes in consequence had increased alarmingly—and a mud-hole is, as Mrs. Clavering says, a serious thing in the west; a thing to be contemplated and consulted about, measured and sounded, before the final and often fatal plunge is taken; and the sand track, which they call a road, had become so deep, that for miles toge-

ther we proceeded at a crawling walk. I thought the day would never end. There were two drunken Americans of the lowest class opposite to me, one of whom quarrelled with me outright because I would not 'trade' with him for a coat, which was 'too little for him, but would fit me fust-rate;' a squalling child besides me; the pouring rain above and around, and such a carriage, and such a road beneath! On our arrival at Hamilton at about nine o'clock at night, having occupied thirteen or fourteen hours in travelling fifty-five miles, we found the inns full to overflowing. There must be a wonderful traffic through this place, for it was just the same thing when I was here before; and at the principal inn they told me they had been full continually for the last month. After running about the town in the rain and mud for some time, breaking my head against scaffolding, and tumbling into overflowed drains, (for of course Hamilton does not boast of lamps, and is 'going ahead' so fast, that it is one mass of rubbish and liquid dirt,) I was fortunate enough to get a dirty bed-room without any window, where I managed to sleep pretty well in spite of the fleas, and dressed and shaved in the passage. Next morning rain again; and as we had a mile to go to the wharf at which the Toronto steamer was lying, and there were not carriages enough for the crowd of passengers, a great many were late, and we started at eight o'clock without them. Travelling in Canada makes one look out pretty sharply for number one, (he who trusts to 'boots' or chambermaid is lost), and as I had learned that lesson, I got my seat.'—ib. pp. 179—181.

The ecclesiastical views of our author are frequently broached throughout his volumes. They are, as already noted, of the Oxford school, and are propounded with a seriousness and urgency which betoken personal conviction, however foreign we may deem them from the standard of scripture and reason. We differ of course, *in toto*, from him, yet we respect his sincerity, and should be glad to win him over to a nobler and purer faith. There are some men whom we would not have amongst us if we could; but the case is different with Mr. Godley. Though he misapprehends our principles, and sometimes does injustice to our movements, it is clearly not his design to do so. There is in his style much more of amenity and candour than is commonly associated with such decided and ultra views as he entertains. We sometimes smile at his simplicity, and are half provoked at the mysticism in which his credulity enwraps itself, but never lose sight of the kind-heartedness and gentlemanly bearing which are conspicuous throughout his pages. This is not the place for entering on a discussion of the knotty points suggested by his comments, yet we must be permitted in passing, to remark, that in his application of Dr. Chalmers's proposition about the demand for religious instruction, being in an inverse ratio to the necessity of supply, he has, as is usual with writers of his class, wholly overlooked the fact that the propo-

sition proves nothing in reference to the question in dispute,—that it leaves it absolutely untouched,—that it does not approach even to the semblance of a settlement of it. We admit the proposition equally with our author, but what then? That the State should supply the religious instruction needed? No such thing, but simply this, that the supply must be furnished from some other quarter than that in which the destitution exists,—that it must come *ab extra*, must be brought to and be urged on the acceptance of, those who need it. It is a pure *petitio principii* to conclude from this proposition, that the State should supply the instruction in question. It may or may not be its duty to do so, but this is a point which must be settled by appropriate evidence, and cannot be prejudged by a fact which has no relation to it whatever. The scriptural rule in this case, and that by which we are prepared to abide, devolves the obligation of furnishing this supply on christian men, the genuine disciples of the Saviour, those who, having themselves yielded to the controul of religion, are earnestly concerned to extend its sanctifying influence over others. The church—using this term in its scriptural, not its hierarchical sense—is the agent to be employed in the evangelization of the world, and from no other quarter, however ennobled by riches or honour, will a pure and spiritual form of Christianity proceed. The church *may* fail in its duty, *may* refuse to exert itself, or exerting itself, *may* propagate an erroneous or defective piety; but the interference of the state ever *has been*, and ever *will* be pernicious, tending to infuse the elements of secularity, sloth, and false doctrines into the spiritual family for which it arrogantly assumes to legislate.

We pass over the subsidiary reasoning of our author, simply remarking, that if the destitution of religious instruction experienced in Canada, or in the more thinly peopled districts of the States, proves the necessity of government interference, what shall we conclude from the vice and irreligion which have grown up and are rampant throughout the rural districts of our own country, where a state church has existed for centuries upon whose ministers the public resources have been lavishly expended?

In passing down the St. Lawrence Rapids, Mr. Godley, like most of his countrymen, preferred the shorter route, though involving some personal risk. No steamer took this course till 1842, and the last rapid is deemed so dangerous, that the steamers passing it forfeit their insurance. The following is our author's brief account of his descent:

'There were but two cabin passengers besides myself, both of whom I was slightly acquainted with; the weather was beautiful, and altogether it would have been impossible to have had a pleasanter voyage. The rapids are four in number, the Long Sault, the Cedars, the Cascades,

and La Chine; all of them are to a novice very formidable-looking; at the last, in particular, there is a pitch which fairly lifts the stern of the boat, and plunges her bow into the spray, so as to cover the deck with water; but it having been once ascertained that she will live through it, there is no farther danger than that of missing the channel, which is narrow, and running on the rocks at either side of it. We took in an Indian pilot at each rapid: these fellows have been in the habit of taking down timber rafts and bateaux, and are now employed by the steamers. A barge was lost last week from the foolhardiness of the captain, who refused to take in a pilot; and indeed there is no water to spare even in the channel at this time of year; our boat, which only drew three feet ten inches, is the largest that attempts it, and though provided with the best possible pilotage, we struck once slightly; I confess to a momentary palpitation, when I felt the bump, for we were going at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour, but it was merely a scrape, showing, however, that it is 'touch and go.' But we were made to arrange ourselves in regular positions on deck, so as to keep the vessel on an even keel, and the steam was slackened to half speed, as we went down the rapids. The accommodations on board these little steamers are of course wretched; I spent almost the whole night, which was moonlight and beautiful, on deck.'—ib. p. 238, 239.

Returning from Canada, Mr. Godley proceeded to make his tour of the States, at least of such parts of them as were included within the range of his projected trip. There is nothing very novel or stirring in his narrative. He employed himself as any intelligent man naturally would, saw good society, and records his general impressions rather than his personal adventures. Of Boston, where he tarried for some time, he tells us—

'It is commonly said that Boston is the most aristocratic city in the union. Now it certainly is the richest; that is, there is more realized capital in Boston, as compared with its population, than in any other American town; and perhaps, also, that capital is accumulated in fewer hands, which always produces an aristocratic tendency. But I maintain that Boston is a thoroughly republican town: it is the metropolis of New England; and New England is still, in one sense, the mother-country and type of the states; it is from her that they have for the most part taken their habits, institutions, and character. Every American is really (as well as in common phraseology) a Yankee, more or less modified: this, therefore, is the place to which a stranger should come who wishes to see the general national characteristics in their most unmixed and most developed state. The constitution of society is much the same as in a great English commercial town, and the principle of classification not very different from what our own would be, if the important element of family feeling, or respect for blood, were removed. Wealth is, on the whole, the foundation of what is called 'good society;' but individuals will often find themselves admitted or excluded, independently of this, in consequence of personal qualifications, or the absence of them. So it *is at home: in* England no rule can be laid down, as at Vienna, or in

the 'vieille cour' of France, for admission or exclusion; good looks and good manners, conversational talents, or political notoriety, may enable a man with us at any time to become as familiar with the highest circles as though he were 'born in the purple:' on the other hand, mere wealth, without such qualifications, seldom or never secures a footing in good society here; it has, however, in a great measure the same weight which rank and family have in England, and for the same reason, namely, that it constitutes the best, or at least the most obvious and tangible pledge of personal qualifications in the individual.'—Vol. ii. pp. 136, 137.

The puritanism of New England has happily excluded some forms of public amusement which are exceedingly popular with us. A substitute, however, has been found, to which our author refers in somewhat equivocal terms, suggesting the inquiry whether a latent sneer be not designed. He tells us—

'The most fashionable amusement at Boston this year consists in lectures which are delivered by literary men, (even those of the greatest eminence, such as, for instance, Mr. John Quincy Adams) upon all sorts of subjects. The proprietors of the Lyceum, or some other great room, undertake the speculation, engage the lecturer at a certain price, and make a charge for admission proportionate to his popularity. These lectures answer the same purpose as the Exeter Hall and Rotunda meetings do to certain parties in London and Dublin; that, namely, of affording to those who object to the theatre a little pleasing excitement of a partly intellectual and partly sensual kind. Of course I am not comparing the professed objects of the systems, but merely the nature of the feelings which really actuate many of those who patronize them. When I was sitting with an American literary friend (Mr. ——) the other day, a man came in to ask him, on the part of the Salem Lyceum, to lecture on 'woman,' at some appointed time. When he was gone, Mr. —— gave me a singular account of the extent to which the lecture mania is carried. Ladies often attend two or three in one evening; and so necessary is excitement and variety considered, that one lecturer is seldom allowed to give a 'course;' there must be a fresh hand every night. It is a striking reaction against the Puritan principle of forbidding the ordinary amusements of the world. The love of dissipation and excitement finds vent far less innocently, in my opinion, in running to hear men preach all kinds of doctrines upon all kinds of subjects—religion, politics, or animal magnetism. It must have been where such a system prevailed that the original 'charming woman' of the well-known song was produced. The custom of evening visits, which, as I have already said, I like so much, is universal; it is certainly the best plan; the evening, not the morning, is the time for 'playing company:' and it is very provoking that people should not be allowed to see each other after dark without a regular invitation on a large card, and either a dinner, or a supper, or a crowd of some kind or other.'—ib. pp. 48, 49.

Mr. Godley is very sparing in personal allusions, and supplies but few sketches even of the leading politicians of the American republic. We are the more inclined to regret this, as with all his

conservative and puseyite predilections, we should have been glad to receive his version of the creed and public course of many of them. On one occasion he met with Mr. Webster, whose name is familiar to our readers, and his talents and position are sketched in the following passage:

'After dinner I went to a party, where I met Mr. Webster, whom I had long been anxious to see. I need not say how very far he is the first man of the day in America; indeed, in strength of understanding, he is perhaps unsurpassed by his contemporaries anywhere. His powers of memory and calculation, and his talents for argument and debate, are such that no one of his countrymen ventures to enter the lists with him face to face, either in public or private. The mingled admiration and terror with which he is regarded are very extraordinary: just now he holds a curious and anomalous position, having adhered to the President after the latter's rupture with the Whigs, and consequently drawn down upon himself part of the odium which attaches to John Tyler's name. Still it is only in whispers and half-expressed doubts that people venture to blame him; and when he stood up the other day at a public meeting of the Boston whigs, and justified his conduct, though I am told at least three-fourths of his audience differed from him, and disapproved of his conduct, not an individual ventured to express dissent. He seems, however, to be more feared than loved; and, though the champion, is by no means the idol of his party. Henry Clay, the whig candidate for the next presidency, though immeasurably inferior in point of intellectual endowments, has quite taken the wind out of his sails by the popularity of his manner, his talent for mob oratory, and, above all, his real good-nature and amiability, and the personal friendships which these qualities procure for him. Mr. Webster is perhaps, both from disposition and conviction, the most conservative of American statesmen. When in England, he sympathised and lived almost entirely with the 'Carlton' party, and could not bear our whigs: here, however, strong as he is, he is compelled to trim his sails to the 'popular breeze,' at least to a very considerable extent. For instance, he is compelled by circumstances (for I cannot think, considering his great capacity, and particularly after reading his admirable speeches upon the tariff question in 1825, that his unbiassed convictions are on their side) to advocate the protective policy of the New England manufacturers. A considerable free-trade party has always existed at Boston, notwithstanding the amount of capital invested in the manufactures which require protection: it consists not only of the ultra-democrats, who are for 'free-everything,' but of the shipping interest, who, of course, suffer by all restrictions. The farmers in New England do not seem to wish for a change; they do not think they could compete in an unrestricted trade with the more productive southern and western states; and they calculate, perhaps wisely, that their best chance lies in the hotbed prosperity of the manufacturing towns at their doors. Free-trade is the watch-word of the democratic party, even in Massachusetts: and though, of course, Mr. Webster cannot, consistently with his political connexions, exhibit any appearance of favour to it just now, there seems to be little doubt that his own prepossessions and ten-

dencies lie in that direction, and that his influence would be used in fa vour at least of a commercial treaty with England.'—ib. pp. 78—81.

The folly of British monopolists in preventing an exchange o our manufactures for the agricultural produce of America, i sufficiently evidenced from the incidental statements which ar made, though in the language common to his class, but not les notoriously unjust on that account, he speaks of our hotbeds o iniquity at Manchester and Birmingham, as in contrast with th moral healthfulness of a rural population.

The literary taste of America to which our author subsequentl adverts, is just such as might be expected from the conditio and history of the people. It were vain to look in the infanc of any state, more especially of one characterized by the ardou and perpetual activity of America, for the chastened taste an accurate literary judgments which are the slow growth of cen turies. The means of subsistence are first sought, the comfort of settlement and home must be secured, before people will con cern themselves about luxuries whether social or mental. A literary class is but gradually formed, and the marvel is, not tha America has done so little, but that in her circumstances sh has done so much. The facility with which English works ar procured, further tends to check the literary ambition of he sons by withholding the encouragement which might otherwis stimulate their labours and call forth the productions of thei genius. Their faults are those of their age as a people. They are like the defective taste and immature judgments of youth and will gradually be corrected as the republic advances in years. Speaking of an article in the *Foreign Quarterly* on the American press, attributed to Mr. Dickins, our author remarks:

'It is forcibly and severely written, but has a tendency to degenerate in many places into the faults which it condemns. The best periodical writing in America is to be found in the Reviews, of which several (as, for instance, the New York and North American) would in any country be considered as ably conducted. There is an immense demand, too, for our periodicals, which are all reprinted here in a comparatively cheap form, and read, I think, more eagerly than at home. It is just the sort of reading which the Americans like; it does not require much time or thought; it is highly spiced and piquant; and enables people who have not leisure or inclination for profound study to keep up, to a certain ex tent, with the thought and literature of the day. The favourite author with the mass of Americans is, beyond all question, Dickens; with the 'literary circles' I should say Macaulay and Carlyle, whose 'Miscella nies' are published (as are Scott's, Wilson's, &c.) in separate volumes. Probably this preference is the result, not so much of the analogy be tween the nature of their opinions and those of the majority here, as o the striking and brilliant character of their styles. The American read ing public requires to be perpetually startled, as it were, by something

salient and uncommon either in the phraseology or turn of thought, (a taste, by-the-by, which has evidently produced the extraordinary supply of quaint, humourous, and pregnant American slang, with which we are now becoming so familiar): in poetry the melody must be obvious; in prose the periods rounded and the ornaments excessive. Wordsworth's theories about poetical diction find no acceptance here; nor do his works, or those of our older and simpler poets, appear to be much admired or read. I have even a suspicion (though no one would avow such a heresy) that Bulwer is preferred to Scott.

'The connexion between the character of literature and the state of society in different countries is general and obvious. In Germany, for instance, where there exists a large class of professional students, men of high cultivation and profound thought, whose critical opinions set the tone and fashion to the mass of readers, the character of the national literature is almost entirely of a profound and esoteric kind. In England, where the 'reading public' comprises various classes, whose habits of life and of thought are not only different but independent, our literature (like everything else) bears a mixed and double character: Wordsworth and Shelley find readers and imitators, as well as Scott and Byron; and Coleridge is almost as extensively read as Cobbett. In America, again, the theory apparently acted upon is, that everything ought to be intelligible to every body, or at least suit every body's taste; no reputation seems to be attainable in any other way,—either the style or the sense must be 'saillant' and obvious.'—ib. pp. 107—109.

On the question of slavery, and the labours of abolition and colonization societies, Mr. Godley is far from adopting the language we could wish. On all these points he is unsound, and though sometimes fluent in condemning slavery in the abstract, affords practical aid to the wrong-doer, by his discouragement of every combination against his misdeeds. For ourselves, we confess we would rather commit a thousand blunders, be guilty of innumerable violences both of expression and conduct, in seeking the extinction of such an evil, than be implicated in its enormity by the criminal supineness which our author would seem to approve. As to the colonization scheme, our opinions are well known, and we need not repeat them here. If there ever was an association based on an unrighteous principle, subservient to the vilest passions, and cruelly unjust to those whom it insultingly professes to benefit, it is this. On all these points, as well as on that of religion, Mr. Godley has greatly failed to do justice to his theme; and his influence, to whatever extent it prevails, must be injurious. In his horror at the absence of an established church, he so far blinds himself to the condition of New England, as to speak of its being overrun by 'Unitarianism, Rationalism, and Pantheism,' a statement which we venture to assert is as far from the truth as human language could well be.

That he was so informed by those about him, we do not d
but that his intercourse with the New Englanders must
been exceedingly partial, we venture, without fear of refut
to affirm.

We shall close our extracts with his account of the
nians, between whom and the people of the North no
friendly feeling exists, and in doing so take leave of Mr. G
with a degree of respect and goodwill seldom entertaine
wards those from whom we differ so widely. We shall be
to meet him again, even if constrained to contest, as o
present occasion, most of his general views.

'I remained four days with Mr. ———, and was very much
ested in all that I saw of Virginia and its inhabitants. For th
time since my arival in the States I find myself in a thoroughly ag
tural country, and among a population possessed of rural taste
habits. In even the country parts of New England, the peopl
much more commercial than agricultural in spirit and characte
look upon land (as I said before) in the light of an investment, not
home; hardly any one above the rank of actual tillers of the g
knows or cares anything about farming or gardening. On the con
almost every man, whether he be lawyer, merchant, or simply pl
in Virginia, is a proprietor of land, and takes an interest in its cu
tion; in fact most of them derive their whole income from the pr
of their farms, which consists principally of wheat, tobacco, and I
corn. Some of them sell to the amount of 10,000 or 15,000 dol
worth every year, after providing for their household and the subsis
of their slaves; and though this wealthier class is necessarily dimi
ing under the influence of the American law of succession, there i
a considerable number who live in a kind of patriarchal manner, no
culating and making money, but, *soluti fœnore*, enjoying a rustic pl
following the sports of the field, and exercising a liberal hospit
These maintain the superiority of a country to a city life, a po
which appears as paradoxical to a New Englander as it would
Frenchman. There seems, as far as I can judge, to be no very fri
feeling entertained among the Virginian planters towards the Nor
States: they abhor and dread the abolition doctrines professed i
latter, and express much contempt for the money-making habits
propensity to overreach which is vulgarly attributed to the Yankee
racter; always expressing peculiar solicitude that the two 'types' sh
not be confounded by a foreigner, so as to make Virginians respon
for 'Yankee notions.' They have, moreover, all the aristocratic
which is natural to their position as a privileged caste, and which st
us so forcibly, and, at first sight, so paradoxically, among the democ
nations of antiquity. They predict all sorts of evils to the north
their universal suffrage and the supremacy of the mob. In Vir
there is a limitation of the franchise, even among the whites, a prop
qualification being required; and the voting is open, not by the b
which is stigmatized here as an unmanly and underhand mode of

ceeding. They even seem to like talking of themselves as the 'cavaliers' of the Union, and of recalling the origin of their State's *soubriquet* of the 'old dominion.' On the whole I have been more struck than I expected to be with the difference between the northern and the southern people, and am surprised at the acrimony with which they appear to speak of the matters upon which their respective opinions or interests clash.

'Notwithstanding what I have said of the aristocratic propensities of the Virginians, the 'democratic' *party* has a large majority in the State. Jefferson's influence was all-powerful while he lived; and his memory is canonized among them still. Certainly he must have possessed to a great extent the faculty of attaching, as well as of governing men, or he would never have left so deep and lasting an impress of his spirit on the American mind. I think, while we view with just abhorrence many of his principles and actions, we have not generally done justice to his genius and endowments in Europe. It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast than that between the practical ability and good sense which he exhibited in the conduct of his affairs, and the preposterous absurdity and wildness of his speculations in philosophy and abstract politics.'—ib. pp. 195—198.

Art. VII. *The Protestant Reformation in all Countries; including Sketches of the State and Prospects of the Reformed Churches. A Book for Critical Times.* By the Rev. John Morison, D.D., p. 527. Fisher, Son, & Co. 1843.

ONE of the most startling phenomena in the providence of God, is the awful corruption which he has permitted to befal his own religion. Of all abuses, that of Christianity, especially in the form of Romanism, is the most mysterious and melancholy. It claims attention. In many relations it possesses a momentous interest. The fact that it is an abuse has an important aspect in reference to infidelity. Christianity has ever been wounded chiefly through its corruptions, and its corruptions have nearly always tended towards Romanism, or been perfected in it. They have been its germ or its development. The ten thousand mischiefs and miseries that have afflicted the world through something called the Christian Religion, make the question not only relevant, but reasonable and urgent.—Is it the Christian religion, or something else that has assumed its name, that has occasioned all these evils? We say that the abuse of Christianity, and not itself, is chargeable with the long catalogue of crimes and cruelties. Nor are we aware that the answer involves any absurdity or exaggeration, or aught that may not be easily tested by the great mass of men. *That anything* may be abused, no one will deny: that all good

things are abused, few will dispute: and that the meas
excellence is commonly the measure of susceptibility of
many will concede. But the question is simply one o
and there are but few incompetent to try it. The New
ment is open; what Christ and his Apostles taught, is wr
and the comparison may be easily conducted of its senti
and institutes with all that claims to represent and to embo
And if, on reference to the book of the law, it should a
that the evils that have resulted from systems bearin
Christian name have arisen from their having the name
from their lacking the purity, while they claimed the autl
of the Gospel, the very magnitude of those evils presen
illustration by no means unfavourable, of revealed rel
For abuse gives not power; it is a misdirection, not a cre
of it. The thing abused must have been previously pote
good, or it could not be potent for evil. Then, contempl
the awful nature and comprehensive sweep of those calar
which the misconception and misrepresentation of the G
have inflicted upon humanity, may we not discern some
to its honour? What a native force, what a deep hold
the heart, must that possess, which, though good and ho
itself, can be worked with such results? By the peace,
the purity, and even the piety, which, *as a corruption*, it
destroyed, we may estimate its energy as a principle of life
blessing. The strength of a Sampson is indicated by so
a ruin.

But the subject is interesting not only in reference to
delity, but to Romanism. The greatness of the corru
which is alleged by Protestants is made an argument ag
its being a corruption at all by the Romanist. And in
if there were nothing but the likelihood of the case to he
to a conclusion; if the only materials of a judgment were
found in certain probabilities anterior to the actual dev
ment of things; if our exclusive means of knowing wha
were derivable from the reasonings of our own minds
what might naturally have been expected to be; the Rom
objection would possess some force. But the question, w
here again, is one of *fact*, not of *speculation*; one respe
what has taken place, and not what might reasonably
been anticipated; and the way to determine it is to com
the alleged perversion of Christianity with its original rec
and not to try the probability of its permission by our cor
tion of what is common or proper in the providence of
Besides, if it can be made to appear, as we do not doubt
it can, that this very perversion was matter of explicit pr
tion, the same writings which contain the truth, contai

also the prophecy of so grievous a corruption, the very improbability of it makes the evidence of its reality and its magnitude more clear and full.

Allowing Romanism to be a corruption of Christianity, it was not likely that God would permit it always to continue, that the abuse would be the rule and not the exception; and indeed the same Scriptures that predicted its existence predicted also its gradual declension and utter end. For many centuries the folly and wickedness of man obscured and weakened the truth of God, but at last He appeared to clear away the errors which had hidden and hindered it. If ever a time were peculiarly suitable for the commencement of this work, it was the time of the Reformation. Rome had reached the climax of corruption, and as the darkest hour is that which precedes the dawn, the restoration of Scriptural truth naturally followed its worst perversions.

The Reformation was a *result*, and a result brought about by a great combination of causes, operating in a large sphere, and through a long period. It was not a sudden and miraculous work. It was not dependent on one event or person. We shall misunderstand it altogether if we regard the blasphemies and extravagances of Tetzel and Samson, or the preaching and writings of Luther, Zuingle, and Knox, as its causes. It was according to the common plan of God, who works gradually in his world, and in his church. There had been a mighty preparation for it. There had been many omens of it. The stern rebukes of the grave, and the merry jokes of the satirical, had opened up its way, and indicated its approach. What took place in the mind of Luther, and others of the Reformers, the long and painful struggle between light and darkness, did but represent the action on the general mind of Europe, by which God was bringing about the redemption of the Gospel. The personal efforts and providential events that appeared in immediate connection with it, elicited and matured the deep feelings of disgust, and the earnest longings for deliverance, which obtained more or less in nearly all countries north of the Mediterranean. The abominations associated with the sale of indulgences, and other kindred enormities, fell, like a spark upon tinder well prepared, on the discontent excited by an oppressive and polluted church. Had the monk of Eisleben, and the friar of Leipsic, never appeared, it is not too much to say that the Reformation might have been delayed, but not avoided. The Reformers sowed good seed, but the soil had been made meet for its reception by processes in which they had no hand.

This view of the Reformation suggests another. If it was *not without* preparation, it was manifestly without human pre-

arrangement. He who has all minds under his control c
many to move at once in reference to this matter. The
moral earthquake shook spots both distant and disai
revealing the oneness of its hidden cause. 'Germany,'
D'Aubigné, 'did not communicate the light of truth to S
erland—Switzerland to France—France to England: all
lands received it from God; just as no one region tran
light to another, but the same orb of splendour dispen
direct to the earth. Raised far above men, Christ, the da
from on high, was at the period of the Reformation, as a
first introduction of the Gospel, the divine source whence
the life of the world.' And if we look at the Reformers
vidually, we shall find that, for the most part, when they b
their protest, they did not know what it would includ
where it would end. They were led, if ever men were led
a way which they knew not.' They entered on their c
in the spirit of earnest and honest inquiry after truth,
walking in the light which they had received, they increas
One true idea prepared their minds for other and greater i
until they attained to the general principles of the w
counsel of God. They did the will they knew, and thu
cording to the promise, learned the doctrine they knew
Could they have foreseen, at first, the whole result to which
would be afterwards committed, they might have been unf
by the prospect for the issue, but they were taught and gu
by Him who sees 'the end from the beginning,' and who al
to His people the 'many things he has to say unto them
they are able to bear them. The religious history of Luth
mind was that of many others. That remarkable man uses
following striking language in reference to himself:—

'I began this affair with great fear and trembling. What was
that time? a poor, wretched, contemptible friar, more like a c
than a man. Who was I, to oppose the pope's majesty, before w
not only the kings of the earth and the whole world trembled, but
if I may so speak, heaven and hell were constrained to obey
slightest intimation of his will? No one can know what I suff
those first two years, and in what dejection, I might say, in w
despair, I was often plunged. Those proud spirits who afterw
attacked the pope with such boldness, can form no idea of my su
ings; though, with all their skill, they could have done him no inj
if Christ had not inflicted upon him, through me, his weak
unworthy instrument, a wound from which he will never recover.
whilst they were satisfied to look on and leave me to face the da
alone, I was not so happy, so calm, or so sure of success; for I
not know many things which now, thanks be to God, I do kn
There were, it is true, many pious Christians who were much ple

with my propositions, and thought highly of them. But I was not able to recognize these, or look upon them as inspired by the Holy Ghost; I only looked to the pope, the cardinals, the monks, the priests. It was from thence that I expected the spirit to breathe. However, after having triumphed, by means of the Scriptures, over all opposing arguments, I at last overcame, by the grace of Christ, with much anguish, labour, and great difficulty, the only argument that still stopped me, namely, 'that I must hear the church,' for, from my heart, I honoured the church of the pope as the true church, and I did so with more sincerity and veneration than those disgraceful and infamous corrupters of the church, who, to oppose me, now so much extol it. If I had despised the pope, as those persons do in their hearts, who praise him so much with their lips, I should have feared that the earth would open at that instant, and swallow me up alive, like Korah and his company.'

The Reformation was an eminently *spiritual* and *religious* work. It was the emancipation of christianity—its records, its principles, its spirit. To speak of it as a mere intellectual, or social, or ecclesiastical change, is to misrepresent it. 'Nothing,' observes Mr. Isaac Taylor, 'can be more frigid, nothing more delusive in fact, than a style of speaking of the Reformation which has become common, as if it were chiefly to be considered a generous assertion of the natural rights of man—a throwing off the trammels of ignorance and despotism—a ridding the nations of the tyranny of Rome—a return to reason—a setting out anew upon the path of intellectual and rational improvement. It *was* all this, but it was infinitely more; and unless it had been so, it must have failed to secure even these real but secondary benefits.' Yes, it was infinitely more, or it would have been nothing. It was a bold and faithful protest in favour of the whole truth of the gospel. The Reformers were undoubtedly defective in some of their views. Differing among themselves on various points, most of them erred either in the adoption of false principles, or in failing to carry true ones to their full and legitimate extent. But they were essentially right. In one form or other, their efforts were directed to the destruction of the usurpations of the priesthood, for all the errors and evils of Romanism were connected with them. The denial of them was necessary to the assertion of truth. Priests had usurped the place of Christ, of individual christians, and the church at large. Their power to settle authoritatively what is truth, to bind consciences, to deal out merit, to save by sacraments, to deliver from purgatorial pains by masses, was assailed and exploded, while the sufficiency of the scriptures, the rights and merits of the Saviour, the individuality of religion, the spirituality of the gospel, were maintained and established. These were the great principles that

quickened and sustained the spirit of the reformers, and fitted them for the many labours, and trials, and dangers, of their high vocation. Had they regarded simply the social welfare, or ecclesiastical liberty of their fellow-men, the tactics, and persevering malice, and awful might, of Rome would have exhausted their patience and energy. But they looked at men in their most solemn aspect—as related to God, and to eternity; and the majesty of this view animated and ennobled them for the arduous and deadly strife. For the Reformation was not a work of destruction merely. Had the Reformers proclaimed denials only, they would have proclaimed in vain. In destroying the faith of Rome, they built up the faith of Christ. In warning from the way of error, they shewed the 'more excellent way.' They aimed not at the annihilation, but the transfer, of the reverential and affectionate sentiments of the soul, and men turned in admiration and in trust from the false supports, and pernicious sustenance, of a corrupted christianity, to the sure stays, and wholesome aliment, of the long-lost truth of God.

While we give these views of the Reformation, as views justified by facts, and as claiming the joy and gratitude of all sound protestants, we shall not be charged with inconsistency by any who understand the subject when we call attention to what we deem its grave defects. The divine wisdom and grace secured to it a large measure of sterling excellence, and immortal success, but the ignorance and feebleness of its earthly agents were allowed to interfere with its perfect consummation. It was like many human works well begun, and for a time carried on, but finished ill and in haste. One of the most honest and earnest haters of it, Froude, says that it 'was a limb badly set; it must be broken again in order to be righted.' We like the illustration, it suits our notion exactly, though he imagined its evil consisted in its going too far, whereas we believe it to have gone not far enough. Perhaps the Reformers could not have been reasonably expected to go much further? Just coming out of the thick darkness, they were not likely to see things all at once distinctly. The melancholy truth is, that those who followed them did not complete the change. The first actors did great things for them, but what can be said of those who begun where they had left off, and should have proceeded further. The great defect of the Reformation is suggested by the very name. Speaking properly, a *re-formation* was not the thing required. It was a *re-creation* altogether. Too much respect was paid to existing organizations, and too little to the generation of a new and inward power. Indeed, the Reformers were but gradually induced to leave Rome at all, their quarrel more than once

seemed in a fair way of being amicably settled. They looked often at the church, when they should have looked at Christianity, and aimed at the modification of the existing system, rather than at the substitution for it of the original type of the gospel. They proceeded, however, according to their knowledge, and it was not likely that they should know better than they did. Had their successors been as wise and faithful in their day, we should not have to mourn and fear as we now do respecting the state of Christendom. But the ignorance and faithlessness of others only make our own responsibility the greater. If the great work of purifying Christianity is still imperfect, God looks to us for its completion, and whatever censure may be due to those who have left the task to us, *ours must be great*, if, while we listen to the call of duty, we do not heed it. The loud claim of the times, if we may use language which we have said to be inaccurate, is the reformation of the Reformation, and we shall mistake the design of what is good in the past, if we use it not as a means and motive for seeking a still greater and more perfect good. To remain stationary in the midst of progress is to go back. And indeed, a positive as well as relative recession must take place without advancement. The temper of the day might well teach all that are not quite incapable of learning that the removal of the remaining remnants of Romanism is necessary to prevent the revival of its perfect form. The axe must be laid to the root of the tree; and that cannot be unless Christianity is entirely freed from secular alliances. The Reformers had but a poor conception of the right of private judgment, and the duty of the civil magistrate in reference to religion. They held it wrong for their opinions to be suppressed by force (as who does not?) but little understood that the same liberty was the right of every other man. They desired the sanction and patronage of kings and states for themselves, while they sought to have them withheld from others. And thus they left an element of mischief in their work which has operated more than all other causes to prevent its completion and extension. They raised Lazarus, but left him bound. Under the withering smile, and destroying embraces, of potentates, the Reformation has been weakened and impeded. Had its principles been consigned to the spiritual faith and unbought love alone of men, what a different history would have filled the last three centuries, and what a different prospect would have filled the centuries yet to come! But the spirit of reformation is prospective. It lives in the future, not the past. Instead of vain regrets, it forms and fosters noble purposes. It converts failures into arguments for zeal, and makes disappointment a means of triumph. Let us then 'go forward.' This was the command of God when the Israelites

were mourning the difficulties that encompassed them, and advance appeared impossible. Obstacles may seem great, a well-nigh insuperable, but it is not while contemplating, l assailing them, that they are made to vanish. The strug before the true sons of the Reformation is doubtless a fierce o They have to teach men the hardest of all things — to nothing. They have to vindicate the right of Christianity *be let alone* by kings and statesmen. They have to tell t meddling politicians of this world to 'get out of its light,' a what is more, to make them do it. Till this be done, Prot tantism will be in danger.

It is a matter of astonishment that more and better histor of the Reformation have not been published. On all accou it is eminently desirable that it should be familiar to protestan As a history only, apart from its character and causes, it exceedingly interesting. It was a gigantic movement, and possessed all the characteristics that give to such movements i portance. It revealed, with no common power and distinctne both God and man. It displayed, what we are often called witness in the works of Him that doeth all things, unity of pl with great variety and complexity of operations, apparent careles ness with real order. It brought into prominent exhibition t highest attributes of human honour, with the lowest of huma baseness — perfidy with fidelity — selfishness with generosit It involved the strange association of spiritual faith wit physical force; presenting at one time, 'the earth helping th woman,' and at another, the 'woman' trampling proudly on th 'earth.' In its course, we behold, in a manner seldom exceede for striking effect, the manifestation of unexpected interposition and the failure of expected ones; the meek timidity of the goo contrasting with the mad temerity of the bad; the feeble some times becoming patterns of courage, and the strong failin through fear; foes often unwittingly affording help to a cause to which hindrances are as often presented by friends; goo coming out of evil, and evil out of good; the curse turned int a blessing, and the blessing turned into a curse. But if th Reformation possesses so many features of interest, simply as history, with what claims is it invested as a *source* of history It was not an isolated movement, but a portion of the providenc of God. It was the resurrection of Christianity, by which it wa recognized and vindicated as his truth and grace, and placed i a position of comparative spiritual power and glory. From th degraded tool of man, it became again the holy instrument o God. All the blessings which we possess through the freedo and purity of the gospel, must be traced to it. To learn it nature and its progress is therefore a dictate of gratitude fo

its results. And we may add, that it is a dictate of natural desire to appreciate the boon which it has brought us. Systems are seen best in opposition, and no opposition is so striking as that of antagonist operation. If the personal qualities of men are most distinctly developed by collision and controversy, the tendency and influence of systems are most fully disclosed when those systems are struggling together in fierce conflict for the mastery. We know full well that many carnal expedients were employed, and many passions from beneath displayed, on the side of the Reformation, but it is important and necessary to distinguish between those who favoured it for its temporal ends, alone or chiefly, and those who loved it for its spiritual; and to remember, that the worst measures adopted to resist it were the direct and common measures of the church to which it was opposed, whereas many of the bad ones employed to further it were condemned by its true representatives, and many more must be explained by reference to the faith which they had left, and not the faith they had acquired. Remembering this, the history of the Reformation not only traces the course of events by which protestantism was developed, but presents an eminent illustration of its superiority to the corrupt and cruel system which was abandoned. For these reasons we cannot but hail any wise and worthy effort to promote the knowledge of the Reformation, and rejoice that Dr. Morison has employed his ready pen for this purpose. His acquaintance with the subject, his earnest and intelligent attachment to protestantism, his fluent and forcible style, all qualify him for the task he has undertaken. That task he has performed in a manner creditable to his character as an author, and a friend of truth. His object must be stated in his own words.

'The following condensed view of 'the protestant Reformation,' does not profess to be a minute detail of all that pertains to that profoundly interesting event in the history of the Christian faith. The object of the writer has been to collect and condense the main facts connected with the triumph of scriptural principles over the imposing novelties of Romanism; and so to abridge the materials of a large history, as to present its grand outline to the public in a single volume of reasonable size. He has been stimulated to this, by no means easy task, not more by the spirit of the age, than by a growing conviction that some such volume was imperatively required to meet the exigencies of a numerous class of readers, who either cannot find access to larger works, or cannot devote the time necessary to their careful perusal.'

Adopting the orthodox canon of criticism, in every work to regard the author's end, we can give to the volume before us most honest and hearty praise, and strongly recommend our readers, who need a book of the kind, to obtain it. It is written

in a vigorous and vivacious style, and without loading hi with authorities, or subtle disquisitions, which would hav trated his purpose, the author presents in a rapid and s manner, the chief men and movements of the Refor We cannot, for want of space, furnish specimens, but mu one extract, not so much as a sample of the work, as sake of the glorious man to whom it refers. Zuingle, the Reformer, has long been a favourite with us, though he by any means had justice done to his memory by protest general. He was a noble creature—he began quite as s Luther to oppose Rome—and he attained to far more sci notions than the German monk. We regret that we mu part of the account given of him.

'A noble and emancipated spirit looked on with unutterable e on this demoralizing expedient of an infatuated age. It was t of Ulric Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, whose extensive learning and mon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepi resolution! 'No man,' said he, 'has power to remit sins, excep alone, who is very God and very man in one. Go, if thou wilt, indulgences. But be assured thou art in no way absolved. Th sell the remission of sins for money, are the companions of Sin Magician, the friend of Balaam, the ambassadors of Satan.'

'This truly great man had, from his youthful years, been sho many of the Romish superstitions, and as early as the year 15 begun to expound the scriptures to the people, and to censure, with much prudence and moderation, the errors and abuses apostate church. At a period when Luther had rejected but fe corruptions of Romanism, Zuingle had formed to himself a plan for the emancipation of a community groaning beneath the of a huge system of error and debasing superstition. Luth ceeded very slowly to that exemption from the prejudices of ed which Zuingle, by the force of an adventurous genius, and an unc degree of knowledge and penetration, got rid of. Before the r Luther was even known in Switzerland, Zuingle had laid op volume of inspiration to the people, and had called in quest supremacy of the pope; but, like the Saxon reformer, he was into intrepid action against the papal church, by the new tr indulgences. He saw that this last device of popery was opp the whole spirit of revelation, that it was an open insult to the r the Redeemer, and that it was utterly ruinous to the souls of me determined, therefore, to give it no quarter. His pulpit at Zur devoted to its open condemnation; and so successful were his ex of it, that Samson deemed it prudent not only to withdraw fr city, but to retire from Switzerland altogether. This was th remarkable event that prepared the way for the Reformation the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, Zuingle pursue steadiness and resolution the design that he had begun wit courage and success.'—pp. 263, 264.

'While this unhappy state of things existed, and while Rome was watching her opportunity to strike a fatal blow at the Protestant cantons, it is deeply to be deplored, that a dispute, already referred to in the sketch of the German Reformation, took place between Luther and Zuingle, on the subject of the eucharist. The Saxon reformer was less enlightened on this ordinance of the gospel than the Helvetic, and evinced a temper of mind unworthy of himself, in contending with his more primitive antagonist. Rome, ever on the alert, knew full well how to turn to account this misunderstanding between the great champions of the Reformation; and while they were attempting to adjust their differences, the catholic cantons, in the absence of Zuingle, were arming themselves for a general crusade in defence of the see of Rome; and before Luther and Zuingle had terminated their polemic contest, war was declared against the protestant cantons.

'Taken by surprise, the friends of the Reformation, a little band, met at Cappel, where they were speedily reinforced by a considerable body of men from Zurich, with Zuingle at their head. The combat was fierce as it was unequal: the friends of the Reformation were vanquished, and Zuingle fell in battle. Rome exulted with indecent triumph at her temporary success. The body of Zuingle, having been found among the slain, was treated with brutal indignity, and then consumed to ashes in the presence of his weeping and agonized friends.'

'The news of the reformer's death was an event so overwhelming to the friends of the Protestant cause, that his bosom companion, Œcolampadius, it is said, died of a broken heart, exclaiming with his last breath, 'I shall soon be with Christ my Lord.' But Zuingle fell like a christian; for as he received his mortal wound, and lay struggling on the ground in the agonies of dissolution, he said, in a firm tone, 'They can kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul.'"—pp. 268, 269.

In so many views as are necessarily presented in a history so comprehensive as that of the Reformation, it would be suspicious to express an unqualified agreement. Now and then, Dr. Morison's conception of a character, or a course of action, differs from our own. Perhaps, for instance, his opinion of Luther, or Cranmer, is rather more favourable than the one which we have formed, certainly his opinion of Mary is less so. The tendency of modern illustrations of her history has been decidedly to excuse her conduct in many respects, to make it appear less the result of natural cruelty, or religious bigotry, than it has been generally represented. The hardships and insults which she suffered on account of her conscientious convictions; her personal and social afflictions and troubles; and the conduct and influence of her counsellors; these, and other circumstances, certainly seem to place the persecutions of Protestants that took place during her reign in a light more favourable to herself than that in which they have been accustomed to be viewed. We do not justify her; far

from it; but we esteem it a palpable instance of the partia of history that we should read of the 'bloody Mary,' and 'glorious Elizabeth.' Dr. Morison, at any rate, has not fa into the error of praising the latter at the expense of truth justice. As it was, she had no reason to pride herself on superiority to Mary, as far as consistency and toleration concerned; and, if she had been in Mary's case through we do not doubt that she would have been worse than predecessor.

On the whole, we have read the volume with great pleas although familiar with the scenes and actors it brings be the view, and think it is just the book that thousands of countrymen ought to possess. For its spirit of fairness honesty, the importance of its information, the purity soundness of its principles, its graphic force, and its thoro fervour of life and love, it deserves, and we trust will obtain, extensive circulation.

Art. VIII. 1. *Objections to the Anti-State Church Convention, in a lette the Rev. Dr. Cox.* London: Houlston & Stoneman.
2. *The Nonconformist. No.* 165, *May* 6, 1844.
3. *Proceedings of the Anti-State Church Conference, held April* 30, *May* 1*st, and* 2*nd.* Published by the Committee.

THE Anti-State Church Conference has at length been held. Wl was matter of conjecture is become the subject of histo and we take the earliest opportunity of furnishing our read with a brief sketch of its proceedings, and with such remarks its temper and line of action, as the nature of the case sugges The record of the Conference is now before the public; t resolutions adopted, and the scheme of organization agreed c have been reported; speculation has given place to fact, a the various theories afloat respecting the intentions of convenors, must be content to abide the decision of impartial public. For ourselves, we are free to admit t deep, the intense solicitude with which we anticipated t meeting. This solicitude was mainly induced by the ov whelming importance of the subject itself, but was not din nished by our knowledge that many whose judgments respect, were averse from the movement and apprehensive its results. With a strong confidence in the integrity and war hearted devotion of those who were to assemble, we could n conceal from ourselves the danger incident to all such meetin

or deem it utterly impossible that differences of opinion destructive of united action might be elicited, or measures be determined on, inconsistent with the truest wisdom, and unfriendly to the combination of all religious voluntaries. Our knowledge of human nature, and experience of former analogous meetings, certified the possibility of such dangers; while our trust in the discretion and sound-mindedness of British dissenters satisfied us that these dangers would in the main be averted, and a large amount of good, unattainable by other means, be accomplished. We knew our brethren to be human, and therefore admitted their liability to err, but we knew them also to be Christian men, taught by past experience, and were consequently free from distracting thoughts and ominous apprehensions. Still, we gravely felt the responsibility of the movement. It was a solemn appeal to the religious convictions of the people, on the wise conduct, and successful issue of which much depended. It was an open, unhesitating declaration that neutrality was discarded; that a clear line of demarcation between things secular and things religious, was recognized, and would be steadily followed out; that the season of expediency had passed; and that higher ground was to be taken, and motives more exclusively religious insisted on, than had been common in the efforts made to remedy the practical grievances of dissenters. In such a pursuit, and with such an object, we could not but feel grave and thoughtful. The most frivolous might well have been sobered by its contemplation, much more those who regarded the religious bearings of the question as incomparably superior to all others.

Such were the feelings with which we anticipated the 30th of April, and it was with no ordinary satisfaction we found that the parties engaged in making the preliminary arrangements for the conference so entirely sympathized with us, as to announce, by public advertisement, a meeting for prayer on the morning of that day. This was a befitting step, indicative of the religious convictions of the men engaged, and free from the practical objections which would have lain against such a suggestion, if brought forward in the conference.

At length the meeting was constituted, and its sittings were continued, morning and evening, during three successive days. The number of representatives, of which it consisted, was 728, from all parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. This was a greater number than had ever assembled on any former occasion; and greatly exceeded, as we have reason to believe, the anticipations of the most zealous. The number of representatives is the more significant, from the fact, that the summons did not issue from authority, and was known

not to be countenanced by many who had long been r
garded as leaders of the dissenting body. On former oc
sions, representatives had been summoned to London, by r
cognized associations, which had been entrusted with the co
duct of particular measures. These associations were held
repute, and had, unquestionably, in their respective departmen
done good service. Their province, however, was circumscribe
and the aid for which they called, temporary; still, their standi
gave them weight with the country, whilst the limited obje
which they sought, secured the concurrence of many who we
not prepared to countenance the Anti-State Church Conferenc
The latter, as is well known, originated with individuals, and mu
have fallen to the ground as an Utopian scheme, had not t
dissenting community been ripe for its adoption. That such
number of representatives should have assembled on such
summons, is an ample justification of the men who embark
early in the undertaking, and a refutation, consequently,
those who content themselves with alleging, that 'the time is n
come.'

The writer of the letter to Dr. Cox, of whom, by the bye, w
may as well say that we know nothing, has amused himself b
conjecturing what number of refusals was received by th
Sub-committee, to the applications which they made with a vie
of constituting the *General Provisional Council*. With the sam
infelicity as characterizes alike his surmises, statements, an
reasonings, he remarks,

> 'If you, my dear sir, who, I suppose, were behind the screen, and ha
> access to all the correspondence connected with this matter, would giv
> us a list of the negatives as well as of the affirmatives, and accompany
> with a selection of the reasons on which those refusals were founded, w
> should have a much better opportunity of estimating its [list of Ge
> neral Provisional Council] value as an expression of dissenting opinions
> as it is, we have the yeas without the nays. While the reasons in favou
> of the Conference are proclaimed upon the house-top, the objection
> to it are shut up in private letters, which the privileged only are per
> mitted to inspect, and in that seclusion can exert no influence on th
> public mind.'

To such conjectures it may suffice to reply, that the bes
answer is furnished by the number of representatives returne
to the Conference. We will however add, from our own know
ledge, that not six persons from the whole number applied t
declined on any such ground as this writer suspects, or eve
expressed an opinion unfavourable to the aggressive movemen
proposed. We dismiss this feeble and pointless letter, to th
fate which awaits it, and which it richly merits. Part of it i
wholly irrelevant to the subject in hand, and that which is othe

wise consists of inaccurate statements, false charges, or inconclusive attempts at reasoning.

Of the men who composed the conference, we shall say nothing more, than that he must be signally endowed, or be pre-eminently exalted above his brethren, who might not well feel proud of such associates. Some were absent, whom we would gladly have seen there;—men of superior intellects who have done good service to the common cause. But with all respect for those who kept honestly aloof, we must express our agreement with Dr. Campbell, when he affirmed, as reported in the 'Patriot,' that, 'had the choice been given him to remove the present conference, and replace them with the absent, they would be weakness itself, compared with the present.' The temper of the meeting was most admirable. We say this advisedly, and without fear of contradiction. On no occasion have we seen anything to be compared with it. The men were at once earnest and discreet; decided in their views, yet thoughtful and sagacious in the measures they originated; solicitous to accelerate the progress of the cause, yet concerned to avoid whatever was premature or doubtful; fully cognizant of their rights as citizens, yet determined in the first place, to address themselves exclusively to the hearts and consciences of their own people; independent yet united; free in the utterance of their opinions, yet honestly concerned to rally round a common standard. We have attended many popular assemblies; but we never witnessed one in which, taken as a whole, there was so much decorum, and singleness of purpose. The temper of the meeting was never lost, and the occasional—and they were very occasional—symptoms of impatience which were exhibited, betokened earnestness, and not irritation; the anxiety of men who were concerned to do the work for which they assembled, rather than to engage in mere speech-making.

The arrangements of the *Executive Committee* were admirably adapted to give a subdued and sober character to the discussions of the conference. The general subject was mapped out, and six branches of it assigned to different writers, whose papers were read as introductory to a consideration of the topic to which they respectively pertained. The advantages of preparation and calm fore-thought, were thus combined with the energy of public discussion, and a collection of documents was secured, to which future appeal may triumphantly be made. The first of these papers, introductory to the proceedings of the conference, narrated the circumstances out of which it had grown, and expounded briefly its constitution and objects. This was appropriately assigned to Dr. Cox, who, as provisional secretary, had laboured with unwearied diligence in all the preliminary arrange-

ments. We should be doing injustice to our own convi
and fail to discharge our duty as journalists, if we did
passing, note with becoming respect the services rende
Dr. Cox. In his position and at his age it reflects no
honour on his judgment, and the strength of his convi
that he should have thrown himself so heartily into
movement, and have discharged with such activity and a
ble temper the various duties which his appointment in
In the absence of some associates with whom he ord
mingles, we doubt not that ample satisfaction was r
from what he saw of the spirit and resources of the men
him. The following resolutions, expressive of the main
of his paper, were unanimously adopted at its close :—

'Various misconceptions of the character of this conference
prevailed,—

'1. Resolved—That the members thereof now assembled ta
earliest opportunity of declaring that it never was intended, an
now regarded by them, as constituting in any way a demonstr
dissenting strength, but is viewed solely as a deliberative meeting
friends of religious liberty as believe a conference of dissenting
sentatives gathered from all parts of the empire, to be the best n
commencing a serious and earnest effort for the disenthralment
gion from the secularising influence of state control.

'2. That in the judgment of this conference the period has now
when a mere defensive policy must fail to meet the requirements
position or to discharge the obligations under which we are plac
that a united, earnest, and scriptural effort to diffuse our senti
with a view of preparing the public mind for the extinction of the
subsisting between the church and state, is enforced by our inter
nonconformists, and still more imperatively called for by our obli
as christian men.'

Dr. Wardlaw's paper followed, on *The general princi*
Voluntaryism, that which lies at the basis, and constitut
justification of dissent from every established church.
an admirable production—partaking largely of the best qu
of its writer; clear, compact, and logical; conclusive in it
sonings, triumphant in its appeals; bold in its views, ye
nently religious in its tone; earnest without asperity, an
lous for the truth, without bitterness towards its opponents

Though our space will not permit us to notice these pap
detail, we cannot resist the temptation to transcribe the f
ing passage, as illustrative of the tone of the author, and ad
to conciliate the good opinion of some with whom he ha
siderable weight.

'With regard to the *principle* for which we contend, and our con
of the importance of which has now brought us together from all p

the country, we have by some been counselled to put it, in the meanwhile, *in abeyance*. We like not the counsel. *Abeyance!* It is not the word for present and pressing duty. The principle is not one of indifference, or of minor importance. It is primary—it is vital. When we are advised to set it aside for the time, we are constrained to say—we cannot, we dare not, we will not. As well tell us to put the gospel in abeyance. Believing, as we do, the progress of the gospel, and the salvation of the world, to be bound up with the prosperity of the church, with its healthy and vigorous activity; and, believing, as we do, the prosperity, the health, the activity of the church, to be dependent upon, and proportionate to, its spirituality and separation from the world, these being indispensable to the church's working effectually upon the world for its regeneration—we should feel ourselves unworthy recreants to the cause of God, and truth, and human salvation, were we, for one moment, to lend an ear to such advice. 'A false system,' says Vinet, 'must reckon amongst its accomplices all those who spare it by their silence.' We are not, then, to be staggered or frightened from our purpose by any bugbear of words. We are setting ourselves, we are told, to pull down the church. In the first place this, in the terms of it, is a lie. Our object is, not to pull down, but to set up the church. We are aiming at her deliverance from her degraded and prostrate dependence, and at her restoration to her true establishment. We seek to remove her from the sandy basis of acts of parliament and state provision, and to settle her on her own rock—the truth, the power, and the love of her exalted Lord. We seek to sever the link of bondage that allies the church with the secular power, and to let her go free; believing that it will not be till she has spurned that link indignantly away from her, and disowning human dependence, has cast herself unreservedly, in the confidence of faith, upon the promises of her Lord, that he will 'lift upon her the light of his countenance,' and that 'his right hand and his holy arm will get her the victory.' The connexion is weakness. It is 'iron mixed with miry clay.' We wish the church to relinquish the weakness of man, and to assert and put forth her own strength, even 'the power of his might,' who hath said to her, 'My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness'—the iron without the clay! In the second place, the charge of seeking to pull down the church is, in another sense, a truth; and in that sense, we neither disown the charge nor object to the mode of expressing it. If by the church is meant the church establishment, the charge is true. We shrink not from it—we avow it—we glory in it; nor do we object to the terms. 'Pulling down,' is an apostolical phrase; and where it is employed it stands in a connexion by which we feel ourselves more than vindicated in accepting it as expressive of our aim and effort. 'For, though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh, (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds) casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.' Nothing could be more appropriate to our purpose than these words. We do regard national establishments of religion as one of those 'imaginations' of man

—one of those 'high things that exalt themselves against the know of God,' which require to be 'cast down.' We do regard such lishments as one of Satan's 'strongholds,' and among the strong the strong; the 'pulling down' of which is the incumbent duty of man who has a right conception of the spiritual character of C kingdom, and who feels a becoming anxiety for its advancement a glory. But mark the means. Like Paul, we abjure all 'carnal wea It is a war of principle—a war of argument. We seek the overth falsehood by 'the manifestation of truth.' We assail the citadel of with 'the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.' Our aim is to imbue the minds of the community, and especially the of fellow-christians, in the established church and out of it, with wh believe to be Bible principles; and thus, eventually, to bring to upon these institutions of human policy and anti-christian presum the combined and never-failing might of public opinion. We see such means (if I may be pardoned for thus far, inadvertently, tou upon other ground than my own) to complete the reformation, great and blessed work for which thanks so fervent are due to which, considering the previously prevailing sentiments and practi regard to religious liberty, did accomplish so vast a change fo better; but which still, alas, left a large amount of worldly leaven purged out; and, amongst the rest, and worse perhaps than all the as being a principle of such comprehensive mischief—the doctri civil authority in matters of religion—the power of the rulers of world in the church of God. This is the principle, the subversio abjuration of which must be the reformation of the nineteenth cen as the rejection of papal domination, and the enfranchisement of word of God, were the reformation of the sixteenth. It has been a ' of bitterness' ever since; by imperial hands it was planted in the ginning of the fourth century—a root of bitterness to both the ch and state; and it must be rooted up ere either can thrive.'

This is placing the matter in its true light, and we know how a consistent dissenter can evade the appeal founded o The time is past for half measures, and the amphibious formerly popular amongst us, must give place to men be acquainted with their position, and more alive to the disch of the whole circle of their obligations. As Dr. Wardlaw sequently demands:—

'Let us have dissenters in principle, or none. Let us have out- out dissenters, or none. There is no consistent half-way house bet dissent and churchism. He is not a dissenter who is one either accident or by necessity; nor is he a true dissenter who, while u with a dissenting body, recognises the establishment principle, by acceptance of any miserable pittance of state pay. He who touches *regium donum* at once violates and insults the principle of dissent; as he who would withhold the Bible, without note or comment, viol and insults the principle of protestantism. Let us be consistent. us not forget the principle involved in the Saviour's words, 'He th faithful in that which is least, is faithful also in much; and he tha

unjust in the least, is unjust also in much.' Let us have our vocabulary cleared of all uncertain and half-meanings; and let a dissenter stand there only for the man who explicitly and utterly repudiates the principle of national establishments of religion.'

The sentiments of Dr. Wardlaw's paper were warmly responded to by the conference in a series of resolutions which, though long, we must transfer to our pages as worthy of permanent record, and illustrative of the views entertained on the general question. As the substantive vote of such a meeting, they place beyond doubt the convictions and purposes of the great body of British voluntaries.

'That this conference, while emphatically disclaiming all intention to assail any church apart from its connexion with the state, is constrained by a deep sense of religious obligation to Jesus Christ, the sole head of the church, to express its solemn determination to persevere in opposition to the principle on which state establishments of religion are founded, as contra-distinguished from that which lies at the foundation of dissent from such establishments.

'That this conference, consequently, distinctly disavows the scriptural authority of all state establishments of religion, and of all state endowments of religion, under any of its denominations, and explicitly asserts the entire independence of the church of Christ, which is to be secured only by the practical admission of the principles of self-support and self-extension, as imperatively demanded by the authority of the New Testament.

'That regarding the principle of state establishments of religion as especially involving the doctrine, that it pertains to the civil magistrate, as an incumbent part of his public duty, to provide for the interests of religion, this conference maintains that, whether the proposal of alliance come from the church or from the state, any union between the two must be incompatible with the laws contained in the statute-book of Christ, as king in his church, inasmuch as, while there is no authority in that book for any such union, it is positively prohibited in numerous passages, embodying facts, principles, and precepts, at direct variance therewith.

'That any state of secular provision for the diffusion of religion, or for the support of its ministers, involves the opponents of the New Testament method in various difficulties and dilemmas; rendering it impossible for the advocates of such provision to draw the line of demarcation between things secular and things sacred; causing either the church, by submitting to the control of the state, to sacrifice its independence, or the state, by yielding its control, to violate its trust, and bringing about a state of things in which the professed ministers of Christ derive their subsistence, not in the relation which they sustain towards the church, but as the retainers of those by whom they may be paid.

'That, so far from admitting the voluntary principle to amount, as sometimes alleged, to a denial of the headship of Christ over the nations, this conference regards the principle of state establishments of religion as

inevitably having that effect; inasmuch as christianity has superseded Judaism, the principle of which was national, by a system purely spiritual in its character.'

Other papers followed, of which it is impossible for us to speak in detail. Mr. Miall's, on *The evils resulting from the union of church and state*, was a powerful but melancholy picture of the practical working of the hierarchial system, while Mr. Massie's on *The various forms assumed by the establishment principle throughout the British empire*, rendered it evident to all, that the form of religion patronised, is a matter of secondary moment to our rulers, compared with the maintenance of their supremacy over the faith of the people. We would strongly urge an attentive perusal of the former of these papers, on all those who are dubious of the propriety of immediately initiating measures with a view of overturning the hierarcy of these realms. We could say more, but there is much before us, and we therefore pass on. The fifth paper, and which on some accounts we deem the most important, is designed to remove the ambiguity of the phrase, *union of church and state*, and to explain what is meant by a separation of the two. The document is stated to have been written by a member of the bar, and furnishes ample evidence of legal acuteness and of extensive information. It should be circulated by tens of thousands in the form of a cheap tract, and will do more to enlighten the public mind, and secure the co-operation of powerful classes, than any other mode of address which could be devised. We can make room only for the following extract, in which, after having pointed out the laws and usages exhibiting the union of church and state, the writer remarks:—

'The separation of church and state consequently must involve—

'1. The repeal of all those laws which make the profession or disclaimer of any form of religious belief, or the subscribing of any declaration containing a pledge of a certain line of conduct towards any religious body, a necessary qualification for the exercise of any public office or employment; or which confer on the ministers of any form of religion, as such, the right to fill any parliamentary station or public office, or exercise any public duty; or which permit none but the ministers of a particular faith to conduct the services of religion on occasions of state ceremony, and before the two houses of parliament, and other national bodies and institutions; or which devote money taken out of the parliamentary taxes, or out of any branch of public revenue, or any public lands, public buildings, or other public property to the sustentation of any form of religious worship; or which confer exemptions from public payments, or create distinctions of any nature, honourable or otherwise, founded on the profession of any form of religious belief.

2. The enactment of laws for the entire abolition of public exactions in support of any form of religious faith, and for the resumption by

parliament (having regard to the life interests of present possessors), and application to strictly national purposes of all lands, buildings, and other property, at any time given by the crown or by parliament, for the sustentation of any form of religious worship, or for the exclusive use of bodies of men professing a specific form of religious belief.'

This is precisely what was wanted; and if the conference accomplished nothing more than the production and extensive circulation of this paper, we have no hesitation in saying, that the trouble and expense incurred will be amply repaid. Even the jaundiced eye of the letter-writer will fail to discover in it any of those 'abstract principles or splendid generalities,' of which he has so becoming a horror. The paper is throughout definite, practical, and searching; and will probably induce him, should his production—which would be amongst the marvels of the day—reach a second edition, to expunge altogether his *first objection* to the conference. Both dissenters and churchmen need information on the subject of this paper. Some of the former have thoughtlessly expressed a willingness to purchase a dissolution of the union existing, by allowing the church to retain the immense wealth with which it has been endowed; whilst many of the latter would gladly forego the restraints of state alliance, if permitted to carry their treasure with them. We hold it as indisputable, that the property received by the church from the state is public property, that it is given for service rendered, and may be resumed whenever, in the judgment of the governing body, the public welfare requires. The private endowments of the episcopal church are its own, and we should be amongst the first to oppose any tampering with them; but, whatever it has received from the state, it should be required to give back, and the surrender is called for by every consideration of political expediency, and of religious obligation.

The sixth, and last, paper presented to the conference was on *The means to be employed in pursuit of the proposed object, and the spirit in which they should be used.* The writer was Mr. Mursell, and the paper itself formed a beautifully appropriate, and most powerful conclusion to the series. Coming towards the close of the morning of the third day, it yet commanded universal and deep attention, was listened to in breathless silence, and produced an impression as intense and practical as we ever witnessed. Long as we have known Mr. Mursell, and highly as we ever thought of his talents and principles, we have no hesitation in declaring that this paper, in its luminous views, its profound and well-defined principles, its fervid eloquence, its overwhelming appeals, and, above all, in its admirable charity and religious temper, exceeded our anticipations,

mind. In the profound convictions and silent impressions of the devout heart, lies the best guarantee for prudence, discretion, and candour. Superstition, which haunts the imagination, and fires the passions, may be the parent of wild extravagance, and misguided-zeal; but genuine religion, pure from the hallowed fount of inspiration, is at once the source and the guardian of the graces, the originator and the protector of the nobler virtues. It is the man of meaner allusions, who is likely if any be, to commit the cause by immaturity, or impetuosity, or bigotry, and not he who is regulated by the loftiest considerations, and by the deepest motives which have to touch and to move the mind.'

The resolutions founded on Mr. Mursell's paper, and which were unanimously adopted by the conference, are so strikingly illustrative of the feeling which prevailed, and constitute so triumphant a refutation of the notions prevalent amongst those who were hostile to the meeting, that our narrative would be incomplete did we not quote them. They were as follows, and we commend them to the grave consideration of all who attach to the conference a character of violence, and ultra-political partizanship.

'That, while this conference feels it to be incumbent upon all the friends of true religion to seek, with deep earnestness and persevering energy, the dissolution of the union between the church and the state, it distinctly and solemnly repudiates the use of any means in the attainment of this end, but such as are based on moral principles, and are in strict accordance with the genius and directions of Christianity and the will of God. That it proposes to address itself to the great work it contemplates by endeavouring to impress on the minds of religious men of all denominations a becoming sense of the importance of the subject, by availing itself of all suitable opportunities and modes of informing their fellow-countrymen, and of creating and directing public opinion, with the view of ultimately prevailing upon the legislature of the country to leave divine truth to its intrinsic claims and power, and to the protection and blessing of the Great Head of the church.

2. That this conference is unfeignedly solicitous that this work should be prosecuted in the spirit of christian forbearance, candour, and charity, but with unflinching firmness and untiring perseverance; that it should be carried on prayerfully, and in a constant sense of dependence upon the blessing of the Most High: and that any departure from this temper will tend to retard the success of the enterprize, which every nonconformist must have at heart.

3. That, in the judgment of this conference, the solemn duty devolves upon the dissenters of Great Britain to commence such wise, united, and well-directed efforts as may issue in the separation of the church from the state; and they are hereby respectfully and earnestly invoked, laying aside all considerations of temporary expediency, to take their ground on the sacred principles they profess, to assert the spirituality of the kingdom of Christ, and never to rest until this great and fundamental truth shall be practically recognized by the government of the united kingdom.

The scheme of organization followed, the most important tures of which we transcribe for the information of our read

I. That a society be now formed, to be intituled 'The British . State-Church Association.'

II. That this Society be based upon the following principle: 'Th matters of religion man is responsible to God alone; that all legisl by secular governments in affairs of religion is an encroachment the rights of man, and an invasion of the prerogatives of God; and the application by law of the resources of the state to the mainten of any form or forms of religious worship and instruction is contrar reason, hostile to human liberty, and directly opposed to the wor God.'

III. That the object of this Society be, the liberation of religion all government or legislative interference.

IV. That this object be sought by lawful and peaceful means, an such means only.

V. That every individual subscribing to the principle upon which Society is based, and contributing not less than one shilling annuall its general fund, be admissible as a member.

VI. That the officers of this Society consist of a treasurer, th secretaries, three auditors, a council of five hundred, and an execu committee of fifty members; that the place of meeting of the execu committee be in London; and that the members of the council be e tled, when in London, to sit at the committee board, and to take par their deliberations.

IX. That the council of five hundred be elected by the confere alone, and be subject to revision, as to its composition, at each succe ing conference.

1. The members of the council shall be thus apportioned: three hu dred for England, one hundred for Scotland, fifty for Ireland, and fi for Wales.

3. A conference shall be convened once in three years, at least, to constituted in the same manner as the Anti-State-Church Conference 1844.

X. That the executive committee be elected, in the first instance, the conference; be altered or reappointed from time to time by t council at its pleasure; and be liable to be altered, dismissed, or rea pointed at each succeeding conference.

XIII. That the council meet once in twelve months, at least, th time and place of their next meeting being fixed by themselves at ea successive meeting, and that the following be their powers and duties:

1. They shall elect to all offices except in their own body, which m be vacated by death or otherwise, during the interval between one co ference and another.

2. They shall determine all plans of importance connected with th operations of this Society; and whatsoever they determine the executi council shall carry into effect, according to their instructions.

3. They shall superintend the affairs of this Society, making arrang ments for the holding of conferences, whenever and wherever it may,

their judgment, be expedient; but, under any circumstances, they shall call a general conference at least once in three years.

XIV. That the constitution, duties, and responsibilities of the executive committee be the following:

1. They shall meet once a month at least, being summoned by circular from the secretaries, at some fixed place of business to be selected by themselves.

2. It shall be their first duty to carry out the plans of the council.

3. They shall take measures for the collection and digest of statistical and other information relative to state churches, and shall procure, by public competition or otherwise, the writing of such tracts, or larger treatises, on the question of national religious establishments, as they may deem requisite to further the objects of this Society.

4. They shall regulate the movements of public lecturers engaged in the name of this Society, and shall give advice to individuals wishing to form similar associations.

5. They shall carry into execution, as opportunities present themselves, the several modes of action prescribed by the council, shall act as a central committee of advice whenever occasions may require, and shall have power to call together the council whenever, in their judgment, it may appear desirable.

6. They shall hold themselves responsible to the council, by whose decisions they shall be bound.

XV. That the following be among the modes of action contemplated by this Society.

1. The collection and digest, from authentic public documents, of all such information as may throw light upon the nature and tendency of state churches.

2. The securing original essays on the question of state churches, for popular use, and fitted to supply to the public, and especially to dissenters, needful and useful information on the subject.

3. The employment of lecturers, gratuitous or otherwise, under the sanction and direction of the executive committee; to explain and enforce the fundamental principle of this society; to expose the evils which have resulted and are inseparable from any form of alliance between church and state; and to rouse the public, and especially professed nonconformists, to an earnest consideration of their duty in this matter.

5. The giving advice to individuals wishing to form similar associations, for the purpose of diffusing correct information, and of bringing public opinion to bear, as prudence may dictate, upon the composition of the House of Commons, and upon the decisions of the imperial parliament.

6. The promotion of the return to parliament, wherever practicable, of men of known integrity and ability, conversant with the principles of this Society, and disposed to avail themselves of all suitable occasions for exciting discussion thereupon, and ready to promote its object; and the furnishing of such members, when returned, with all the special information the Society can command.

7. The support of such members whenever the council shall deem it advisable to agitate the question of state churches in the legislature, by

selves to substitute their own imaginations for the avowed intentions of their brethren.

2. The conference was equally distinguished by a highminded abstinence from all personality or invidious reference to such as were absent. There was much to tempt its members to a different course, much in the spirit with which they had been encountered, the misrepresentations to which they had been subjected, and in the poor, pitiful artifices resorted to in a few cases to bring their project and themselves into disrepute. All this was known, and under ordinary circumstances, and in an ordinary assembly, would have been commented on. But the members of the conference felt that they had other and higher, and far nobler ends in view, and to these they confined themselves. They spoke and acted like men who were too much in earnest to trifle, too intent on a great object to be diverted from its pursuit by any personal or party consideration. Even when allusion was made to an article which had just appeared in the *Congregational Magazine*, misstating the objects, and strangely impugning the constitution of the conference, that allusion was conveyed in terms of marked respect towards the editor. The inaccuracies of the manifesto were pointed out and its false reasoning confuted, but not one word was uttered incompatible with high personal esteem for the gentleman on whom the conduct of the magazine devolves. Dr. Jenkyn stated himself to be a member of the church over which Mr. Blackburn presides, and spoke of him in terms of which any man might be proud; while Dr. Price, who followed, expressly avowed the great desirableness of avoiding everything which could be construed into the semblance of what was personal or acrimonious. It is true that the latter gentleman referred to the popular character of the movement as repugnant to the views of many, and affirmed that its success would be destructive of the cliqueship which had ruled dissenting matters. In doing so, he spoke only what we believe, the truth of which, unless we greatly err, the next ten years will clearly show. We have never been amongst the wholesale and indiscriminate censurers of London men and London committees, nevertheless, we feel assured that if the organization now originated, be carried out in the same spirit which has marked its commencement, if it continue to unite wisdom and firmness, enlightened philosophy and clear scriptural principles, with earnestness of purpose and untiring diligence, it cannot fail to gather up the elements of strength to a degree which will constitute it the most important body amongst the dissenters of this country, because most fairly expressive of their views. Throughout the whole sittings of the conference, there was an entire abstinence from all reflections

on the past conduct of dissenting affairs. Whatever o
were entertained on this point, they did not appear. T
had their own work to do, and were evidently more co
to accomplish it than to censure the proceedings of other

3. Before closing, we must say a word to the member
conference, and especially to the committee constituted by
withstanding all we have written—and every word has been
advisedly—little has yet been done. We have merely sl
our plan, arranged our machinery, agreed upon and
our object, but the work is yet to be accomplished, an
tax our resources to the utmost. If the success of the con
—the numbers which assembled,—the harmony which
guished it,—the admirable spirit pervading its councils,—
universal determination avowed, to labour zealously on b
the church's freedom, be permitted to inflate our pride,
nister to our self-confidence, the work will be transfe
other hands more worthy to accomplish the good pleasur
Lord. Such inflation is appropriate only to little min
look but on the surface and amuse themselves with
building, rather than prepare for the business of re
Far different should be the case with men who have und
the rescue of an enfeebled church, and on whom ther
specially devolves to manifest an elevation of design, and
of spirit, comporting with so high a vocation. As rema
a contemporary with whom the conference itself originate
have done nothing yet—we have but resolved to do. W
taken a pledge of inviolable fidelity to the cause of the c
freedom; and now, woe be unto us if we desert ou
Let us then settle it with ourselves that we are but just
ning our work, and that the conference has only serve
demonstration of our purpose, and a means of uniti
strength.

To the committee we would say, turn not to the right
left to reply to, or even notice the attacks which may be
upon you. Pursue your own work in the spirit which
it, and trust to events to justify your measures. If revi
vile not again, but with union, energy, and wisdom, ca
the plans entrusted to you. Your success is certain, if
but faithful to your high vocation. The time is favou
your enterprize, providential events concur in acceleratio
progress, the divisions of the hierarchy indicate the n
of change, while the claims of outraged truth and of a m
church enforce upon you the obligation—at once oner
most honourable—of vindicating their integrity and re-es
ing their ancient freedom. Nothing can defeat you bu
ness, or treachery on your own part. If equal to your p

if free from all selfish interests, all personal and paltry motives, there is opened up to you, in the providence of God, as noble a sphere of religious action as ever invited the labour or rewarded the toil of pious men. Enter into that field, cultivate it with diligence, and may there rest upon you most abundantly the wisdom which cometh from above, and is profitable to direct.

Brief Notices.

Smeaton and Lighthouses. A popular Biography, with historical Introduction and Sequel. London: John W. Parker.

Linnæus and Jussieu; or, the Rise and Progress of Systematic Botany. A popular Biography, with historical Introduction and Sequel. London: John W. Parker.

The Useful Arts employed in the production of Clothing. London: John W. Parker.

The most delectable History of Reynard, the Fox, and of his son, Reynardine. A revised version of an old Romance. London: J. W. Parker.

These works belong to 'Parker's Collections in Popular Literature,' a series intended to combine the chief characteristics of a family library and cabinet cyclopædia; and to be fitted, by price and unexceptionable tendency, for general use in families. Under the leading divisions of History, Biography, Science and Art, Voyages and Travels, Tales and Fiction, there certainly need be no lack of variety, instruction, or entertainment; and the promise of the prospectus, that 'the whole will be prepared with an especial view to the diffusion of sound opinions, the promulgation of valuable facts and correct principles, and to the due indulgence of general literary taste,' is, upon the whole, fairly redeemed in the specimens at the head of this notice. We have one qualificatory remark to make in reference to the biographies. Their purpose being to combine the history of a particular department of knowledge, with a sketch of the life of the man whose name stands pre-eminent in it, his expressions of religious sentiment must be introduced rather as matters of example than of record. Now in both these lives such declarations amount to little more than simple theism; and therefore, we think it would have been better to have omitted them altogether. They can be introduced only for their moral bearing; and in a popular library, intended expressly for the young, and such as are immature in judgment and principle, we cannot be content with a morality of this inferior order, unless accompanied by an acknowledgment that it is inferior.

We may also remark in passing, that these neutral scientific biographies afford us no means of judging in what temper, and under the guidance of what principle, the debateable land of national history will be entered upon. There ought to be perfect impartiality in the statement

of evidence: and we hope there will also be catholicity of vi liberality of deduction.

Reynard the Fox is a capital child's book, that is, in its origina we cannot say so much for the continuations. There are many able German tales, which might come under the same division In the more graceful, as well as in the wilder legendary lore, The is unrivalled. Translations from Steffens and Tieck would well re publisher.

Impressions, Thoughts, and Sketches, during two years in Fra Switzerland. By Martha Macdonald Lamont. London: J Moxon.

Letters addressed by a daughter to her mother—and pleasant lette are. The greater number were written during a twelvemonth's re in Paris, and relate to the every-day indoor life of the French; sometimes, we are told of sight-seeings, or visits to Marshal Macc to whom, we presume, the authoress is distantly related; and som have very fair criticisms on books. The later letters from Belgiu Switzerland, run more in the ordinary strain of tourists. Miss L is lively, observant, well read; and does not philosophise, as she c amiss. Her style is here and there ambitious, perhaps, from reto for publication. She is a little too fond of 'nature, dear goddess there are other feminine affectednesses, but the work is one of pr

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Infant Salvation; or, an attempt to Prove that all who die in Infa Saved. By David Russell, D.D. Third Edition. Glasgow: Maclehose.

We are glad to see on our table a third edition of this admirable tise, which leaves nothing to be desired on a subject of deep and g interest. The volume is distinguished by the same lucid arrange thorough investigation of all topics pertinent to the question, sound and evangelical spirit, which lend such a charm to the other produ of the author.

Life in the Sick-room: Essays. By an Invalid. London: E Moxon.

We like the general purpose of these essays—to show the subje incurable but slow disease that they are by no means shut out fro fulness or enjoyment; to suggest the trial of observations and em ments, having in them more or less of solace and advantage; and culcate courageous submission, in place of indolent and peevis patience. All this is good, so far as it goes, but in higher matte are directly at issue with the writer—Miss Martineau, as we ar formed. She accounts pain and sorrow to be in every case, and o cessity, purificatory, and, as might be expected, asserts the final happ of all men. Nor is it any wonder, that while she speaks often of of sinfulness, faith, and prayer,—the Son of God, the great Sac Saviour, and Intercessor, should not be so much as named above th four times in the two hundred and twenty pages. It is unnecessa

say that the volume is well written, and will in various ways interest such as are able to discern between good and evil; but we cannot recommend it to invalids indiscriminately.

The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt. A New Edition.
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Literary Intelligence.

On the First of June will be published, A Pictorial and Descriptive History of China and India, from the earliest period recorded to the present time. In which the manners, customs, religion, and domestic practices, of a people, hitherto but little known, are delineated.—The plates 32 in number, are printed in tinted lithography, in the new style of the art; and the wood engravings, of which there are 138, are executed by artists of celebrity, from accurate drawings made expressly for the work. With Maps of China and India.

Just Published.

Contributions, Biographical, Literary and Philosophical, to the Eclectic Review. By John Foster. 2 vols.

English Songs, and other Small Poems. By Barry Cornwall. A New Edition.

Lectures delivered at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol. By John Foster.

The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan. Edited by George Godwin, Esq., F.R.S. F.S.A., and Lewis Pocock, F.S.A., Hon. Secretaries of the Art Union of London, with a Memoir of the author, and a Bibliographical Notice. Illustrated by engravings in outline and wood-cuts, from drawings by H. C. Sellons, Esq.

The Second Coming of Christ, practically considered, being Lectures delivered during Lent, 1844, at St. George's Bloomsbury. By Twelve Clergymen of the Church of England. With a Preface, by the Hon. and Rev. H. Montague Villiers, M.A., Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury.

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